THE ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY, POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1782.



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BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

IT has been our fortune, to trace our unhappy civil diſſentions, down from their original cauſes and earlieſt appearance, nearly to the point of their ultimate concluſion, in the ſeparation of Great-Britain and her colonies. In this courſe, which conſtantly required all the labour and attention we were capable of beſtowing, we were, by degrees, unwittingly led into the execution of a work far beyond our ability and powers; and upon which we could ſcarcely have ventured, had we foreſeen its extent and difficulty. We were led into the hiſtory of a war of ſuch a magnitude, as would have afforded a full ſcope to the genius of the firſt writers. A war, by far the moſt dangerous in which the Britiſh nation was ever involved; of the firſt rank in point of action and event; but of ſtill wider importance, when conſidered with a view to its actual or probable conſequences. It has already overturned thoſe favourite ſyſtems of policy and commerce, both in the old and in the new world, which the wiſdom of ages, and the power of the greateſt nations, had in vain endeavoured to render permanent; and it ſeems to have laid the ſeeds of ſtill greater revolutions in the hiſtory and mutual relations of mankind,

Unequal

Unequal as we were to the taſk, and under all the obvious difficulties and diſadvantages attending the writing and publication of hiſtory immediately on the heel of action, we have fortunately had no occaſion to regret our temerity. The increaſing favour we experience from the public at home, and the diſtinguiſhed reception which our work meets with abroad, not only in thoſe extenſive parts of the world where the Engliſh language is vernacular, but wherever the general affairs of mankind are ſo far known as to be intereſting, and are admitted to become ſubjects of free diſcuſſion, have fully qualified all our apprehenſions, and amply repaid our labours. In theſe circumſtances, inſtead of repining at any expence of labour or time, it will ever be our pride, that we happened to be the early and faithful recorders of events of ſuch magnitude and celebrity, and that we have been, at any period, capable of producing a work which has met with ſuch general approbation.

The repeated complaints which have been made, relative to the delay of the preſent publication, has compelled us to the painful neceſſity, of running more into egotiſm, and bringing ourſelves more forward, upon this occaſion, than uſual. As it may now be hoped, that the return of the public tranquility will afford ſome conſiderable relaxation of our labour, (for we ſhall claim none with reſpect to care and aſſiduity) ſo, by degrees, a due punctuality as to the ſeaſon of publication will be a neceſſary conſequence.

THE

THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEAR 1782.

THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retrospective view of affairs in the East, which led to the late alarming and dangerous situation of the British empire in India. State of the native powers, with respect to each other, and to the East India Company. Greatness of the Maratta empire; and nature of its power, resources, and government. Infant Ram-Rajah deposed, and a government of ministers, called the Paishwaship, substituted in his place. Ragonaut Row, being obliged to abandon Poonah and his country, for the assassination of his nephew, the young Paishwa, flies for refuge to Bombay. Protection afforded to Ragonaut, lays the foundation of all the subsequent wars with the Marattas. Treaty of friendship and alliance between the East India Company and Hyder Ally, concluded at Madras in the year 1769. Refusal to furnish Hyder with the succours stipulated by treaty, in his subsequent ruinous war with the Marattas, estranges that prince from the company, and occasions his embracing French connections. Treaty concluded at Bombay with Ragonaut Row. War entered into with the Marattas for his restoration to power. Island of Salsette, Baroach, and other places conquered. Treaty of Poonah; by which Ragonaut is to be given up, and the new conquests are confirmed to the company. New

ſyſtems of policy adopted. Ragonaut Row is ſtill protected, and various intrigues entered into for a revolution in the Maratta government in his favour. New demands to be made upon the Court of Poonah, the rejection of which are to be deemed violations of the late treaty. Strong military force under Colonel Leſlie, ſent acroſs the continent from Bengal. Proceedings of that detachment; Leſlie dies, and is ſucceeded by Colonel Goddard. Propoſals for a treaty with Moodajee Booſla, the Rajah of Berar, for placing him at the head of the Maratta empire. The Court of Poonah refuſing to comply with the new demands, the Britiſh reſident is withdrawn, and the Bombay army landed on the continent, in order to accompany Ragonaut Row to that capital. Army being ſurrounded, and all means of retreat cut off, a capitulation takes place. Moderate terms impoſed by the Marattas in the treaty of Worgaum. Ragonaut Row is given up, and the army conducted by a body of Maratta horſe to the ſea coaſt, where it embarks for Bombay.

THE ſucceſs which attended the Britiſh arms in the year 1778, by the taking of Pondicherry, and the entire reduction of all the French ſettlements in that part of the world, ſeemed, along with the powerful armies in the hands of the Eaſt India Company, and the naval force deſtined to their ſupport under Sir Edward Hughes, fully ſufficient, not only to ſecure their preſent tranquility, but to lay ſuch a foundation of ſtrength and proſperity, as could not eaſily be ſhaken. They were now freed from their only European competitor, and from a moſt active and enterprizing neighbour, whoſe ſpirit of intrigue, as well as power, whether in war or in peace, would conſtantly afford matter of jealouſy, if not of apprehenſion; and as wars and conqueſts had not originally been propoſed as the end of that inſtitution, and were rendered ſtill leſs ſo, by the ſtate of affairs in Europe, it was ſuppoſed, that it would require no great refinement in policy, or in conduct, to preſerve ſuch a ballance between the native powers, as, without engaging much in their particular quarrels, would enable the company to become the arbiter of India, and tend equally to the general tranquility, and to the maintenance of their own ſuperiority.

It was accordingly hoped at home, and afforded no ſmall conſolation in the moſt alarming ſituation which we had ever yet experienced, that, however Great Britain might have been overborne, in that very unequal conteſt which ſhe was doomed to ſuſtain in every other quarter of the globe, yet, that her dominion and commerce in the Eaſt, being happily free from the contingencies of war, ſtill remained whole and unimpaired; and might prove an unfailing reſource of wealth and of ſtrength in the worſt event.

Such were the hopes of the public, and ſuch perhaps the ſpeculations of ſtateſmen. But the affairs of nations, their adverſity and ſucceſs, often depend upon unforeſeen circumſtances, which political ſagacity cannot always provide againſt. The experience of ages has ſhewn, that it is exceedingly difficult to keep arms long unemployed,

ployed, in the hands of thoſe who have been accuſtomed to uſe them with great effect and advantage. Such a reſtraint requires a ſtrong and immediate controul; and is not eaſily practicable under a remote government. The abundant means of war in the hands of the company's ſervants, naturally tended to its production; and it will not be doubted, that conqueſt and the overthrow of ſtates, are attended with circumſtances, which promiſe a full gratification to ſome of the ſtrongeſt paſſions of the human mind.

The wantonneſs and injuſtice attributed to ſome wars undertaken in India, had (to the honour of the public feelings, whether the charges were ill or well founded) been for ſome time a matter of general execration in England. The cenſures paſſed in ſome inſtances by the company, if they did not fully confirm, at leaſt afforded a general ſanction to the charges. We have heretofore had occaſion more than once to take notice of the cauſes, which tended to leſſen the authority of the company over its ſervants in India, and neceſſarily, their reverence for their employers, and obedience to their commands. But the company itſelf, in its ruling and governing powers at home, did not eſcape a large portion of public cenſure, derived from the imputed exorbitances of their ſervants abroad. They were charged with a general indeciſion, a deficiency of ſpirit and vigour, and even ſome apparent contradictions in their conduct and meaſures. That they did not ſufficiently exerciſe the authority which they poſſeſſed. That they were content to reprove where they ſhould puniſh; and that they truſted to the future obedience of thoſe, who had already been guilty of the moſt glaring, pernicious, and even contemptuous acts of diſobedience.

In full proportion to the ſanguine hopes entertained, upon the proſperous appearance of things, at the time that the French power was annihilated in India, was the conſternation and aſtoniſhment which ſtruck the nation, at that unexpected and unaccountable revolution which ſo ſoon after took place in the affairs of the company; and which, ſhaking the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt to its center, threatened no leſs than the extinction of the Engliſh name in that quarter of the globe. The conduct of the company and of its ſervants, became naturally ſubjects of public and private diſcuſſion. Parliamentary enquiries were inſtituted, and have been long continued. Various reports from the committees have been laid before the Houſe of Commons; but ſuch is the complex nature and immenſity of the matter, the endleſs variety of the evidence, with the difficulties ariſing from the remoteneſs of the ſcene of action, and the delays incident to parliamentary proceedings, that the enquiries have not yet drawn to a concluſion. The ſubject therefore ſtill remains in obſcurity.

In tracing thoſe tranſactions and events upon the ſpot, which led to ſo unexpected and alarming a change in the Britiſh affairs, it will be neceſſary to take a retroſpective as well as immediate view of affairs in India.

The Marattas and Hyder Ally

were the only native powers in India, which could afford any cauſe of alarm to the Britiſh intereſts. The one was the more powerful, and the other, from his great perſonal abilities and qualities, capable of being the more dangerous enemy. It ſeemed to be the political intereſt of the Eaſt India company, to foment the natural enmity which ſubſiſted, and the accidental feuds which were continually ariſing, between thoſe two neighbouring and rival ſtates; obſerving, not to become any farther a party in their diſputes, than might occaſionally be neceſſary for the preſervation of ſuch a ballance between them, as would prevent either from growing too great by the ruin of the other. It would ſeem that by ſuch a policy, the animoſity of theſe two formidable powers, would in the end, by the exhauſture of their ſtrength and activity, prove the means of eſtabliſhing the general tranquility of India.

The warlike nation of the Marattas are the only people in India, who at all times refuſed the Mahomedan yoke. The immenſe power, and ſuperiority of their enemy, laid them under a neceſſity of ſeeking refuge in the inacceſſible faſtneſſes of that vaſt range of mountains, which cover ſo great a part of Hindoſtan. The long war, which, under the conduct of their illuſtrious leader, Sevagi, they ſuſtained, againſt the immenſe power, and great abilities, as well as treachery of Aurengezebe, would, in other parts of the world, have afforded a ſplendid portion of hiſtory. The mountainous countries which they occupied for defence, would, in any ſtate of culture, have been unequal to their maintenance, and were totally incapable of affording the ſupplies neceſſary for the proſecution of the war; but the length, obſtinacy, and various fortune of the conteſt, ſerved to inſpire the contempt, as well as neglect of agriculture. The rich ſurrounding lower regions, which had all ſubmitted to the Mogul power, were of courſe compelled in their turn, as they happened to be more or leſs effectually guarded, to ſupply all the neceſſities of the Marattas, and to provide the means of war as well as of ſuſtenance. From theſe cauſes, and the inveterate habits incident to them, aroſe that marauding and predatory diſpoſition, which, in the uſual and natural courſe of things, ſtill prevails, although the cauſes have ceaſed. The Marattas boaſt a high antiquity; and their language, which is a peculiar dialect of the Hindoo, and acknowledged to be among the moſt antient in India, ſufficiently juſtifies that claim. Thus appears the error of conſidering them as a lawleſs banditti, or a fortuitous aſſemblage of freebooters, united merely for the purpoſes of rapine.

The Maratta empire grew to be the greateſt in India, through the decline and upon the fall of that of the Grand Mogul. Their dominions were vaſt, their reſources great, and their armies brave and numerous. Their conjunctive revenues were eſtimated at not leſs than ſeventeen millions ſterling, and their immenſe cavalry at three or four hundred thouſand. But this great power was weakened and rendered inert, by being portioned out among a number of princes. They all,

all, however, acknowledged a paramount ſovereignty in the Ram-Rajah; (who is ſuppoſed to have been the immediate deſcendant of Sevagi) but the degrees of ſubmiſſion ſeem to have been meaſured by time and circumſtance. The connection and dependence reſembled the feudal eſtabliſhments in Europe. Some of the ſtates grew too powerful, to admit of any farther ſervice than what ſuited their immediate intereſts; and others were apt to follow the example, who were leſs able to abide the poſſible conſequences of it.

A revolution in the court of the Ram-Rajah, tended much to weaken this connection, and to leſſen the reverence, as well as the dependance of the other ſtates. The weakneſs of a minority, enabled Nana Row, the prime miniſter, a man of abilities, and a Bramin, to ſeize the reins of government; and the influence of that powerful body of which he was a member, ſerved effectually to ſecure and eſtabliſh his authority. Such revolutions have at all times been ſo frequent in the eaſtern world, as to prevent their exciting any extraordinary degree of ſurprize. This revolution, contrary to the eſtabliſhed practice of moſt ages and nations, was unſtained by blood; but we are not to forget that it was conducted by Bramins. The uſurper was ſatisfied with the power, without aſſuming the titles or inſignia of ſovereignty. The infant Ram-Rajah was kept in a ſort of ſplendid confinement, ſurrounded with the appendages of eaſtern grandeur, but debarred of all power, and kept totally ignorant of buſineſs. It is not improbable that he might have conſidered as the proper life of a monarch, that ſtate of eaſe and inſignificance, which ſo many princes ſeem diſpoſed voluntarily to adopt. The ſeat of government was transferred from the antient royal reſidence of Sitterah, to Poonah; and Nana Row, as well as his ſucceſſors, ſeem ſtill to have acted under the ſuppoſed authority of the depoſed prince, by their aſſuming no other title or character than that of Paiſhwa, or prime miniſter. From this change, the empire of the Ram-Rajah has been diſtinguiſhed only by the appelation of the Paiſhwaſhip, or otherwiſe the government of Poonah, from the name of its preſent capital.

This extraordinary government of miniſters became hereditary, and was for a time ſo ably conducted, that the empire ſeemed to loſe nothing of its former power and ſplendour. But ambition having at length made its way into the family of the miniſters, and in deſpite of the ſtrict religious principles of their order, there producing its uſual baleful effects, internal diſſentions have ſince been the means of impeding the active exertions, and of reducing the power of the ſtate. Of all theſe evils, the opportunity which they afforded to the extraordinary aggrandizement of Hyder Ally, who from a ſoldier of fortune became the ſcourge or the terror of all that ſide of India, may be conſidered as far the greateſt.

Nana Row was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Madai, who dying, without iſſue, towards the end of the year 1772, the government, as it was now ſettled, of courſe de-

volved to his younger brother, Narrain Row. Their uncle, Ragonaut Row, otherwiſe known in this country by the name of Ragaboy, had for ſome years lain in cloſe confinement, for repeated plots to ſeize upon the government. Madai Row being aware of the youth and inexperience of his brother, and dreading the inſidious craft and intrigues of Ragonaut, though in confinement, thought that gratitude might operate more powerfully in reſtraining the effect of that factious and turbulent ſpirit than the walls of a priſon. He accordingly releaſed Ragonaut, placed him in an honourable ſituation in the government, and joining the hands of the uncle and nephew as he lay dying, adjured the former by every human and ſacred tie and authority, to aid the youth and inexperience of the latter, by his advice, aſſiſtance, and protection.

Ragonaut, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in him, procured, within leſs than a year, the aſſaſſination of his nephew; hoping to ſecure the Paiſhwaſhip in his own family, by the extinction of that brother's line whoſe abilities had rendered him its founder. The conſequences were in ſome degree ſuch as he merited. The acting powers of the ſtate, in his hands, along with his perſonal influence, and the weight of a faction which he headed, were all incapable of reſiſting that general indignation, which ſo execrable a deed excited among the Marattas. He with difficulty eſcaped the public vengeance, by abandoning his country, and flying for refuge to Bombay. The protection afforded to him, with the attempts made, and the continued intrigues and plots carried on, for forcing him into the government of a great people, in direct contradiction to their own will and liking, laid the foundation for all thoſe wars and troubles, which have ſince taken place between the Engliſh and the Marattas.

Notwithſtanding the loſſes ſuſtained from without, through their inteſtine diſſentions and domeſtic troubles, the Poonah Marattas are ſtill a great and powerful people; their dominions, including thoſe of the tributary and feudatory princes immediately depending on them, are of a wide extent; and they can bring numerous and powerful armies into the field. But theſe being compoſed almoſt entirely of cavalry, are neceſſarily ſubject to the defects, to which that powerful arm of military force is liable when employed ſingly; and being conſtituted on the ſame principles with the ancient feudal armies of Europe, they are likewiſe ſubject to all the diſadvantages of that ſyſtem. They ruſh eagerly into the field at the call of their reſpective chiefs, and ſweep every thing before them like a tempeſt in their progreſs; but it is the univerſal practice of the Marattas, as ſoon as the expedition is ended, to return home with the ſpoil; ſome bodies only excepted, which are peculiarly deſtined to attend the perſons of their princes. They may, however, be ſummoned again in a few days, and will aſſemble with the ſame alacrity as before. It may be eaſily ſeen, what great advantages this conſtitution of their armies, together with the want of infantry, muſt afford to the unceaſing efforts

of regular forces; while, on the other hand, the latter can ſcarcely hope to protect open countries from their ravages. The wars of the antient Parthians throw no ſmall light on the oppoſite advantages and diſadvantages in both caſes. The preſent uſe of artillery, however, inclines the ſcale heavily on the ſide of a mixed and regular force.

The Rajah of Berar ſtands next to the Poonah Marattas, with reſpect to power and extent of dominions; and is in fact too great and independant, to owe any farther acknowledgement to that court, than what his immediate intereſts dictate, and the remains of antient attachment might poſſibly excite. He has beſides claims to the ſucceſſion of that ſovereignty which tend ſtrongly to diſunion; he being lineally deſcended from the family of the Ram Rajah; and the depoſed elder line, as is apprehended, now extinct.

Sindia and Holkar, who are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from Hindoo kings of the higheſt antiquity, alſo poſſeſs very conſiderable and valuable territories.—Theſe princes have entered deeply into the late and preſent politics of the court of Poonah; and find it more flattering to their ambition, and more conducive to their ſecurity and intereſts, to participate in the general greatneſs of the empire, and to preſide at the head of that ariſtocracy, which, ſince the aſſaſſination of Narrain Row, guides all its councils, than by taking any advantage of its temporary weakneſs, to aim at a precarious independency, under the reſtrictions of a circumſcribed power in their own dominions. We have already ſhewn, that the numerous other Maratta ſtates are guided by circumſtance and occaſion, in their attachment to, or dependance on, the court of Poonah. Upon the whole, it does not appear that any general principle of union, excepting that of ſelf-defence, ſubſiſts at preſent among the Maratta ſtates; and it would therefore ſeem, that nothing leſs than ſome common danger reaching to the whole, could direct their united powers to any one point of action. Happy it is, to the European and Mahomedan intereſts in India, that the force of this vaſt and warlike empire is ſo divided.

It will here be neceſſary to take ſome notice of the ſituation in which the company ſtood for ſome years back, with reſpect to their other powerful and formidable neighbour Hyder Ally. When that bold and enterprizing prince brought the war, which had been commenced againſt him, to a fortunate iſſue in the year 1769; and when, in the height of ſucceſs, he perſonally dictated equitable terms of peace to the company at the gates of Madras, a treaty of friendſhip and alliance was then, in the firmeſt manner, concluded between the late contending parties. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that the contracting parties ſhould mutually aſſiſt each other, againſt any enemy that ſhould attack either; a clauſe evidently pointed againſt the Marattas, and undoubtedly ſo underſtood and verbally explained on both ſides, although any particular ſpecification of them in the written inſtrument was prudently omitted.

Hyder, with that ſagacity and foreſight which diſtinguiſhes his

character, determined to make an early diſcovery, of the degree of reliance and value, which was to be placed on the faith, and the friendſhip of his new ally. He accordingly, on the commencement of a war with the Marattas, which immediately after broke out, wrote a letter to the governor of Madras, requiring, that, conſiſtently with the friendſhip and regard ſubſiſting between them, and for the good appearance thereof in the eyes of the world, he would, for form ſake, ſend an officer with a battalion of ſeapoys to his aſſiſtance. A compliance with this requiſition was evaded, under the apprehenſion of a war with the Marattas, as another propoſition made by Hyder at the ſame time was, upon the ground of impropriety, in adopting a meaſure of conſequence without conſulting the other preſidencies.

Before the war had continued quite a year, the Marattas having broken upon different ſides into Hyder's dominions, and taken ſeveral of his forts, he wrote another letter to Madras in the beginning of March 1770, in which he ſtated, that in conſideration of the union between them, his army and artillery were their own; that notwithſtanding he had a right to conſider theirs in the ſame light, yet, if they would only ſend a ſmall force to join and act in concert with him, in order to maintain the appearance of connection, he would require no more. But, at the ſame time, the Britiſh agents in Hyder's camp informed the preſidency, that he was very earneſt in his deſire of a more effective aid than what he mentioned in his letter, and that he had commiſſioned them to acquaint the governor and council, that as he ſhould, on his part, punctually maintain the ſtrict friendſhip between them, he expected they would, in conformity thereto, ſupply him with a body of troops; and that he was even willing to pay a ſpecified ſum of money to defray the expence of their ſervice, in order to obviate any failure of the performance on their ſide. Theſe gentlemen, from themſelves remarked, that if this requiſition was not complied with, they much feared, that Hyder's former indiſpoſition to the company would again return.

Theſe applications produced no more effect at Madras than the former. The Marattas, under the conduct of Madai Row, ſo totally overpowered Hyder in this war, that his ruin was deemed inevitable. Unable to face them in the field, they were maſters of all the open country, and his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes were barely capable of affording refuge and protection to his troops. Thus ſhut up, and all cultivation at an end in his dominions, it ſeemed evident, that however excellently his magazines were provided, famine muſt ſoon accompliſh, what the want of infantry and a good artillery had hitherto prevented the Marattas from effecting.

In this ſtate of neceſſity and danger, Hyder, of courſe, made repeated applications to his new allies for the performance of their engagements; ſtating the advantages to be derived from their alliance with him, and ſtrongly urging the danger, if not ruin, to themſelves and to the whole peninſula, which the ſucceſs of the Marattas, in the accompliſhment

of their ambitious views upon him, would inevitably produce. Various pretences for a noncompliance with these requisitions were still found; and it appears upon the whole, that evasion and procrastination were the only principles of conduct adopted with respect to Hyder Ally at Madras. It is not impossible, that the influence which the Nabob of Arcot possessed in that presidency, and the inveterate personal animosity which he bore to Hyder Ally, might have had no small effect with respect to this conduct. It is certain, that the nabob at all times urged an alliance with the Marattas against Hyder.

The fortune of Hyder Ally at length triumphed over all his dangers and enemies. It seems probable, that the declining health of Madai Row contributed to save him from destruction; and that the anxious solicitude of that chief to leave his young brother Narrain in a state of foreign, as well as domestic, tranquillity, was what enabled Hyder to obtain a peace upon tolerable terms, and without the intervention of friend or ally, in the month of July 1772. The subsequent dissentions and troubles of the Marattas, together with the war in which they were unexpectedly involved with Bombay, afforded an opportunity to Hyder, not only to recover all the territories which he had given up by the peace, but greatly to increase his power and dominion by new conquests. It cannot be supposed, after that failure, if not breach of public engagement and faith, which Hyder had experienced in the hour of danger, that he could again look with friendship or cordiality to Madras. He was, however, too good a statesman to declare his sentiments wantonly; and still preserved a civil, but cool intercourse. In this state of things he naturally fell in with France, by whom he was liberally supplied with artillery, arms, ammunition, and all those military necessaries, which enabled him in a very short time to renew the war with so much success and advantage against the Marattas. That politic nation saw the infinite advantage that might be derived from his friendship in their future designs upon the Carnatic. Their officers were permitted, if not encouraged, to enter into his service; to train his armies, and to form a powerful artillery upon the European model. These opportunities of advantage were not lost upon him, who was indefatigable in the process and completion of that military system, which was to render him the most formidable prince in India.

As the conduct at Madras had thus sacrificed the friendship and alliance of Hyder Ally, so Bombay was no less successful in establishing the enmity of the Marattas. A man of Ragonaut Row's character could not be supposed slack in making any concessions, however dishonourable or ruinous to his country, which could tend to the restoration of his power. Bombay was dazzled by the splendid idea of naming a sovereign for the great nation of the Marattas; and nothing could be more flattering than the expectation of that sovereign's being their own immediate instrument and vassal. By the treaty with Ragonaut Row, besides

beſides other great advantages, ſuch an extent of territory was to be ceded to the company, as would at leaſt have rendered the government of Bombay equal to the ſupport of their own civil and military eſtabliſhment, without being any longer a conſtant drain to Bengal. Under the fever excited by theſe proſpects, Bombay entered haſtily into a war with the Marattas, without waiting for the counſel or approbation of the ſuperior preſidency at Calcutta.

The Marattas were already ſo much incenſed at the aſylum afforded to Ragonaut Row, and ſtill more at the aſſumed interference in their private and family diſputes, that they could not fail of an equal promptitude for the encounter. Sudden invaſion, however, gave great advantages to Bombay; and the operations of the war being in the beginning confined to the ſea coaſts, they derived no leſs from the prompt ſervice of their marine and artillery. The ſiege of Baroach was diſtinguiſhed by the fall of that brave and excellent officer, Col. Wedderburne; a loſs ſo ſeverely felt by the company, that it may well be queſtioned, whether the conqueſts made in the war were to be conſidered in any degree as an equivalent. The exceſſes committed on the taking of that rich city, tarniſhed the glory which the valour diſplayed by the troops would otherwiſe have merited. The iſland of Salſette, after a brave defence, was afterwards reduced, but with conſiderable loſs. The Bombay marine was highly diſtinguiſhed on this occaſion, and had a principal ſhare in the ſucceſs. Other acquiſitions were afterwards made on the continent; but the army, under the command of Col. Keating, extending its operations too far inland, was defeated by the Marattas.

Upon the new powers granted by parliament to the government of Bengal, and the arrival of the three gentlemen from England, in October 1774, who were to complete and give energy to the ſupreme council, a conſiderable change took place for ſome time in the affairs of India. The newly arrived gentlemen totally reprobated the Maratta war, as well as ſome others which had been lately conducted in other parts; and as totally condemned the conduct of Bombay, as well with reſpect to the nature of the meaſure, as to their adopting it without the participation or counſel of the preſidency of Calcutta. The treaty with Ragobah was not only condemned, but diſavowed; and Col. Upton was ſent acroſs the continent of India to Poonah, in order to negociate an honourable peace, and a renewal of friendſhip with the Marattas.

Col. Upton was five months on his journey to Poonah, during which he traverſed ſeveral of the interior countries of India, which had been hitherto untrodden by Europeans. We ſhould have obſerved, that the birth of a poſthumous ſon to Narrain Row, had fruſtrated the deſign of Ragonaut, in endeavouring to extinguiſh his brother's line. The infant was immediately declared Paiſhwa; and Saccarum Pundit, with Nana Furneſe, were appointed acting miniſters and regents, to conduct the public buſineſs in his name. In

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the mean time, the induſtry of the agents from Ragonaut and Bombay, operating upon the ambitious views, and perſonal jealouſies or diſſatisfactions of the grandees, kept the government in a conſtant ferment, and rendered languid, or entirely baffled, the neceſſary exertions againſt their foreign enemies.

Though the immediate reſentments of the Marattas, at firſt raiſed difficulties in Upton's negociation; yet, torn to pieces as they were by factions at home, and oppreſſed on all ſides by enemies abroad, he had the fortune to conclude a peace with them, on terms ſo honourable and advantageous to the company, as ſeems ſcarcely to be accounted for even by theſe circumſtances. The treaty of Poonah, otherwiſe called the Poorunder, was ratified on the firſt of March, 1776. By this treaty, the iſland of Salſette, with the territory of Baroach, and ſome other diſtricts in the Guzerat provinces, were not only ceded in perpetuity to the company, but the Marattas agreed to indemnify the authors of the war from its expences, by the payment of about 150,000l. at fixed terms; and for the ſecurity of which, lands to a much greater value were aſſigned in mortgage. They farther agreed to aſſign a fixed proviſion, ſuitable to his rank, and even pretenſions, but as a private member of the community, for the ſupport of Ragonaut Row; who was in return immediately to quit Bombay, and to fix his future reſidence in a remote part of the Maratta dominions, where diſtance and ſituation would be ſome bar to his interfering in the affairs of government. On the other hand, it was contracted on the ſide of the company, that no protection or aſſiſtance whatever ſhould in future be given, either to Ragonaut Row, or to any other ſubject or ſervant of the Maratta ſtate, who ſhould attempt to excite diſturbance or rebellion in their dominions.

After conceſſions ſo exceedingly advantageous and flattering to the company, and which evidently proceeded from a deſire of cementing friendſhip and good will, rather than from any abſolute weakneſs or diſtreſs, the Marattas ſeemed to have a right to expect peace, good faith, and good neighbourhood, at leaſt, in return.

But the affairs of India were doomed ſoon to undergo another change, and to aſſume a new aſpect. The three gentlemen who had arrived from England to fill up the ſuperintending government of Bengal, and who, along with the governor general, and another old member of that preſidency, compoſed the ſupreme council of India, differed almoſt entirely with the two latter, in their opinions relative to public conduct, and their ideas of the policy to be purſued by the company. Peace with the country powers, along with an inviolable obſervation of public faith, and a ſtrict attention to juſtice in all tranſactions with the natives, ſeemed to be the principles of their ſyſtem of government. Great heats aroſe, and frequent differences prevailed in the council, but the new members forming a majority, were for a time enabled to carry all queſtions. The death of Col. Monſon in 1776, and of Gen. Clavering in the following year, totally changed

changed this ſtate of affairs. New meaſures and new ſyſtems of policy were adopted, and the old exploded or done away, with a contempt and eagerneſs ſuited to the heats and vexatious altercations which they had formerly excited.

The negociation with the Marattas, and the conſequent treaty of Poonah, were entirely the work of the late majority in the ſupreme council; and had been conducted and carried into execution, contrary to the known, if not avowed ſenſe of the then minority. The public condemnation of the war enſered into by the preſidency of Bombay, the diſavowing of their treaty with Ragaboy, and the marked contempt ſhewn in concluding a peace without their participation or counſel, could not but greatly irritate that body; and ſerved to rivet them ſtill faſter in their attachment to that extraordinary ſyſtem which they were purſuing with Ragonaut, They accordingly contrived every poſſible obſtacle to the performance of the conditions of the treaty; and the ſimple act of proclaiming the peace was ſo managed, as to throw an affront upon the Maratta government.

The ſubſequent revolution which took place in the politics of the government of Bengal, coincided perfectly with the reſentments entertained by the preſidency of Bombay. They accordingly took up, with freſh ardour, their late degraded ſyſtem, of procuring a revolution in the Maratta ſtate; and war, intrigue, and conqueſt, became the predominant principles of the Bombay government. Ragonaut Row either was, or pretended to be, afraid to truſt his perſon in the hands of the Marattas. He was accordingly ſtill retained and protected at Bombay; whilſt his emiſſaries and partizans, under the immediate eye of the Britiſh reſidents at the court of Poonah, were indefatigable in their endeavours to foment diſſention in the Maratta government.

In the courſe of the year 1777, Monſ. St. Lubin, endeavoured to negociate a treaty on the part of France with the court of Poonah; as a Mr. Bolts did about the ſame time on that of the Emperor of Germany. Theſe circumſtances, particularly the former, afforded a new ground, which was eagerly occupied for the ſupport of Ragaboy, and the accompliſhment of the wiſhed-for revolution in the Maratta government. Towards the cloſe of the year, a diſcontented party at Poonah entered into ſome negociation with the Bombay reſidents at that court, for the advancement of Ragonaut to power. Their propoſals were eagerly embraced at Bombay; the agents were ordered to accede to them, to aſſure the malcontents of ſupport, and to bring the treaty with them to an immediate concluſion. At the ſame time, diſpatches were immediately forwarded to the ſupreme council at Calcutta, acquainting them with what had been determined, and requiring their acquieſcence and aſſiſtance, It appears from ſubſequent events, that the Britiſh agents were in ſeveral inſtances egregiouſly miſled by the adherents of Ragonaut, or whatever other perſons they communicated with at the court of Poonah; particularly

ticularly with reſpect to the ſuppoſed French alliance, the ſtate of parties, with the number and power of the malcontents; all of them matters of ſuch a nature, as demanded the niceſt enquiry, and the moſt exact information. But their intelligence being ſuch as was wiſhed, it was willingly credited at Bombay.

Jan. 29th. 1778. The ſupreme council greatly approved of, and immediately ratified, the meaſures adopted at Bombay. And to enable that preſidency effectually to carry the ſcheme into execution, ſent them an extraordinary ſupply of ten lacks of rupees; and reſolved to aſſiſt them with a military force. But the governor-general, previous to this intelligence, had drawn up and laid before the council a new treaty of peace, which he propoſed to be concluded with the Marattas; and was intended to ſupply the defects, which he attributed to the treaty of Poonah. By the conditions now propoſed, and which were to be laid down as the only terms that could preſerve peace to the Marattas, they were to give ſuch ſecurity for the perſonal ſafety of Ragonaut Row, as he himſelf ſhould require. —That they ſhould pay a ſpecific ſum of money to reimburſe the company thoſe military charges which might be incurred by the interpoſition in his favour.—That they ſhould cede the fortreſs and iſland of Baſſein in perpetuity to the company.—That they ſhould make other ſpecified grants and exchanges of lands on the continent.—And, that no European ſettlement be allowed on any of the maritime coaſts of the Maratta dominions, without the conſent of the ſupreme council previouſly obtained.

The arbitrary and imperious tone of theſe demands in general is ſufficiently obvious; but the laſt, ſeems to be an extraordinary condition, to be propoſed to a ſovereign and powerful ſtate. This propoſed plan of a treaty, as well as the meaſures adopted in ſupporting the deſigns of Bombay, were warmly oppoſed in the council, and were carried through by the governor-general's caſting voice only; which was for ſome time the caſe, with reſpect to all the meaſures purſued for a renewal of the Maratta war. A reſolution to the following purport was at firſt annexed to the conditions, but afterwards withdrawn:—That the propoſals ſhould be conveyed by letter to the Paiſhwa; that his anſwer be required, without condition or reſerve, to each article; and that this government ſhall take its final reſolution, to abide by the treaty, as it ſhall ſtand confirmed by his anſwer, or to conſider it as annulled and invalidated.

The ſuppoſed negociation at Poonah with Ragonaut Row's party paſſed away; nor is it at all clear, that there was any ſufficient ground for entertaining the idea. It was not a little curious, that the rage of war ſeemed to abate in Bombay, in proportion as it was amply endowed with the neceſſary means and authority. But if it ſlackened there, it appeared elſewhere in full vigour. Various ſchemes againſt the Marattas were agitated in the ſupreme council; but the grand object of policy, to which all the others were not only ſubordinate, but in ſome inſtances

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intended merely as blinds, was long reſerved, and not only kept back from the knowledge of the preſidency of Bombay, but from that of the ſupreme council in general.

New inſtructions were ſent to Bombay, containing peremptory demands to be made upon the Marattas; theſe were to ſupply the place of the conditions held out in the propoſed plan for a new treaty; the refuſal to comply with any one of them, was to be conſidered and declared as a direct violation of the treaty of Poonah; and they were accompanied with menaces, which, among all equal ſtates, would be regarded as tantamount to a declaration of war. In caſe of non-compliance on the ſide of the Court of Poonah, (which undoubtedly was expected) a wide diſcretionary power was given to the preſidency of Bombay, for entering into a new alliance with Ragonaut Row, and for engaging in ſuch meaſures with him, as ſhould appear moſt expedient for the retrieving of his affairs. They, however, received an intimation, that Ragonaut was to be regarded in a very ſecondary point of view, with reſpect to ſome great objects of policy, which were not explained.

Nothing could more ſtrongly ſhew the diſpoſition of the Court of Poonah, to adhere inviolably to the conditions of the late peace, and even to live upon terms of good neighbourhood and friendſhip with the company, than its ſubmitting ſo far with reſpect to the injurious apprehenſions of the public faith held out by Ragonaut, as to give up the point of his reſiding in the Maratta dominions; and further offering, that if he would reſide in Benares, under the Engliſh protection, and at that time the moſt delightful as well as the moſt learned city in India, but where from ſituation and diſtance he would be rendered incapable of miſchief, they would in that caſe pay an annuity of five lacks of rupees, amounting to about 60,000l. ſterling a year, in ready money, for his maintenance and ſupport during life. But this offer could operate nothing in reſtraining the ruling paſſion for war.

The ſupreme council formed the bold determination of ſending a ſtrong military force, with a conſiderable train of artillery, by land to Bombay; being nearly from one extremity of India to the other. In this courſe, they were not only to traverſe countries hitherto unexplored, and encounter difficulties of whoſe extent and nature no eſtimate could be formed, but the greater part, if not the whole of their way, lay through the Maratta countries, which they could not but expect to find hoſtile from ſuch a violation of territory, independant of the jealouſies already ſubſiſting, and of the ſuſpicions which muſt unavoidably be entertained; with reſpect to the objects of ſo extraordinary an undertaking.

This detachment ſet out under the conduct of Colonel Leſlie; and was ſtrengthened, beſides the artillery, by a regiment of cavalry under Colonel Goddard, and by 500 Candahar horſe, which were ſupplied by the vizir, ſon and ſucceſſor of Sujah Dowlah in that title, as well as in the Soubahſhip of Oude. The whole effective force,

force, officers included, was ſomething under 7000 men; but in the true ſtile of eaſtern armies, they were incumbered with ſuch a multitude of ſutlers, ſervants, and various retainers, that the camp, at the outſet, contained above 38,000 perſons.

This body began to move in the neighbourhood of Corah and Allahabad in the beginning of April, and arrived at the Jumna, which forms the Maratta boundary on that ſide, about the middle of May, 1778. They paſſed the river in boats, under the fire of their artillery, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Maratta ſtates in that quarter; and after a ſkirmiſh with the enemy's horſe on the other ſide, which they obliged, without much loſs, to diſperſe or retire, found the town and fort of Calpy totally abandoned, neither garriſon nor a ſingle inhabitant remaining.

They continued at Calpy to the beginning of June, and on the firſt day's march from thence, are ſaid to have loſt between three and four hundred men of all ſorts, who died raving mad, under the preſſure of the exceſſive heat, and the want of water. One of the beſt officers in the army loſt his life on that day, and ſeveral others only recovered, after experiencing long illneſs and great danger. If the Marattas could have foreſeen the unaccountable conduct that brought on this misfortune the whole army muſt have periſhed; but to their great ſurprize and infinite joy, they found the wells open, and the water plentiful and pure, at the place where they halted on the evening of this dreadful day.

They afterwards ſpent about three months in the Diamond country of Bundelchund, where they entered deeply into ſome diſputes relative to the ſucceſſion, which then prevailed in the family of the late Rajah. The nature and iſſue of theſe tranſactions are not, and probably never will be well underſtood. During this time, they ſurprized and ſacked, without any apparent warrantable cauſe, the city of Mow, which was under the protection of the Marattas. The reſiſtance was, however, ſo conſiderable, though the fortifications were out of all condition, and the attack made in the night, that public thanks were iſſued to the troops for their good conduct and bravery. Upon Leſlie's death, in the beginning of October, the command devolved upon Colonel Goddard; and whatever the nature of the ſervice had been, there were no leſs than a thouſand Sepoys at that time in the hoſpital.

We find by a letter from the Rajah of Berar to the governor general, that they were in a ſtate of continual hoſtility with the Maratta chiefs and the officers of the Paiſhwa, through the whole courſe of their progreſs; and that they levied great ſums of money in the countries through which they paſſed. That prince accuſes them in the ſame letter, of having loitered away their time in the Bundelchund countries, contrary to every principle of policy. It appears from other authorities, that they were attended by an agent of Ragonaut Row's, and that they levied contributions in the name of his maſter. This cannot but appear a little extraordinary, as every idea of intending to ſupport Ragonaut's

gonaut's pretenſions in any manner, was repeatedly and formally diſclaimed in Calcutta; and ſo far from avowing any hoſtile intentions with reſpect to the detachment, its object was held out to be merely the protection of Bombay againſt the deſigns of the French; and to which place, it was declared, they would take the direct courſe, pay for every thing they wanted, and obſerve the ſtricteſt order and diſcipline in their march through the Maratta countries.

The detachment was ſent out under the orders of the preſidency of Bombay, which they were inſtructed to obey in all caſes relative to their march, proceedings, and final deſtination. But the counſels there were ſo various and fluctuating, and the inſtructions ſo contradictory, that the commanders derived from that ſtate of uncertainty, a latitude of acting as circumſtances might invite, or opinion dictate. On one day their march was countermanded, and the ſolid reaſons aſſigned, of its difficulty, the inevitable dangers to which they would be expoſed, and the prodigious expence with which its proſecution muſt be attended. In a few days, again, they were directed to proceed, without any cauſe being aſſigned for this change of ſentiment and inſtruction. The ſame uncertainty prevailed with reſpect to their courſe; Poonah, Bombay and Surat, being at different times held out as the objects of their deſtination.

In the mean time the governor general brought forward that grand ſyſtem of policy which had hitherto been reſerved, and which undoubtedly was the main, if not the only motive, for the Bombay expedition. This was no leſs than a ſcheme for entering into a treaty offenſive and defenſive, and in all reſpects of the moſt comprehenſive nature, with Moodajee Booſla, the Rajah of Berar; to engage that prince to enforce his claims to the throne of the Ram-Rajah, which was now ſaid to be entirely vacant, by the death of the confined prince without iſſue; to apply the whole force of the company to his eſtabliſhment in the Maratta empire; and farther to ſupport him in his claims upon the Nizam of the Decan.

This bold and comprehenſive ſcheme was, however, warmly conteſted, on various grounds, by the minority in the ſupreme council. Of theſe were the following. —Its being directly contrary to the inſtructions ſent from England, for fully confirming the treaty of Poonah, and for inviolably adhering to its conditions. As militating againſt the repeated inſtructions of the company, to avoid being drawn, by any means, into the family ſquabbles or political contentions of the native powers. The immenſe waſte of treaſure with which the project muſt neceſſarily be attended; and the critical nature of the ſeaſon when this waſte, to which no preſent eſtimate could aſſign any other limits than the total exhauſture of the reſources, would take place; a ſeaſon every where pregnant with danger; under the immediate preſſure of a French war; and the affairs of Europe bearing ſuch a general aſpect, as fully indicated the propriety, if not neceſſity, of preſerving the Britiſh force and

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reſources in India whole, unimpaired, and in condition to encounter any unforeſeen dangers that might ariſe, or to profit of any favourable circumſtances which might poſſibly occur. But they obſerved, that independent of theſe greater objects, the mere ſituation of the company's private affairs at home, would at this time preſcribe the ſtricteſt œconomy; their charter was now nearly expired, and it could not be doubted, as affairs ſtood in England, but that a large ſum of money would be required for its renewal.

They further ſtated, that a project which, from its nature, was evidently capable of convulſing the whole continent of India to its utmoſt extremity, could not, in any ſtate of things, or from whatever quarter it originated, but be exceedingly prejudicial in its progreſs, and highly dangerous in the iſſue, to the intereſts of the company. They ſtrongly urged the breach of faith and injuſtice, as well as the diſlike and evil repute which they muſt neceſſarily create, of our entering into ſo unwarrantable a ſcheme of hoſtility, againſt our antient friend and ally the Nizam of the Decan. They repreſented, that beſides being otherwiſe powerful, he was by far the richeſt prince in India; that by this meaſure, he muſt, in an inſtant, be converted from a friend to a moſt bitter and implacable enemy. That he abominated Ragonaut Row, had been long in variance with the Berar Rajah, was ſtrongly attached to the Poonah government, and united in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Hyder Ally. That his firſt meaſure undoubtedly would be, to cure the inveterate animoſities which have ſo long ſubſiſted between theſe two rival ſtates; a meaſure dictated to themſelves by its neceſſity. That the inevitable conſequence would be, a ſtrict league and confederacy between thoſe three formidable powers, for puniſhing the pride, and pulling down the dangerous power of the company. That if this great and formidable confederacy, ſhould by any fortune prove totally unequal to its object; even in that caſe, highly improbable as it was, the ſucceſs of the company's arms would only ſerve to precipitate affairs into a ſtill more ruinous and dangerous ſtate. That a remote and doubtful danger would be readily hazarded, to eſcape that which was certain and immediate. And, that however contrary to their preſent policy and diſpoſition, jealous as they already are, and with reaſon, of that power and of all other Europeans, and however contrary to their intereſts in any other ſtate of things, they would, notwithſtanding, of neceſſity, call in France, upon ſuch terms of advantage as ſhe choſe at preſent to require, to their aſſiſtance; and all the ſtates of India, whither Hindoo or Mahomedan, would join with her in exterminating a nation, whoſe boundleſs ambition, and extravagant ſchemes of domination and conqueſt, went to the overthrow and deſtruction of all others.

Theſe arguments and opinions were oppoſed and overruled, upon the idea of the infinite preſent and future benefits which would accrue to the company, from the placing Moodajee Boſſla at the head of the Maratta empire; as well as the facility with which that buſineſs might

might be accompliſhed. Inſtead of furthering, it would afford the ſure means of totally defeating the views of France. That reſtleſs and ambitious nation were negociating, and had probably already concluded a treaty with the Marattas. The preſent government of Poonah was entirely in their intereſts; and it was reported that the Port of Choul, and perhaps other ſettlements of great advantage, would be granted to them. This was the time to counteract the views, and to prevent the effects of an alliance, which from its nature muſt prove ſo fatal if firmly eſtabliſhed. The Marattas were now divided at home; the miniſters holding their power only at the will of a faction; the dependent ſtates diſſatisfied with their government, and conſequently eager for any change or revolution; while their armies were engaged and overborne in the unequal conteſt with Hyder Ally. On the other hand, the Berar Rajah was great in power, and his force freſh and unimpaired; and as to Hyder Ally, no doubt could be entertained, but that inſtead of joining againſt us, he would to his utmoſt aſſiſt in placing Moodajee Booſla on the throne of the Ram-Rajah. As to recalling the troops, it would now be ſcandalous; would degrade the company, and render its councils and military force contemptible in the eyes of all India. And, with reſpect to the Nizam of the Decan, it was inſiſted, that his views and conduct had for ſome time borne an aſpect unfavourable to the intereſts of the company, and which indicated much more a diſpoſition to hoſtility, whenever a fair opportunity offered, than to friendſhip.

In purſuance of this project, which was carried by the caſting voice, againſt the ſtrenuous oppoſition of two members of the ſupreme council; Mr. Elliot was appointed on an embaſſy to Naigpoor, the ſeat of the Berar Rajah, and furniſhed with the neceſſary powers and inſtructions, to negociate and conclude the treaty with that prince; and in conſequence of which, Ragonaut Row was to be entirely laid aſide. At the ſame time orders were ſent to Leſlie, that inſtead of purſuing the direct way through the great province of Malva, which ſeemed at firſt to have been intended, he ſhould bend his courſe towards the dominions of Berar, with a view of ſupporting the negociation, and of carrying into execution the purpoſes of the treaty. July 18th. 1778.

Whilſt theſe meaſures were in agitation and purſuit at Calcutta, the Marattas having refuſed to comply with the conditions which were propoſed from Bombay, that preſidency declared the treaty of Poonah violated, and to be no longer binding on the company; and at the ſame paſſed reſolutions, to accept the offers of thoſe chiefs who were in the intereſt of Ragonaut Row, and accordingly to accompany the latter with an army to Poonah, in the beginning of the following month of September. At the ſame time, they directed Colonel Leſlie to proceed in a direct courſe with the detachment to Poonah, inſtead of the route thro' the Guzerat, to Baroach or Surat, which ſeemed to have been predetermined.

Theſe advices were received at Calcutta about the middle of Auguſt;

guſt; and it ſeems a moſt ſingular circumſtance, that thoſe determinations at Bombay, which went ſo directly to operate againſt the conditions and tendency of the new treaty propoſed with Moodajee Booſla, were ſo far from being countermanded, that they met with full approbation. In the mean time, Colonel Leſlie ſhewed no great diſpoſition to attend to any orders which urged his departure from the Bundelchund country. His unaccountable delay in that country, as well as the unwarranted hoſtilities which he was charged with committing, had ſeveral times been brought up as objects of cenſure by the minority in the ſupreme council.

Oct. 3d. His death, which we have already noticed, put an end to all attemps at farther enquiry; and prevented his diſmiſſion from the command of the army, which had been at length determined.

The death of Mr. Elliot, on his way to the court of the Berar Rajah, which happened ſomething ſooner, threw an unexpected delay and embarraſſment in the way of that negociation. The buſineſs, in conſequence of that check, lay dormant for ſome time, and ſeemed apparently to have been given up. It was, however, again revived, when it was determined, that Colonel, ſince General Goddard, who ſucceeded Leſlie in the command of the detachment, ſhould be furniſhed with the ſame powers which had been communicated to Mr. Elliot, and ſhould accordingly proceed in conducting the negociation. The authority given to Bombay to direct the courſe and point out the objects of the detachment, was upon that account revoked, and General Goddard ordered to make his way to the Nerbudda, which forms the northern boundary of the Berar Rajah's dominions.

In the mean time, Bombay ſeemed ruſhing with rather too much impetuoſity into the Maratta war; and was ſo confident in its ſucceſs, that inſtead of propoſing to wait for, or regretting the delay of Goddard's detachment, they appeared apprehenſive that any other ſhould partake in the glory and advantages of the revolution. Neither did they ſeem provided with all the information, which could either warrant an undertaking of ſuch danger and magnitude, or afford the guidance neceſſary to its direction when undertaken. They were not only miſled with reſpect to the number and power of Ragonaut Row's adherents; they were equally miſinformed with reſpect to the ſtate and ſituation of the Maratta armies; which it ſeems they underſtood, to be totally engaged, at a great diſtance on the Kriſtna, in the loſing war with Hyder Ally. It was likewiſe reported, and ſeems to have been credited, that the Bombay army would be joined on the borders, by 20,000 horſe under Ragonaut's partizans. Thus the expedition to Poonah was rather conſidered as a ſort of holiday adventure, than a matter of difficulty and danger.

Though expedition ſeems to conſtitute the ſoul of ſuch an enterprize, the movements of the Bombay army were unaccountably ſlow. In a few days after the army paſſed over to the continent, Captain Stuart was detached with

a ſelect party of 600 grenadier Seapoys, to take poſſeſſion of the Bour Ghaut, a paſs through the mountains of the utmoſt importance, and which opened the way directly to Poonah; that capital being within leſs than 50 miles of the paſs. This ſervice was performed without oppoſition, and Stuart continued to fortify the paſs for a full month, without any reinforcement, and without his meeting the ſmalleſt interruption. It ſeems probable, that the motive of this delay was to afford time to Ragonaut's partizans to aſſemble, and to join him in force on the frontier. If this was the object in view, it afforded a miſerable deception; not a ſingle hand was raiſed for Ragonaut, nor did a Maratta of conſequence appear in his favour, from the outſet to the end of the expedition.

Nov. 25th.

The Bombay regular force amounted to about 4000 men, (of which 700 were ſaid to be Europeans) with a powerful train of artillery. Ragonaut Row commanded a ſeparate diviſion, of two regiments of Seapoys, and about 600 horſe, compoſed of his own followers. The army was encumbered with an enormous baggage, and ſuch a number of carriages and cattle, as were totally inconſiſtent with the nature of the ſervice and ſhortneſs of the diſtance. The military maxims of the Eaſt were never held in any eſtimation among warlike nations; but it would ſeem from this inſtance, and that of the Bengal detachment, as if the Engliſh were falling into one of their moſt inveterate and ruinous vices.

The nominal command of the Bombay army lay in Col. Egerton; but the ſelect committee appointed the ſecond in council, and another gentleman, as their deputies, to ſuperintend the operations of the army in the field; inveſting civilians with powers as incompatible with their own ſituation and knowledge, as with military ſubordination and ſervice. Theſe two gentlemen, with Col. Egerton, compoſed what was called the Poonah committee.

On new year's day, 1779, the whole army began their march from Condola, the firſt village on the Poonah ſide of the paſs, and ſoon found the Marattas hanging on all ſides, who impeded their progreſs by a cannonade, and diſtant attack with rockets, through the courſe of the day. Col. Cay was mortally wounded in this outſet of the buſineſs. The ſame ſort of cannonade and interruption was repeated through every day's march, from nine in the morning till three in the afternoon, which we ſuppoſe was the time that the troops were in motion; the Marattas cautiouſly abſtaining from coming within reach of the ſmall arms; and the loſs varying according to circumſtances. Thus conſtantly harraſſed, the army could only advance at the rate of from three to four miles a day. On the 4th of January, Capt. Stuart, a brave officer, who commanded the ſelect body of grenadiers, was killed by a cannon ball, which obliged the army to halt at a village called Chockley.

In a few days, on their arrival at Tullicanoon, a beautiful village adorned with noble buildings, (which was, however, burnt on their

their approach) and only about 20 miles ſhort of Poonah, they found their difficulties and dangers multiplied in ſuch a degree, as put an end to all hope of farther progreſs. They were already ſo completely ſurrounded, that every kind of ſupply, and all intercourſe with the country were entirely cut off. The enemy had been every hour increaſing in force from the time of their quitting the Gant, and it was now become tremendous. The Marattas themſelves ſay it amounted to near 60,000 horſe. Upon their arrival at the ſmoaking ruins of that fine village, they were cloſely attacked, with a determined vigour and confidence which they had not before experienced. In this ſkirmiſh the enemy acknowledged the loſs of 200 men; and ſaid that on the Britiſh ſide 25 Europeans, and 100 Seapoys fell.

In this ſtate of things, Jan. 11th, 1779. the two remaining members of the committee (one of them being at this time either dead or irrecoverably ill) determined upon a retreat in the night, hoping to ſave the army, by regaining the Gaut, or Mountain Paſs. The profligate and abandoned Ragonaut Row, endeavoured to profit of this deplorable ſituation, and to purchaſe perſonal ſecurity, and peace with his country, at the price of betraying his allies to deſtruction. He is ſaid to have made the overture to Sindia, who ſeems to have been the principal Maratta commander; and that he not only informed him of the deſign, the hour of departure, and the order of march, but that he promiſed to fall upon them with his own forces in the hurry and confuſion of the attack. This charge upon Ragonaut is not made by the Engliſh; but comes from a quarter which had much better means of information, and was not ſo liable to taciturnity upon that particular ſubject. At any rate, it can offer no injury to Ragonaut; the abhorrence in which he has been conſtantly held by all the princes of India, as well as by his own country, marks his character too ſtrongly to admit of any additional colouring.

The line of march on the retreat being altered, and Ragonaut with his forces placed in a new poſition, it was ſuppoſed, that the Engliſh commanders had received ſome intelligence of his treachery. However that was, their rear was attacked before it had well got off the ground, ſoon after one in the morning; and by day-break the whole army found itſelf ſurrounded, and furiouſly aſſaulted on all ſides. The engagement continued till four o'clock in the afternoon, with ſcarcely any ceſſation on either ſide; and was then only terminated through extreme heat and wearineſs. The cannonade during the whole time was tremendous on both ſides. Nothing could exceed the bravery and firmneſs diſplayed by the company's troops, Seapoys as well as Europeans, during this long and ſevere conflict. The Britiſh artillery were admirably ſerved; and the furious attacks repeatedly made by the Maratta horſe to charge the line ſword in hand, were conſtantly repelled with great loſs, by the well timed and well placed diſcharge of their grape ſhot; which was, however, accompanied and ſupported by an

uniform and ſevere fire of muſquetry. Captain Hartley, who commanded that diviſion of the army which was moſt ſeverely preſſed, was highly and particularly diſtinguiſhed by his conduct on this day.

The native accounts ſtate the loſs on the Britiſh ſide in this action, at 150 Europeans, and 800 Seapoys; but the loſs ſeems to be much exaggerated. The Marattas ſurrounded the camp during the night, and kept patrolles conſtantly in motion, to prevent even the poſſibility of eſcape. Being now ſecure of their prey, they were contented with a cannonade, without attempting any cloſe attack on the following day. It was returned by the encloſed army, until the afternoon, when the firing on the Engliſh ſide ceaſed. A flag of truce being ſent out, the Marattas likewiſe ceaſed firing. The requeſt which accompanied it, requiring that hoſtilities might ceaſe for a given time, until propoſals could be made for an accommodation, was as freely complied with. The Maratta generals, however, remitted no part of their watchful care, in guarding all the avenues from the camp during the night.

Two gentlemen were deputed by the committee in the morning to conſer with the Maratta chiefs. The only account which we have ſeen or heard of the conference, is given in a letter ſent at the time to the Nabob of Arcot, from his envoy at the court of Poonah, and which ſtates it in the following manner. That the deputy having firſt declared (it is to be ſuppoſed in the name of the company) that they were only merchants, then proceeded to ſtate, that Ragonaut Row had come to them and demanded their protection. That they thought he had a right to the government, and gave him their aſſiſtance. That nothing but ill fortune attended him, and they had been brought to their preſent miſerable ſtate by keeping him with them. The Marattas were now maſters, and might take him from them.—That they ſhould henceforth adhere to the treaties eſtabliſhed between both nations; and requeſted that what had happened might be forgiven.

The Maratta miniſter anſwered, Ragonaut Row is one of us:—What right could you have to interfere in our concerns with him? He then laid down the following terms: that they ſhould reſtore Salſette, Baroach, and whatever elſe had been taken from the Marattas in the late war. That they ſhould adhere to the treaty concluded with Balajee Row in the year 1761; and that they ſhould require nothing farther.

The deputies went back with this anſwer, and did not return until the following day at noon; it is not clear, whether hoſtilities were, or were not recommenced during the interval. They informed Sindia that they had brought a blank paper, ſigned and ſealed by the committee and principal military officers, which the Maratta chiefs were to fill up as they pleaſed. Sindia, with equal moderation and wiſdom, (for the wiſdom and policy of the meaſure are not to be judged of from the event in this particular inſtance) adviſed the Maratta council not to take any unreaſonable ad-

advantage of their own power, and of the diſtreſs and neceſſity, which compelled the Engliſh to ſubmit to any terms they choſe to preſcribe; "For," ſaid he, "our making "large demands would only ſow "reſentment in their hearts, and "we had better demand only "what is neceſſary. Let Ragonaut Row be with us, and the "treaty between us and the Engliſh will be adhered to."

The treaty was accordingly concluded, upon the immediate condition of giving up Ragonaut Row, and the future one of reſtoring all the late conqueſts.—The former treaty with Balajee Row, to ſupply the place of the late Poorunder, and to be firmly adhered to by both parties. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the Bengal army ſhould return; but it has been ſince ſaid, that the committee declared, that their preſidency had no authority which could reach to bind the ſupreme council, with reſpect to the diſpoſal of their forces. All theſe terms were ſufficiently favourable; but they were clogged with the diſgraceful condition, that Mr. Farmer and another gentleman ſhould remain as hoſtages, until the treaty was ratified at Bombay, and the iſland of Salſette, with the other conquered countries reſtored.

The treaty being returned perfected to the Maratta camp, the articles written in the Engliſh, Perſian, and Maratta languages, the whole confirmed by the company's ſeal, and ſigned as we before obſerved, the late enemy ſent an immediate ſupply of proviſions to the Bombay army; through the want of which (our account ſays) they were reduced to the laſt ſtate of diſtreſs. A body of Maratta horſe conducted them back to the ſea ſhore, and ſaw them on board the boats which re-conveyed them to Bombay.

CHAP. II.

Situation and conduct of Moodajee Booſla, the Rajah of Berar. Gen. Goddard paſſes the Nerbudda with the army, who are liberally ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries in the dominions of Berar. Negociation with the Rajah, who refuſes to accede to the conditions held out by the propoſed treaty. Goddard ſets out on his march for Poonah; receives contradictory inſtructions on the way, from the committee appointed to ſuperintend the Bombay army; is met by a miniſter from the court of Poonah, who deſires his return with the army to Bengal, in purſuance of the treaty of Worgaum: Goddard refuſes to comply, and directs his courſe to Surat. Preſidency of Bombay diſavow the treaty of Worgaum, and thereby expoſe the hoſtages to great apparent danger. New ſchemes adopted for a revolution in the Maratta government. Supreme council confirm the conduct of Bombay in diſavowing the convention of Worgaum; but empower Goddard to negociate a treaty upon other terms with the Marattas. Great preparations at the ſame time made for war, and a renewal of the negociation with Moodajee Booſla determined. Strong complaints made by the court of Poonah, of the faithleſs conduct of the company. Ragobah eſcapes from the cuſtody of the Marattas, and flies for refuge to Goddard's camp; which increaſes the difficulties of the negociation with the

former. Various cauſes which led to the confederacy of the great princes of India for the extermination of the Engliſh. Marattas break off the negociation with Goddard, and conclude a peace and alliance with Hyder Ally. Treaty of alliance concluded by the ſupreme council with the Ranna of Ghod. Gen. Goddard concludes a treaty with Futty Sing; takes Ahmedabad, the capital of the Guzerat, by ſtorm, and reduces the whole province. Sindia and Holkar arrive with a Maratta army. Sindia reſtores the gentlemen who were given as hoſtages at Worgaum. Propoſals by Sindia for an accommodation rejected. Gen. Goddard attacks and defeats the Maratta army. Capt. Campbell repulſes Sindia, and preſerves his convoy. Lieut. Walſh ſurprizes and defeats a large body of Marattas. Another large body defeated by Major Forbes. Major Popham's ſucceſſes on the ſide of Bengal; drives the Marattas out of the country of Ghod; and ſurpriſes the fortreſs of Gualier, which had always been deemed impregnable. State of affairs in the Carnatic. Treaty with Bazalet Jung for the Guntoor Circar, with other tranſactions, which led to great jealouſy, diſlike, and ill-will, on the ſide of the Nizam of the Decan, and of Hyder Ally.

AS we have ſeen the unfortunate iſſue of the Bombay expedition in favour of Ragoba, it will now be neceſſary to take ſome notice of the reſult of that greater and more comprehenſive part of the ſyſtem, which had been formed for the overthrow of the preſent Maratta government, and the eſtabliſhment, in a great meaſure, of a new arrangement of power and policy in India. Moodajee Booſla, the Berar Rajah, from whatever motives it might ariſe, ſeems to have been very favourably diſpoſed to the Britiſh intereſts; at leaſt it is evident, that he was willing to enter into any conditions of mutual convenience and good neighbourhood, which could tend to ſtrengthen and render permanent a friendly connection. The Rajah's dominions were too remote, and too ſecurely locked in from all maritime enterprize, to render him in any great degree apprehenſive of the company's power; and the ſame cauſes, with others, prevented almoſt all commerce between his ſubjects and theirs. He, however, poſſeſſed a claim, which, if he had been diſpoſed to enforce it, muſt have afforded continual room for angry diſcuſſion; this was the demand on Bengal of the chout, or annual Maratta tribute, which had been long paid by that kingdom, and to which, if at all allowable, he ſeemed entitled; but this claim had lain ſo long dormant, as to be now ſcarcely thought of; and could only be revived by ſome unexpected and extraordinary change of circumſtances.

As the conduct and diſpoſition of princes are uſually attributed to political motives, this attachment of the Rajah to the company muſt be ſought for in other cauſes than we have yet ſeen. It is ſaid, that he formerly had in contemplation ſome deſign of enforcing his claim to the throne of the Ram Rajah, in the proſecution of which, the ſupport, or even the countenance of the company, would have been an object of no ſmall conſideration and import. The friendly intercourſe

courſe thus commenced, might well have been continued and improved, although, from the apparent impracticability of the deſign, and the Rajah's ſubſequent connections with the court of Poonah, the idea from which it originated had been long laid aſide. The Berar Rajah might alſo, in a general political view, have conſidered the company as highly uſeful, in contributing to ſupport ſome tolerable ballance of power between the native princes of India; and, as in a late particular inſtance, he had himſelf been overmatched, worſted, and loſt a conſiderable portion of territory, in his war with the Nizam of the Decan, he perhaps hoped that their friendſhip and alliance would be a means of preventing future injury or loſs.

But it was long and late before the Berar Rajah was admitted into the myſtery of that new ſyſtem of policy which was in contemplation at Calcutta, and in which he was intended to hold ſo great and conſpicuous a part. Repeated hints had indeed been thrown out, both to his reſident at Calcutta, and in letters to his prime miniſter, that a treaty of the firſt importance, and fraught with the greateſt mutual advantages, was in view, and would ſoon be diſcloſed to him. This intelligence being entirely ſuited to his own wiſhes, could not but afford the greateſt ſatisfaction; and he accordingly expreſſed no ſmall regret at the death of Mr. Elliot; the miniſter, who we have ſeen, had been appointed to negociate and conclude the buſineſs at his court.

In the mean time, he uſed the moſt friendly and unremitting endeavours, to prevent or to compromiſe the differences, between the court of Poonah and Calcutta. His central ſituation, his intimate connections with one, his friendly correſpondence with the other, and his good wiſhes to both, rendered him the natural mediator between the parties; and it is but juſtice to ſay, that he was indefatigable in his endeavours to diſcharge the duties of that office. He was equally induſtrious at Poonah and at Calcutta, in explaining the meaſures, conduct, and views of the oppoſite ſide, and in reſtraining or curing the jealouſies riſing on both. As the apprehenſion of a French alliance was the great object of complaint and alarm held out at Calcutta, his repreſentations at the court of Poonah were ſo effectual, as to procure the abrupt diſmiſſion of the Chevalier de St. Lubin; and this ſatisfaction, as the Maratta miniſters aſſert, was given in ſo clear and complete a manner, that he was ſent away without hearing or receiving his propoſals.

On the other hand, he was no leſs urgent, though leſs ſucceſsful at Calcutta, in remonſtrating on the impropriety, evil conſequences, and ultimate danger of Leſlie's expedition. He ſtrongly ſtated, that excluſive of the effects which it muſt unavoidably produce at Poonah, it was a meaſure of ſuch a nature, as could not fail to diſguſt and alarm all the princes of India. It was not only without example, but it was contrary to all treaties, and a direct violation of all the rights of ſovereignty. Every prince, through whoſe territories the army paſſed, muſt reſent, ſo far as he was able, ſuch a fla-

a flagrant outrage. He ſtated the numberleſs difficulties of every kind which they were to encounter: the unknown countries they were to explore, the difficulty of procuring proviſion in the midſt of hoſtility, with the impracticable roads and the dangerous paſſes and defiles, through which they muſt attempt their way.

The inattention paid to the Rajah's counſel and opinion, did not produce any remiſſion of his kindneſs and good offices. Two of his principal officers had long been in waiting on the banks of the Nerbudda, with ample ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries, as well for its future ſupport, as for the immediate relief of the Bombay army on its arrival. His zeal went ſo far, as to lead him to diſcloſe the preparations making by the court of Poonah for cutting off the detachment, even to the number of the troops and the names of the leaders, which were in different quarters aſſembling, and appointed for that purpoſe. When the army were arrived in the dominions of Berar, that prince, after ſpecifically pointing out the dangers to which they would be expoſed, and the enemies they had to encounter, then regretted, with much apparent ſenſibility, that he did not, however, think, they could at that time return, without diſgrace to the company's arms and councils; and thence concluded, that it was better they ſhould at all hazards proceed. But, at the ſame time, ſtill attentive to the preſervation of the troops, he pointed out the neareſt line of march for them to the Guzerat, as the means of evading the impending dangers.

It was evidently in his power to have ſacrificed the detachment, without riſque or difficulty, to the views of the Nizam and the Court of Poonah; and no conditions or advantages could by them have been thought too great for ſuch a ſervice. Yet, although he was himſelf equally diſguſted and alarmed, at the deſigns and objects of the new league, which were then unveiled to him, his fidelity continued unſhaken; and inſtead of detaining the detachment under apparent circumſtances of the greateſt danger, he advanced money, upon bills from Calcutta, to enable them to proſecute the march, when it could not otherwiſe have been remitted in any time equal to the exigency. This conduct does not belie the aſſertion, which was thrown out upon a ſubſequent occaſion, by one of the Berar Rajah's miniſters, "That the family "of Booſla had never yet depart-"ed a hair's breadth from their "public or private faith."

But with theſe good diſpoſitions and qualities in other reſpects, the Berar Rajah was exceedingly ill calculated for the high part which was allotted to him in the new ſyſtem of policy. It perhaps requires little leſs greatneſs of mind, to comprehend and adopt, than to conceive and frame, vaſt and daring deſigns. Moodajee Booſla was old and timid; and had no more diſpoſition to break in upon the tranquility of his neighbours, than to hazard his own ſecurity. Inſtead of being faſcinated by the glorious views of victory, conqueſt and empire, he was ſtruck with horror at the means by which they were to be attained. He ſeems to have been biaſſed by ideas, which cannot but appear ſtrange and extraordinary in a Maratta; and his long

long letters upon the ſubject, may be conſidered as little leſs than lectures upon political morality.

Colonel Goddard, who departed from the Bundelchund country on the 12th of October, 1778, was, during a march of about ſeven weeks to the Nerbudda, almoſt continually harraſſed, his ſupplies cut off, and his progreſs interrupted, by a body of Maratta horſe under Ballagee Pundit. It however appears, that the army in this courſe, paſſed through defiles, buried in the woods and mountains, of ſuch length, difficulty and danger, that a handful of men, might have ſtopped the progreſs of an army, and a moderate, well conducted force have ſhut it up entirely. Fortunately, the advantages to be derived from ſuch circumſtances of ſituation, were not within the compaſs of the enemy's ſkill.

The army arrived on the northern banks of the Nerbudda, fatigued, exhauſted, their carriages broken, their draught cattle worn down, and in want of all manner of ſupplies, on the laſt of November; and paſſed over to Huſſinabad, in the Berar dominions, on the following day, where all their wants were amply ſupplied. Colonel Goddard, with the army, continued at Huſſinabad, until near the middle of the following January; he immediately ſending an agent to Naigpore, the Rajah's capital, in order to negociate the propoſed alliance. Notwithſtanding the friendſhip ſhewn by Moodajee Booſla, he was by no means diſpoſed to admit of their advancing, under any pretence, into the interior parts of his dominions; and he ſhewed no ſmall jealouſy at ſome intimations that were given, of their good diſpoſition to the protection of his capital againſt any poſſible conſequences of the propoſed alliance.

The reſult of the negociation was, that the Court of Berar abſolutely refuſed concluding any alliance, or entering into any conditions, which tended to hoſtility, either with the Paiſhwa, or the Soubah of the Decan. They repreſented the breach of friendſhip, violation of faith, treachery, and poſitive perjury, which, on their ſide, would attend the former; and they conſidered as not a great deal leſs heinous, the unjuſtifiable violation of a treaty of peace ſolemnly ratified with the Nizam. They likewiſe totally condemned the ſcheme with reſpect to its policy, as being raſh, immature, haſtily formed, highly dangerous, and as impracticable as it was unjuſt.

Moodajee Booſla himſelf entered into much reaſoning upon the ſubject, both in writing and otherwiſe. It ſeemed as if he wiſhed to ſoften the refuſal, by ſtating the impracticability of the deſign; ſhewing the total incompetency of his own forces joined with the Engliſh, to oppoſe the powerful and numerous enemies which it was intended to provoke; and the inevitable ruin to himſelf and his country, which muſt neceſſarily attend his engaging in the meaſure. He ſeems every where to treat the ſcheme as a matter haſtily taken up and adopted, without deliberation, judgment, or a due attention to means or conſequences.

It was in this ſtate of things, that the Berar Rajah received intelligence, of the landing of the Bombay army on the continent,

with

with a view of conducting Ragonaut to Poonah, and placing him by force of arms in the Paiſhwaſhip. The impreſſions which this intelligence made upon his mind can only be ſuppoſed. It certainly could not excite very favourable ideas with reſpect to the rectitude of the company's conduct and views, any more than to the faith or honour of the nation. However ruinous and diſgraceful the Bombay expedition was in itſelf, it undoubtedly proved the means of preſerving Goddard's detachment; the large forces which were aſſembled in different quarters to intercept their paſſage, being, in the firſt inſtance, neceſſarily called off to encounter the nearer danger; and the treaty or convention of Worgaum, having afterwards lulled the Court of Poonah into a ſecurity, which excluded all ideas of farther hoſtility.

The negociation with the Rajah having thus failed, Colonel Goddard began his march from Huſſinabad for Poonah. But he had not advanced many days, when he received a letter from the Poonah committee, being thoſe field deputies who, we have ſeen, conducted the operations of the Bombay army, adviſing him to proceed either to Baroach or Surat, or otherwiſe to continue on the borders of Berar; but by no means to advance towards Poonah. This letter was dated on the 11th of January, before the final engagement with the Marattas. The colonel, however, kept his way; not thinking himſelf warranted by theſe advices to return to Berar; and the ſame common road ſtill holding to the other ſpecified places. On the 16th of January, when the terms of the treaty of Worgaum were agreed on, the Poonah committee wrote a letter to Goddard, with poſitive directions to march back with the army to Bengal; but in three days after, when the impreſſions that then operated were worn off, and they had come to a reſolution of diſputing the validity of the treaty, they diſpatched another letter, informing him, that upon due recollection, they found they were not authorized to iſſue the former orders, and he was therefore to pay no regard to them.

Jan. 16th. 1779.

Colonel Goddard, without being moved by theſe contradictory orders, continued his courſe, until on the 5th of February, being arrived at Brahmpore, he received diſpatches from the council of Bombay, with orders for his proceeding immediately to Surat; obſerving at the ſame time, that they were not at liberty to give him any preciſe information as to the cauſes of the return of their army, nor as to the probable conſequences of that event. Theſe advices were ſucceeded by the arrival of a Vackeel, or miniſter, from Poonah in his camp, with a copy of the convention at Worgaum, by which his immediate return to Bengal was ſtipulated. Colonel Goddard denied, that the committee who ſigned the convention had any manner of authority over him; ſaid that he was under orders to march to Bombay, for the ſecurity of the company's poſſeſſions againſt the deſigns of the French; that he could not diſpenſe with his orders, and ſhould accordingly proſecute his march. Being now ſenſible of the ſituation of affairs, he bent his courſe directly to Surat, where he arrived by the end of February.

Bombay

Bombay was exceedingly ſlow in communicating its misfortune, or intended mode of conduct in conſequence of it. The intelligence had been ſo long received from Madras and Poonah at Calcutta, before any direct account was tranſmitted from that preſidency, that ſome cenſure ſeemed to be in agitation for ſo unaccountable a negligence in the ſupreme council. The Bombay diſpatches did not arrive until after the middle of March. That preſidency had publicly diſavowed the treaty of Worgaum; although it was ratified by two members of the ſelect committee, who were in effect armed with all the powers of the government; and thus were the lives of Meſſrs. Farmer and Stuart, the two gentlemen, who relying on the faith of the company (which in that inſtance ſhould have been deemed particularly ſacred) had committed themſelves as hoſtages for the faithful performance of the conditions, to all appearance ſacrificed.

No misfortune ſeemed capable of laying the ſpirit of intrigue in Bombay. In the midſt of diſgrace and calamity, a ſcheme was inſtantly formed for finding a ſubſtitute to ſupply the loſs of Ragobah, and thereby reviving the never abandoned deſign of ſtill effecting a revolution in the Maratta government. The late great kindneſs ſhewn to the Engliſh, and the eminent ſervice done by Madajee Sindia, in preventing the whole army from being diſarmed and detained as hoſtages, and thereby affording an opportunity for evading the treaty of Worgaum, pointed him out as the proper inſtrument for this purpoſe. Such ſignal acts of ſervice, it was ſuppoſed, could only proceed from intereſted and ſiniſter views, or from ſome very extraordinary ſtrain of friendſhip. In either caſe, though with more certainty in the former, the motive might operate to the ſame end in promoting the deſign. The power, reſources, influence and character of Sindia, rendered him a much more eligible inſtrument, and infinitely more capable of carrying the buſineſs into execution, than the profligate Ragobah. Meaſures were accordingly taken for making ſecret propoſals, holding out great advantages to Sindia, to induce him to adopt the new ſcheme of revolution; but we do not find that they produced either anſwer or notice from that chief.

In the mean time, Bombay and Calcutta charged each other with the late misfortune and all its conſequences. The ſupreme council charged the preſidency, with dilatorineſs and caution when they ſhould have been alert and in action; with miſſing the faireſt opportunities of advantage and ſucceſs; and at length, with the utmoſt precipitancy and raſhneſs, in adopting the late expedition when the ſeaſon was over, and under circumſtances which rendered ſucceſs impracticable. On the other hand, the preſidency of Bombay attributed all their failure and misfortune, to the propoſed treaty with Moodajee Booſla, and to the keeping them ſo long in the dark with reſpect to the deſign, that it was too late to benefit by the knowledge when communicated. While rercimination was thus bandied, Madras was foreboding and lamenting the evils, calamities and dangers, to which the raſhneſs and violence of both, in continually forcing the Marattas

to

to war, must expose that government in particular, and the company's affairs and possessions in general; at a time when Hyder Ally and the French were only waiting for the proper opportunity to wreak all their vengeance upon the English.

The supreme council, however, confirmed the conduct of Bombay, in disavowing the treaty or convention of Worgaum. But some pacific disposition, notwithstanding, now appeared; and Colonel Goddard was endued with full powers for entering into a negociation with the Marattas; and for a renewal or confirmation, or both, of the Poorunder treaty; but with a strict article against the admission in any manner of the French, or the entering into any connection whatever with that nation; and an inviolable determination declared, not to give up any of the new conquests or accessions. It had been previously laid down, as a general position not to be departed from, in the council, that the Marattas ought to be fully satisfied with the possession of Ragonaut Row; and that they had no right to claim or to expect any farther concession in consequence of the late convention.

But with these pacific appearances, if such they may be considered, it was at the same time determined, to renew the negociation with Moodajee Boosla, and to urge that prince by every motive to accede to the proposed treaty. Every possible preparation for a renewal or carrying on of war was likewise made; and the first brigade, which had for some time been waiting on the banks of the Jumna for that event, was now supplied with artillery, ammunition, and all other necessaries, in order to be enabled to enter the Maratta countries, and proceed to action, at the shortest notice. Other divisions of troops in the most advanced or suitable stations, were also ordered to be in constant readiness for motion or service.

Under the various circumstances we have seen, exclusive of a far greater number relative to the same subject which cannot come within our observation, it can excite no surprize, that the following passages of complaint or reprehension, should, along with many others, appear in some of the letters which had been written in the name of the Paishwa to the governor-general, even before the late Bombay expedition; viz.—— "When the government of Bombay, in former times, put on "the mask of friendship, for the "purposes of deceit, and aided "the enemy of this government, "regarding you, sir, as superior "to all the other chiefs, I made "peace and friendship with you, "and these are the fruits produced by this friendship."— "You write, that the maintaining of friendship and strict "union between our states, is "your resolve. Is it, in effect, "for the preservation of friendship, that you trouble the dominions of this government? "Such a mode of conduct is inconsistent with the maxims and "usages of high and illustrious "chiefs."—"The maintenance "of every article of the treaty, "is equally incumbent on both "parties. It is not stipulated in "any article of the treaty, that "either party may send forces "through the dominions of the "other,

" other, without conſulting him " beforehand; and thereby to " cauſe trouble and diſtreſs to the " people. To what rule of friend- " ſhip can be attributed, the ſta- " tioning garriſons, and the raiſ- " ing of money in the country of " the other party? What has " happened is then agreeable to " Engliſh faith."—He concludes with the following declaration— " From the commencement of the " authority of the family of the " Paiſhwa, they have entered into " treaties with many of the chiefs, " both of the Eaſt and of the " Weſt, and have never before " experienced ſuch a *want of faith* " from any one; nor ever, to the " preſent time, deviated from " their engagements, nor been " wanting in the duties of friend- " ſhip and alliance. The blame " reſts with you."

Colonel Goddard, who was about this time advanced to the rank of brigadier-general, was highly careſſed at Bombay, appointed to a deliberative ſeat in their councils, and ſeems to have entered very ſpeedily into the ſpirit of that preſidency, to which his military ſituation and habits no doubt contributed. Before he entered upon the duties of his new office as plenipotentiary, he communicated to Calcutta an account of the diſtracted ſtate of the Maratta affairs, the diſſentions by which the court of Poonah was torn to pieces, and pointed out the great advantages that might be derived from that ſituation. He did not extend his views ſo far for the preſent as to a total revolution in the Poonah government, but ſhewed the weak ſtate of the Maratta frontier on the quarter where he commanded, and pointed out the eaſe with which valuable conqueſts might be made, particularly on the Guzerat ſide, during this ſeaſon of weakneſs and inteſtine diſorder.

In the mean time, he notified to the court of Poonah the powers and inſtructions he had received for accommodating matters; but before an anſwer could be returned, the old torch of diſcord ſuddenly and unexpectedly blazed up again between the parties; Ragonaut Row having made his eſcape from the cuſtody of Madajee Sindia, and flying, in the beginning of June, for refuge and protection to General Goddard's camp near Surat. It appears that Bombay, ſmarting under a ſenſe of the cenſure ariſing from the late misfortune, did not chooſe to hazard the charge of embroiling matters farther by receiving Ragonaut, at a time when a ſcheme of accommodation had been adopted and was propoſed to the Marattas. Thus, however unwilling to loſe him, they were, in the preſent delicate circumſtances, glad to ſhift the reſponſibility to Goddard; while Ragonaut himſelf could not conceal, how much he would have preferred a renewal of the connection with them, to a dependence on the ſupreme council.

It was only a little before Ragonaut's eſcape, that the Paiſhwa and Madajee Sindia had written to the preſidency of Bombay, informing them of their immediate preparation and intention of marching againſt Hyder Ally, hoping ſufficiently to avenge all the injuries they had received from him; and at the ſame time expreſſing the moſt earneſt deſire of amicably ſettling all differences with the Britiſh government.

The protection afforded to Ragonaut by General Goddard was approved of at Calcutta, and the former was assured of its continuance; but his political situation with respect to the company was totally altered. All ideas of adopting his projects of revolution, and of support in his ambitious designs were at an end; and he was now considered only as an instrument, that might be rendered in some degree useful, whether in renewing the war, or in settling the terms of peace. It was, however, determined, that whenever the latter event took place, a suitable provision should be made for him by the Marattas, and to be paid to him at whatever place he should choose to reside. So widely were things now changed from what he had experienced at Bombay, that the allowance of 50,000 rupees a month, (something about 6000l. sterling) allotted for his support by General Goddard, was highly disapproved of by the supreme council; and that commander was ordered to reduce it within very narrow limits. Ragonaut's character was marked by the instructions given with respect to his being protected, which was limited to his not forfeiting the right to it by any act of infidelity, and his not making any attempt to defeat the effects of the negociation with the Marattas.

The unexpected arrival of Ragobah in the British camp, and the protection necessarily afforded to him as a fugitive, was early announced at the court of Poonah. That government, however, agreed to send agents to the camp, in order to open the negociations with General Goddard. This, however, was slowly done; and some symptoms began to appear which seemed to indicate, that the desire of accommodation on that side was by no means growing stronger. The agents did not arrive in the camp until the middle of August; and so much time was lost, through the sending of messengers to Poonah upon every difficulty that arose, together with the very slow return of answers from thence, that the negociation was spun out, without any point being conclusively settled.

In the mean time, all the hopes of an alliance with Moodajee Boosla, were now as totally frustrated as they had been in the first instance. General professions of friendship and goodwill, were all that could be obtained from that prince; excepting, indeed, advice, of which he was by no means sparing. This constantly tended to a speedy accommodation with the court of Poonah; the wisdom, and even necessity of which he took no small pains to explain. He was uncommonly earnest upon this subject; offering to be himself both the mediator and guarantee; and engaging, effectually to settle the differences, and to cure all the jealousies on both sides. The refusal of his mediation was not likely to increase his attachment.

In the mean time the foundations were laying down of that dangerous league, which was to combine all the princes of any consideration and power in India, in a general confederation for the downfal of the company, and the final extermination of the English. It required a long series of measures and events, tending to irritation, jealousy and alarm, and to infuse

infuſe an idea, not of partial, but of general danger, to unite ſuch diſcordant intereſts, and hoſtile diſpoſitions, in any ſcheme of reciprocal benefit, and mutual action. Of theſe too many inſtances were unhappily afforded. Some we have ſeen; others did not come within the line of our arrangement. Hiring out the company's troops for the extermination of the Rohilla nation; the motives which cauſed the elevation of Sujah Dowla, to great additions of wealth, power, and dominion; together with the ſtripping of the Mogul, of the ſtipend which had been allotted to him by themſelves as a tribute for the kingdom of Bengal, although the ſanction of his name and authority, which they obtained by it, was of infinitely greater value to them in the government of the country; theſe, with other charges of a ſimilar nature, were held out, in the public conſultations of the native chiefs, to ſhew the dangers to be apprehended from a people, whom they repreſented as being ſo perfidious and rapacious, that they trampled upon all laws human and divine, which ſtood in the way of their ambition or intereſt.

The repeated and continued breach of faith with the Marattas, could not but renew every ſenſe of paſt or more diſtant grievance, and increaſe the general odium and alarm, even with thoſe who had no intereſt in, or who were even perhaps adverſe to that people. It was natural to others to conclude, that they might themſelves experience a ſimilar treatment. The extraordinary march of the army acroſs India, excited a general alarm with reſpect to the ambitious deſigns of the company, as the utter expulſion of the French did, with regard to the dangerous extent of its power. It would have required no ſmall degree of prudence, moderation, and caution, to have obviated the effects of that event, independent of all other cauſes of jealouſy and alarm.

It ſeems ſcarcely credible, that both the fidelity and the ſecrecy of the court of Berar ſhould have been ſo ſingularly eminent, as that the Nizam, Soubah of the Decan, ſhould have received no manner of intelligence, either at, or after the time, that he was himſelf one of the ſacrifices propoſed in the treaty with Moodajee Booſla. Yet, ſingular as it is, neither in enumerating the cauſes which induced him to become the founder of the league againſt the Engliſh, nor upon any other occaſion, did the Nizam ever throw out a hint of this nature. His offenſible cauſes were, beſides his ſhare in the general apprehenſion, the cloſe friendſhip, connection, and alliance between him and the Poonah government; the mortal animoſity he bore to Ragonaut Row, whom he deſcribed as "*an* "*invincible villain*, and *utterly* "*incapable of faith*;" the ſenſe of injury and injuſtice, in which he ſo ſtrongly regarded the conduct of the Bombay government, as to attribute the loſs of their army to the immediate interpoſition of Providence, in condemning the unjuſt to fall into their own ſnares; together with the immediate perſonal injuries, which he charged to the government of Madras. It appears that Moodajee Booſla had

early apprized the governor-general, "that the Nabob Nizam, "and others alſo, who were all "alarmed at the encroachments "of the Engliſh in the Decan, "were waiting a favourable op-"portunity to repel them."

The Marattas found themſelves pretty early in the year reduced to the following alternative, either to accommodate matters in the beſt manner they could with the Engliſh, and to take a full vengeance of Hyder Ally for all their loſſes, or, if that was found impracticable, to make peace with Hyder, and to join their forces with his againſt the former. Hyder himſelf opened this ground early to them, by an offer of paying a large ſum of money to them as an indemnification, a conſiderable tribute for the conquered countries, and his whole force to aſſiſt them againſt the common enemy. They were, however, ſo ſtrongly inclined to the firſt part of the alternative, that no anſwer was returned to Hyder's propoſitions; while the eſcape of Ragobah, with various other circumſtances, continually threw new difficulties in the way of an accommodation with the Engliſh.

The Nizam, at length, decided the conduct of all the parties. Peace was ſuddenly concluded between the Marattas and Hyder, and the grand league of confederation againſt the Engliſh formed. The principal parties were, the Nizam, Marattas, Hyder Ally, and Moodajee Booſla; while Nudjiff Cawn, and other chiefs on the weſtern ſide of India, were invited to accede to the confederacy, and to make the confuſion and danger general, by directing their attacks againſt Oude, Allahabad, and other provinces in that quarter. The grand outline of warfare was laid in the following manner; Hyder and the Nizam were to attack the Carnatic and the Northern Circars; the Marattas were to direct their force on the ſide of Surat and the Guzerat; and Moodajee Booſla, was to invade Bengal with the greateſt army he could raiſe.

It is not certain how far the latter was a willing, or even a free agent in this confederacy. He has ſince pleaded compulſion. He ſaid, that his army being diſbanded, he was threatened with immediate invaſion, both by the Nizam and the Marattas; ſo that he had no other means of ſaving his country from ruin than by an apparent compliance. It would almoſt ſeem, indeed, that it was ſo underſtood by the Company. Certain it is, that the part he took in the war ſhewed no marks either of zeal or vigour. He was, in the firſt inſtance, unaccountably ſlow in the outſet of his army; and the time was ſo oddly choſen, that it did not arrive near the borders of Bengal until the rainy ſeaſon was juſt ſetting in, which, however diſpoſed for action, muſt have rendered it for ſeveral months of neceſſity inactive. And ſo far was any hoſtility afterwards from taking place between the parties, that the ſuppoſed invader would have been in danger of ſtarving, if it had not been for the kind ſupply of proviſions with which he was furniſhed from Bengal, and by which the kindneſs ſhewn to General Goddard's army on the Nerbudda was returned.

After much correſpondence be-

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tween Surat and Poonah, and ſome peremptory meſſages from the former, charging paſt delay, and inſiſting upon immediate and deciſive anſwers to the ſpecified propoſitions made by General Goddard, the negociations were at length abruptly broken off in the month of November, by a declaration from the Maratta agent, in the name of his maſter, that he would not accede to any propoſals made, or conclude a peace with the Engliſh, unleſs the delivery of Ragonaut Row, and the reſtoration of Salſette to the Maratta government, were laid down as preliminaries.

The preparations for war, already in forwardneſs, were now every where quickened on the ſide of the Company. Bombay, which had ſtipulated with Goddard for the ſhare it was to poſſeſs of the new conqueſts, ſupplied him with its whole force, excepting what was merely neceſſary for the garriſon defence of their own iſland; but that preſidency totally declined being in any degree reſponſible, either for the intended meaſures or their conſequences; and at the ſame time declared their utter inability to contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to the expences of the war. The government of Madras, who conſidered this war as fraught with every degree of danger and ruin to all the ſettlements, were notwithſtanding obliged to ſend a very valuable and effective part of that force which they were ſoon to experience the want of, to the aid of the Surat army. On the other ſide, the governor-general and ſupreme council, concluded an alliance, offenſive and defenſive, between the Company, and the Ranna of Gohud, or Ghod. a petty prince, whoſe mountainous territories lie on the Maratta ſide of the Jumna, and the greater part of which were then poſſeſſed by ſome of their troops.

The want of money, operating along with their uſual internal diviſions, rendered the preparations on the ſide of the Marattas exceedingly ſlow, and their military operations languid and ineffective; whilſt the great pecuniary reſources which were yet in the hands of the company's ſervants, could not fail to give great energy and effect to their enterprize.

The Maratta family of Guiacawar, held ſome conſiderable poſſeſſions under the Paiſhwa, on the weſtern borders of the Guzerat, and pointing from thence towards the Indus, the boundary of Hindoſtan on that ſide. In the firſt Bombay war, diſputes then prevailing in that family with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, the pretenſions of Futty Sing Guiacawar were favoured by the Engliſh, in oppoſition to thoſe of the other claimants. Such ſort of ſervices are ſeldom ſuppoſed to proceed from diſintereſted motives. The tranſactions are by no means clear; but ceſſions of lands to a conſiderable value in the Guzerat, were by ſome means obtained from Futty Sing; and the claim, to ſome of them at leaſt, was afterwards ſupported in the Poorunder treaty, and became the principal article in reference to future enquiry which was then left undecided. Futty Sing afterwards declared, that his ſignature was not only extorted by force,

but that he had himſelf no right to the lands of which he was ſuppoſed to have made a ceſſion.

Some farther uſe was now, however, intended to be made of this chief, with reſpect to the propoſed conqueſt, or diviſion of the Guzerat; but whether this related to the military aſſiſtance he might give, to the appearance of right that might be derived from his claims, or to both, does not perfectly appear. However that might be, Futty Sing was ſo little diſpoſed to accept of the advantageous conditions held out to him by the propoſed treaty of alliance, that the firſt military movement made by General Goddard was the paſſing of the Tappee, on the ſecond day of the year 1780, in order that his approach might ſtimulate that prince to a ſpeedy determination.

The reduction of the fortreſs and territory of Dubhoy, appertaining to the Paiſhwa, was the oſtenſible motive of this movement, which otherwiſe muſt have been conſidered as directly hoſtile to Futty Sing himſelf; as it was the highway to his capital of Brodera, where he immediately reſided. Dubhoy, with its diſtrict, were reduced without much difficulty; but neither the ſucceſs nor vicinity of the army, nor the acknowledged talents of General Goddard in negociation, were ſufficient to induce Futty Sing to accede with a good grace to the propoſed alliance. His difficulties were, however, at length ſurmounted, and by the end of the month the treaty was ſigned, for the allotted diviſion of the Guzerat between the parties, and the perpetual excluſion of the Poonah government.

The army being reinforced by Futty Sing's cavalry, General Goddard marched to beſiege the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of the Guzerat. This place, of ſo much importance, was taken by ſtorm, in only five days after the appearance of the army before it. The reduction of the capital was immediately followed by that of the reſt of the province; and Futty Sing being placed in the government at Ahmedabad, by the general, then proceeded to paſs grants to his creators, of thoſe diſtricts which they yet choſe to keep in their own hands. He likewiſe granted the privilege to the company of eſtabliſhing a factory at Ahmedabad; a favour, from whatever cauſe, which there was no great diſpoſition at preſent to receive at his hands. Feb. 15th. 1780.

The policy intended to be obſerved with reſpect to this prince ſeemed to be of the ſame nature with that which had of late been in the uſual courſe of practice with others. The general, who was by no means unſucceſsful, in grafting upon the character of the ſoldier that of the politician, recommended delay in the final ſettlement of the province, until all the great objects of the war ſhould be ſecured, leſt any diſputed claims ſhould excite jealouſy or apprehenſion in Futty Sing; for whoſe ſervices at preſent they had much occaſion. The preſidency of Bombay were more explicit. They complained to the governor-general and council of the diſtribution of the province, the company's portion, in their opinion being by no means adequate to her rights or pretenſions; the

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therefore adviſed, from their own knowledge of Futty Sing's character, that the board would not give a haſty or definitive ratification to the treaty, without at leaſt a guarded reſerve, for a new and equitable ſettlement to be hereafter provided.

Before the immediate ſettlement of the province had well taken place, Sindia and Holkar arrived with an army, and ſeemed to be directing their courſe towards Surat. General Goddard, by ſeveral forced marches, prevented their deſign; and having reached their encampment on the 8th of March, intended to attack them in the night. He was moſt unexpectedly diverted from this deſign, by a letter which he received from Mr. Farmer, one of the gentlemen who was left a hoſtage at Worgaum, and was now in the enemy's camp, informing him of the friendly profeſſions made by both thoſe chiefs, and of their wiſh to be on amicable terms with the Engliſh.

Theſe favourable diſpoſitions ſeemed confirmed on the following day, by the arrival of Mr. Farmer and Captain Stewart, the two hoſtages, in the camp, who had been freely enlarged by Madajee Sindia, and diſcharged from all obligations on account of the treaty of Worgaum. They were accompanied by a vackeel, or confidential meſſenger, from that commander, who aſſured General Goddard, that Sindia's enmity to Nana Furneſe, the Maratta regent, was equal to that of the Engliſh, and deſiring an explanation of their deſigns with reſpect to the Paiſhwa and himſelf, conſidered diſtinctly from that miniſter; and at the ſame time wiſhing to receive propoſals from the general for an accommodation, on ſuch terms as might be conducive to the views and intereſts of both parties. Goddard declined ſending theſe propoſals; but deſired to be made acquainted with the ſentiments of Sindia, who was the beſt judge, in what manner a new ſettlement of the government of Poonah might be effected with moſt eaſe and advantage.

After ſome inexplicit letters of friendly profeſſion, Sindia at length commiſſioned his vackeel to open and explain his propoſitions, which, it is ſaid, were evidently calculated to get Ragobah and his ſon into his own poſſeſſion, and thereby to aggrandize himſelf in the ſtate without any regard to the intereſts of the Engliſh. Theſe were immediately rejected, and the vackeel diſmiſſed with an aſſurance, that the Engliſh would put no reſtraint upon Ragobah, nor riſque the ſafety of his ſon, and, before they put the power of the ſtate into his maſter's hands, they would expect ſome conditions in their own favour, though they were entirely diſpoſed to a fair accommodation.

Upon the whole, the conduct of Sindia in this tranſaction, ſeems, in the preſent ſtate of information, very inexplicable. The giving up of the hoſtages, if it had been followed by no intereſted propoſals, muſt have been conſidered as an act of generoſity. But it is ſcarcely credible, that Sindia could have expected Ragobah and his ſon to be given up in the manner he propoſed, and without his holding out any conditions adequate to ſuch a conceſſion, accompanied

with ſo ſhameful a breach of faith. If that had indeed been his object, it is to be ſuppoſed that he would have made the releaſe of the hoſtages the price of Ragobah's ſurrender. However ineffective that ſcheme was likely to prove, it would not, at any rate, have been ſo viſionary as the idea, that mere gratitude for an unconditional obligation, ſhould produce an act of ſo extraordinary a nature in return.

However it was, General Goddard found, or ſuppoſed reaſon, for queſtioning Sindia's ſincerity in every reſpect. He ſuſpected that mere delay was not his object in holding out theſe inconcluſive terms of accommodation, as he diſcovered that he was at the time holding a ſecret correſpondence with Govind Row, a refractory and diſaffected brother of Futty Sing's; and had not only promiſed him aſſiſtance in the ſupport of whatever his views were; but had actually received him in his camp. This, with ſome other inſtances of duplicity, rendered the general exceedingly alert in endeavouring to bring Sindia to action; but he found him ſo watchfully upon his guard that ſurprize was impracticable; and ſo cautious, that he would not voluntarily hazard a battle.

Even this negociation with Govind Row, (which produced no manner of effect, and ſeemed capable of little) by no means affords a ſatisfactory explanation, with reſpect to what we have obſerved of Sindia's conduct. General Goddard, after various manœuvres and forced marches to bring the enemy to action, and ſtill convinced of the neceſſity of the meaſure, in order to curb their rapid incurſions by driving them to a guarded diſtance, as well as to wear away the memory and effects of the late miſadventure at Worgaum, at length, leaving his tents ſtanding, and all incumbrances behind, he advanced with ſuch rapidity, with the cavalry, grenadiers, artillery, and other the moſt alert parts of his army, that the Maratta caution could no longer prevail, and they were compelled to ſtand an engagement.

Goddard, having paſſed their principal guards with great dexterity, fell in without heſitation upon their camp. The artillery did excellent ſervice, and made great havock among their numerous and crouded cavalry; at the ſame time that he conducted the different attacks with ſuch boldneſs, rapidity, and judgment, that in about an hour they were thrown into diſorder, and ſoon after obliged to retreat, and, with very conſiderable loſs, totally to abandon their ground. The ſuperiority of diſcipline and a well-ſerved artillery, to courage and numbers, has ſeldom been better exemplified. April 3d, 1780.

A ſtrong ſenſe of the late diſgrace, and an eager deſire to retrieve the honour, and to eſtabliſh the ſuperiority of the Britiſh arms, ſeemed at this time to operate very generally, and with great force, upon the Britiſh officers; and even the ſepoys, though fighting againſt their countrymen, ſeemed fully ſenſible of that pride of diſtinction, which the French diſtinguiſh by the term of *l'eſprit de corps*. On the other hand, the Marattas

Marattas could not but be greatly diſpirited by this defeat, which ſo effectually tended to deſtroy all confidence in a ſuperiority of number.

Captain Campbell, on his return ſoon after from a diſtant foraging expedition, with two battalions of ſepoys, four field pieces, and a large convoy of proviſions, was either waylaid or overtaken by Sindia, at the head, it is ſaid, of twenty thouſand men. It will not at all affect Campbell's reputation, nor leſſen our opinion, any more than the real gallantry of his troops, to ſuppoſe that they had a fair choice of ground well ſuited to their condition and calculated for defence. However that was, he formed his detachment and placed his artillery to ſuch advantage, that he repulſed Sindia with the loſs of five or ſix hundred of his men, and brought his convoy off unimpaired and in triumph. It was obſerved in this action, that the fire of the flank companies was peculiarly deſtructive to the enemy; a circumſtance which, in a great meaſure, muſt have depended upon ſome peculiarity of ſituation.

In the ſame prevalent ſpirit of the time, Lieutenant Walſh being detached with a regiment of cavalry and a battalion of ſepoys, to ſurprize a camp of ſix thouſand Marattas, he found on his march, that if he waited for the infantry, the deſign muſt be entirely fruſtrated, as it would be open day before he could reach the enemy's camp. Thus circumſtanced, he, with that deciſive turn of mind, which is the true ſign of military genius, at once determined to put all to iſſue.

Fortune, as uſual, befriended boldneſs when rightly directed. The Marattas were routed, and driven out of their camp, before they could well recollect their ſituation; and their own cannon turned upon the fugitives, before they had an idea of their being hoſtile. No rout could be more compleat, or victory, ſo far as it went, more deciſive. The Maratta commander, with a great number of his men, were left dead upon the ground. The camp, with every thing it contained, were in the hands of the victors. May 3d.

The campaign was cloſed by a ſimilar action under the conduct of Major Forbes, who with two battalions of ſepoys, ſurprized and routed a body of 7000 Marattas. The approach of the rainy ſeaſon obliged the hoſtile armies to go into winter quarters. Nothing could redound more to the honour of the commander in chief, of the officers in general, and of the troops, nor ſerve to impreſs a ſtronger idea of the decided ſuperiority of the Britiſh arms, than the events of this ſhort campaign.

Some brilliant ſervice was likewiſe performed on the ſide of Bengal. Major Popham having, in conſequence of the late treaty, gone to the relief of the Ranna of Ghod, with a very diſproportioned force in point of number, not only drove the Marattas out of that country, but purſuing them into their own, made ſuch an acceſſion of territory, as, if it could have been retained, would prove of conſiderable value.

They, however, ſtill retained the impregnable fortreſs of Gua-

lier, which ſtood in the center of the Ranna's country, in their own hands; and with ſuch a bridle in his mouth, could not fail to keep him under continual apprehenſion if not abſolute command. The ſurprize of this ſort, may be ranked with the firſt actions of the ſame nature whether antient or modern. The fortifications encloſed the ſummit of a very high hill, walled round by rocks, and guarded on all ſides by the moſt dreadful precipices. The encloſed ground was ſo extenſive, and ſo fertile, as to be fully equal to the conſtant maintenance of any garriſon which could be neceſſary for its defence. We cannot avoid recalling to memory on this occaſion, the extraordinary agility, boldneſs, and dexterity, of the young mountaineers and ſhepherd-ſoldiers, who were employed by Alexander the Great, in climbing up ſimilar precipices, and the ſurprize of ſuch a hill. Nothing but the too confident ſecurity, naturally incident to ſuch a ſituation, could expoſe it to danger. In a word, the fortreſs of Gualier had in all ages been deemed impregnable.

Some individuals of a native tribe of freebooters, called Mewattes, had, from ſome motives which do not appear, diſcovered a way, by which they repeatedly climbed up the precipices, and entered the place with ſafety in the night. During the leiſure from all military ſervice induced by the rainy ſeaſon, the hope of reward prompted theſe men to communicate the diſcovery to Major Popham. This vigilant and diſtinguiſhed officer immediately employed ſome perſons of judgment, on whom he could firmly rely, to attend the Mewattes by night, and ſtrictly to examine the track by which they entered the place. He could gather no more from their report, than that it was barely poſſible to ſucceed. He, however, conſidered the reduction of the fortreſs to be of ſuch importance, that he boldly determined to riſque all the perſonal conſequences of a failure. The deſign was conducted with ſuch admirable ſecrecy, and ſuch ability diſplayed in the execution, that the ſuppoſed impregnable fort of Gualier was taken with the loſs of a very few ſepoys. Aug. 4th.

We are now to direct our attention to the ſtorm which was gathering to the ſouthward, and which was not only deſtined to the ruin of the Carnatic, but ſeemed doomed to the extinction of the Engliſh name in that vaſt peninſula. We have already noticed the cold civility of intercourſe which Hyder Ally Caun maintained, but the real jealouſy and diſlike which he nurtured, with reſpect to the government of Madras. It ſeemed no leſs ſingular than unfortunate, that while that preſidency loudly condemned the continued cauſes of offence given to, and the repeated wars forced upon the Marattas by Bombay and Calcutta, and moſt pathetically complained of and pointed out, the dangerous conſequences to the company's intereſts at large, and the particular ruin to themſelves, which thoſe meaſures muſt neceſſarily produce, they were at the very ſame time in the exerciſe of a conduct, no leſs capable of producing jealouſy and miſunderſtanding,

ſtanding, if not actual hoſtility, with their old ally, and very powerful neighbour, the Nizam, Soubah of the Decan; thus increaſing the very evils, and adding to that danger, of which they complained ſo much in others, and were ſo extremely apprehenſive of with reſpect to themſelves.

That preſidency had, in the firſt inſtance, ſuffered a long arrear to riſe upon the very moderate annual peſhcuſh, or tribute, in the payment of which the company was bound to the Nizam, for the five large and valuable northern circars or provinces; a neglect which ſeems the leſs excuſable in ſuch caſes, from the ſmall proportion which that kind of chief-rent bears, to the real value of the poſſeſſion. Of theſe provinces, however, the company were yet only in the immediate poſſeſſion of four; the Guntoor circar, (which is the moſt ſouthern, and conſequently the neareſt to the Carnatic) being ſettled for life, as a jaghire, upon Bazalet Jung, the Nizam's brother, and forming no inconſiderable part of the appanage allotted for the ſupport of that prince's dignity. Upon his death, the Guntoor was immediately to revert to the company; and during the intermediate time, a proportional ſpecified deduction was to be made, on that account, from the annual tribute, which would afterwards riſe to the amount ſettled for the whole.

Bazalet Jung was ſpecially bound, by articles, to his brother, not to alienate or diſpoſe of the jaghire, in any manner, or to any perſon, without his conſent and approbation; and the company were equally reſtrained, by the treaties of 1766, and 1768, with the Nizam, by which the provinces were conveyed and confirmed to them, from all attempts by negociation or bargain, excepting directly through himſelf, to obtain poſſeſſion of the Guntoor before the time allotted. As a farther part of the ſervice which the company owed for theſe provinces, they were bound, by the treaties we have mentioned, to aſſiſt the Nizam with their forces, and to protect his dominions, in all caſes of war or invaſion; and were even conſtituted a check upon the refractorineſs of Bazalet Jung himſelf, being authorized to diſpoſſeſs him of the jaghire, if he ſhould enter into meaſures dangerous to his brother, or ſubverſive of the peace and ſecurity of his country. By another article, Bazalet Jung's entering into alliance with, or giving any aſſiſtance to, the enemies of the company, would render him liable to a forfeiture of his jaghire.

The ſituation of the Guntoor circar rendered it of great importance to the company. It lay on the ſame ſide of the Kriſtna with their own poſſeſſions, and thoſe of the Nabob of Arcot; being bounded by the latter to the ſouthward, as it was by that great river on the north. Thus it afforded a direct intercourſe with the four other provinces, which, ſtretching in ſucceſſion to a great extent along the coaſt to the northward, are only ſeparated on the ſouth from the Guntoor by the Kriſtna. But what rendered it of ſtill greater importance than

than all other matters whatever, was its poſſeſſing the ſea-port of Mootapilly, which afforded the only intercourſe that either the Nizam or his brother could have with the ſea; thereby keeping a door conſtantly open for French commerce, intrigue, and negociation in the Decan; as well as for the introduction of arms, ammunition, artillery, and even troops, when the occaſion ſhould require, by that nation.

Under theſe circumſtances, it was natural that the preſidency of Madras ſhould earneſtly wiſh to anticipate the poſſeſſion of the Guntoor circar; and it was reaſonable that they ſhould purſue ſuch moderate and temperate meaſures, as ſeemed likely to facilitate that purpoſe. Overtures were accordingly made, ſo early as the year 1769, and afterwards more than once renewed, upon the ſubject; undoubtedly holding out ſome terms of equivalent, exchange, or of yearly rent for the Guntoor. But the advantages it afforded being equally underſtood on both ſides, nothing concluſive was done; nor did the Nizam ſeem much to reliſh the ſubject; who perhaps felt, that the granting of too much, was the ſure means of producing ungrateful and diſagreeable claims or applications for more. However that was, it was never once thrown out upon theſe occaſions, nor did the idea ſeem to be entertained, whether in conſultation or negociation, that any propoſitions relative to a new ſettlement or arrangement of the Guntoor, were to be made to any other perſon, than to the real ſovereign, the Nizam.

In proceſs of time, various jealouſies ſprung up, and differences aroſe, between the company and Bazalet Jung; as there likewiſe did, but in a ſtill greater degree, between that prince and the Nizam his brother. With reſpect to the company, Bazelet was at different times charged, with being in a greater or leſſer degree connected with, and under the influence of France. But what was particularly complained of, was his receiving a body of troops under the command of a Mr. Lally, into his ſervice; which, though compoſed of vagrants and deſerters of all the European nations, intermixed with the degenerate relicks of the antient Portugueze, yet being nominally French, and conducted by officers of that nation, the meaſure was of a nature, which could not fail to give ſome alarm, and much offence to the preſidency of Madras. Strong remonſtrances were accordingly made to Bazalet, and the juſtification or defence which he ſet up, not affording entire ſatisfaction, hints were thrown out, that ſuch propoſals would be made to his brother for the Guntoor, as could not fail of producing their effect.

In the mean time, the conqueſts made by Hyder Ally on his northern frontier, and the rapid progreſs which he thereby made in extending his dominion towards Bazalet Jung's borders, as well in his patrimonial territories as his jaghire, filled that prince with apprehenſion and diſmay. While Hyder was at a diſtance, he pretended that he hired the French troops as a protection againſt his deſigns, but on his approach, it

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was evident that he placed no reliance in the ſecurity they could afford. It was ſaid, and is by no means improbable, that he was likewiſe thoroughly weary of, and highly diſguſted with his new auxiliaries. But, however that was, about the cloſe of the year 1778, he thought it neceſſary to throw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh for protection.

Whatever the operating motives were, he propoſed, negociated, and concluded, directly from himſelf, and without the knowledge or intervention of the Nizam, a treaty of friendſhip, alliance, and, on their ſide, of defence and protection, with the preſidency of Fort St. George. By this treaty he diſmiſſed the French troops, and ſurrendered the Guntoor into the hands of the company; they being bound on their part to its immediate and future defence, and to the payment of a preſcribed ſpecific annual revenue out of it for life to Bazalet Jung. It ſeems alſo, as if his other territorial poſſeſſions of Adoni, with ſome neighbouring diſtricts, were taken under protection.

April 1779.

It had been propoſed in the council at Madras, upon the firſt opening of the buſineſs, that, conſonant to the ſubſiſting treaties between both parties, an account of the tranſaction as it then ſtood, of the offers made by Bazalet, the immediate motives which led to them, and thoſe which ſtill operated on both ſides, ſhould inſtantly be tranſmitted to the Nizam, and that the treaty ſhould of courſe be conducted and concluded with him, laying the propoſals made by his brother down as the groundwork. This wiſe and temperate advice was, however, overruled by the majority.

Such was this tranſaction, by which a treaty, including new arrangements of connection, revenue, and territory, was concluded with Bazalet Jung, himſelf a ſubject, without the participation or conſent of his brother and ſovereign. The Nizam did not afterwards by any means forget to remind the preſidency, that they had violated the treaty by their acquiſition of the circar; and that Bazalet was releaſed from that obedience, which they had expreſsly bound themſelves to inforce with their arms.

It may not be unworthy of notice, that the account of the commencement and proceſs of this buſineſs, which was tranſmitted from Madras to the governor general and ſupreme council, was ſo looſe and general in its terms, that no other information could be gathered from it, than merely that a treaty for granting the Guntoor, upon certain conditions, to the company, was in a fair train of being brought to a concluſion; but without the ſmalleſt ſpecification with whom it was conducted, or by whom the grant was to be made. And it farther appears, that the treaty was concluded about ten months before any account of the tranſaction was tranſmitted to Bengal.

It had been obſerved, that moſt of the tranſactions relating to land or revenues at Madras, had of late a reference to the intereſts of the Nabob of Arcot. In the preſent inſtance, one of the firſt acts that deſerved notice in the adminiſtration of the new government, was the

the farming out of the Guntoor circar, upon a leaſe of ten years, to that prince. Nothing can appear more injudicious, whether conſidered with reſpect to the domeſtic œconomy of government, or to general policy. The Nabob was already the renter of all the company's lands in the Carnatic; and beſides being deeply in arrear, was ſo dilatory and uncertain in all his payments, that they ſcarcely ever came in time to anſwer the purpoſes to which they were aſſigned; ſo that many, if not moſt of the difficulties and diſtreſſes which that government had for ſome time experienced, were charged to this default; and it was become a popular obſervation, that in proportion as he advanced in life, ſo the taſk of extracting money in any manner from him became every day more arduous.

The Nizam had ever been jealous of the Nabob's deſigns upon the Decan; and this jealouſy was undoubtedly not leſſened by his connections. And he ſaw him now, under a very alarming aſpect of public affairs, and the impreſſions of ſeveral late tranſactions not leſs ſo, at once puſhed forward into a ſituation ſo near and ſo critical, that no moderation could prevent diſputes if they were ſought for, nor vigilance guard againſt danger if it was intended.

But the double offence thus given to the Nizam, was by no means ſo dangerous in its conſequences, as that with which the meaſure of the farm was clogged with reſpect to Hyder Ally. In either caſe, it was well to be doubted, whether any advantages which could even be hoped for to the company from the meaſure, were at all ſufficient to compenſate for the effects of the jealouſy which it neceſſarily created. No body was ignorant of the inveterate animoſity ever ſubſiſting between Hyder and the Nabob. He muſt conſider the placing of his mortal enemy in the Guntoor, not only as intended to reſtrain his deſigns on the northern border, but with a view to diſturbance in his new acquiſitions, and even the prelude to a concerted attack upon him in that unſettled quarter. It muſt indeed be allowed, that the nabob was little calculated to diſcuſs doubtful claims, or to conteſt diſputed boundaries with Hyder Ally; but he was conſidered as the willing and forward inſtrument, if not the immediate inſtigator, of a much greater and more dangerous power.

Another meaſure which aroſe from this, and immediately related to Hyder, was ſcarcely better calculated to promote good temper. Bazalet Jung, who ſeems to have been originally very apprehenſive of the conſequences of the meaſure he adopted, ſoon became exceedingly terrified through the menaces he received, and the dangers which he foreſaw; and not thinking the troops within reach of the Guntoor at all equal to his protection, urged the preſidency to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement for that purpoſe.

Col. Harper being accordingly deſtined with a conſiderable detachment to this ſervice, was, it muſt be ſaid, without any apparent neceſſity, and without leave being obtained or applied for, ordered to take his route through a part

part of Hyder's dominions. His courſe lay through the Cuddepah province, a country newly conquered by Hyder, and which muſt neceſſarily be ſtill in an unſettled ſtate; a circumſtance and ſituation of things, which could not fail to render the appearance of foreign troops ſuſpicious, even between nations that were upon the moſt amicable terms. Upon Harper's entering the Cuddepah country, he immediately gave notice to Hyder's officers of his object and deſtination; who were as ready in their anſwer, that he had no right to march without leave through their territories; that he ſhould accordingly be oppoſed, and the paſſes barricaded againſt him. He notwithſtanding purſued his courſe for ſome days, until arriving at the narrow paſs of Atcour, lying between the hills, he found the trees cut down acroſs the way, other means of defence and obſtruction adopted, and a conſiderable body of men advantageouſly poſted to diſpute his paſſage. He had no orders for direct hoſtility, if the meaſure had otherwiſe been ſafe or prudent; but he had no great time to heſitate upon the matter, for he ſoon diſcovered that meaſures were taking on all ſides for ſurrounding and encloſing his detachment. In this unexpected ſituation, he found it neceſſary to give up the deſign for the preſent, and to fall back to Innaconda, where he arrived, after ſpending ſix days in Hyder's country.

Aug. 14th, 1779.

It may now be neceſſary to ſee what meaſures were taken by the preſidency, to reconcile the Nizam to the treaty concluded with Bazalet Jung. Early in the negociation, and in the beginning of the year, Sir Thomas Rumbold, the preſident, ſtated to the ſelect committee ſeveral reaſons, which ſhewed it would be neceſſary to ſend a reſident to the Nizam's court; among theſe were the following, the making an apology for the arrears due on the peſhcuſh, with a promiſe of payment as ſoon as it could conveniently be done; and the ſettlement of the Guntoor circar. The preſident further obſerved, that if no other conſequence were to ariſe from it, than the obtaining from ſuch authority as could be depended on, that intelligence which now was received only by chance, and thereby being at a certainty with reſpect to the Nizam's views and intentions, and to any intrigues the French were carrying on with him, they were objects of ſuch importance as fully ſhewed the propriety of the meaſure. The propoſal being agreed to, Mr. Hollond was appointed reſident at the court of Hyderabad.

In the letter to the governor general and ſupreme council conveying an account of this appointment, which was written in the beginning of February, among ſome obſervations on the probable conſequences of the diſgrace brought upon the company's arms, by the late diſaſter which had befallen the Bombay army, they particularly take notice of the effect which it was likely to produce on the conduct of the Nizam, whoſe avowed attachment to the court of Poonah, averſion to Ragonaut Row, along with the ſtrong remonſtrances which he had preſented againſt the meaſures purſued

ſued in his favour, as they left no room to doubt of his diſpoſition in that reſpect, afforded too much reaſon for being apprehenſive that he would now take a part to the prejudice of the company. They farther ſtate, that as their northern circars are entirely open to invaſion from the Nizam's dominions, and his friendſhip extremely doubtful, it was highly expedient, that they ſhould have the beſt intelligence of his deſigns, and the earlieſt notice of any movements he might make indicating danger to thoſe provinces. That for that purpoſe, and the ſettlement of every thing relative to the Guntoor province, and the diſmiſſion of the French troops, they had appointed Mr. Hollond their reſident at Hyderabad; with inſtructions to correſpond with the ſupreme council, and to communicate to them all intelligence from that quarter.

Hollond's inſtructions went to ſeveral matters which were not included in this letter, nor held out in the firſt propoſals to the council. The treaty with Bazalet Jung was now nearly concluded; and the ground which he was to take on that tender ſubject was much laboured. He was to declare the determination of the preſidency to adhere inviolably to the treaty of 1766, and to cultivate the friendſhip thereby eſtabliſhed. He was to endeavour to ſhew, that the meaſures now in act with reſpect to the Guntoor, though apparently affecting the terms of that treaty, were in reality no infringement of it; that they had hitherto made all their applications to the Nizam, as conſidering him reſponſible for the conduct of his brother; he was to expatiate largely on the danger to be apprehended from the French troops, in Bazalet's ſervice, and to ſtate that circumſtance as the cauſe of their opening a negociation directly with him; and he was to hint, that they conſidered that meaſure as an infringement of the treaty, and that it was on that account they had retained the Nizam's peſhcuſh, or tribute; but this latter part of the buſineſs he was to manage cautiouſly, and to give ſuch explanations, as ſhould prevent the Nizam from entertaining any doubts relative to the future regular payment of the peſhcuſh.

Mr. Hollond was received with great honour by the Nizam, who aſſured him of his determination to live upon terms of the moſt perfect friendſhip with the company, and to adhere inviolably to the treaties between them; that he had ever religiouſly obſerved that conduct, had reſiſted all the ſolicitations made to induce him to ſupport the French intereſt, had cauſed his brother to diſmiſs Lally and his troops, and had taken them into his own ſervice, merely to prevent their going either into that of Hyder or of the Marattas. He confirmed and repeated theſe diſpoſitions in a letter written directly to the preſidency; expreſſing at the ſame time his ſatisfaction at Hollond's appointment to his court.

The grand affair of the Guntoor was yet held back. But when at a ſubſequent audience it was opened by Hollond, who likewiſe informed the Nizam, that the preſidency had ordered a body of troops to the Guntoor, for the protec-

protection of Bazalet Jung, and that country against the designs of Hyder Ally, and urging him to join his own forces with theirs for the accompliſhment of that purpoſe, his countenance was at once exceedingly changed, being equally expreſſive of aſtoniſhment, and of the greateſt diſtreſs of mind. After ſome time, being preſſed for an anſwer, the Nizam ſaid, that the affair was of a nature which might be attended with very ſerious conſequences, and which required the moſt mature deliberation. He, however, ſtated ſeveral cauſes which prevented his ſupplying either troops or proviſions. In another conference that prince obſerved, that it was very extraordinary, when the company ſent a perſon to ſtrengthen the friendſhip ſubſiſting between them, they ſhould in the ſame inſtant engage in meaſures which were ſo little likely to produce that effect.—That he had read over the treaty of 1768, and that entering into engagements with his hrother was a direct violation of it.—That the preſidency had no right to interfere in his family concerns, and that he ought to have been conſulted. Upon Mr. Hollond's endeavouring to excuſe the meaſure, from the urgency of the caſe, which did not admit of time for a communication with the Nizam, as Hyder Ally intended an immediate attack upon his brother's country; that prince totally denied that Hyder had any ſuch intention; and conſtantly reverting to the treaty, ſaid, that nothing could be urged in vindication of the ſteps which had been taken; and that if the treaty was to be obſerved, or conſidered as at all binding, the troops ſhould be ſtopped from marching into the Guntoor; but if the treaty was not to be regarded, he ſhould himſelf oppoſe them. He informed Hollond at the ſame time, that Hyder intended ſpeedily to fall on the Carnatic, in his former manner of overrunning the country, plundering and burning every thing before him, and cautiouſly avoiding pitched battles.

From this time the Nizam appeared to be much diſſatisfied with reſpect to the conduct and views of the company, and particularly and greatly offended with the preſidency of Madras. But another matter was ſoon to come forward, of a nature ſo much more vexatious and provoking, that the former could ſeem in compariſon only trivial.

For the better comprehenſion of this buſineſs it will be neceſſary to take notice, that at the time the poor prince, Sha Allum, the repreſentative of the Mogul family, and generally called the King, had put himſelf into the hands of the company, hoping to derive ſome ſignal benefit, from making them grants of countries into which he would not be permitted to enter, and of revenues which he could not touch, he paſſed a phirmaund or grant, by which he aſſigned to them, in the year 1765, thoſe five northern circars, which were then in the poſſeſſion of the Nizam, and which the preſidency of Madras afterwards obtained from him by treaty. The value of ſuch a grant as that of Sha Allum's, it is eaſily ſeen, muſt depend entirely upon the ability of the party to enforce it; and, even in that caſe, is worth no more

more than (what is never wanted) a pretence for war and conqueſt.

Upon receiving the Nizam's letter at Madras, with one from Mr. Hollond, containing an account of the very favourable and flattering reception which he met with, the preſident obſerved to the committee, that he had always conſidered the peſhcuſh as diſgraceful to the company, and as an acknowledgment which the Nizam had no right to demand. That the giving up of the Guntoor to his brother for life, was a ſufficient condeſcenſion from the company. That the grant from the Mogul, was free and unconditional for the five circars; and the receiving them afterwards from the Nizam, on paying him an annual tribute, was a ſacrifice of the company's rights. He obſerved, that the time ſeemed favourable for throwing off ſo heavy a burthen; that the immenſe expences which the company were put to, both to the northward and in the Carnatic, rendered it neceſſary that they ſhould endeavour to relieve them as much as poſſible.—He was perſuaded that the Nizam was not ſufficiently powerful to enforce the demand. At all events, they might with ſafety make the attempt, and try to obtain a remiſſion of ſo unneceſſary, and ſo improper a tribute, to which the Nizam had no legal title, and which could only have been originally agreed to, through the want of paying a proper attention to the Mogul's phirmaund; but if, in the progreſs of the buſineſs, the attempt ſhould appear impolitic, or attended with too much difficulty, the matter might then be dropped, and the payment of the tribute made good. He accordingly propoſed that a letter ſhould be written to Mr. Hollond, particularly inſtructing him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for the attainment of ſo deſirable an object. He acknowledged, at the ſame time, that the ſubject was very delicate, and ſhould not be abruptly gone into; and that the opening of it to the Nizam, would require much management and addreſs on the part of Mr. Hollond, who muſt, by turns, ſooth, and work on his apprehenſions, as the occaſion might require.

The preſident's arguments ſeemed to be concluſive with the committee, and his propoſal met with their full approbation. Hollond was inſtructed, not to mention any compromiſe, nor to ſtipulate for the payment of any part of the peſhcuſh, until every endeavour to induce the Nizam to relinquiſh the whole had failed of effect; and he was likewiſe from his own obſervation to learn, whether there were any points in which he wiſhed that the company ſhould accede to, as a return for his giving up his claim to the peſhcuſh. In the cloſe, however, of the letter, they obſerve to Hollond, that, although their wiſhes extended to an entire remiſſion of the peſhcuſh, and which was accordingly to be the baſis of his firſt propoſal, and to be ſupported by his beſt endeavours, yet, they confeſſed, that without ſomething of importance to tempt him, they could hardly expect that he would at once be brought to ſo great a conceſſion; but they hoped, that making the demand at that time in its full extent, they ſhould the more eaſily obtain a conſiderable abatement in

the amount of the Peſcuſh. If therefore, all his endeavours for an entire remiſſion of the tribute ſhould fail, he was then to try to bring the Nizam to an abatement, from five lacks, which was the preſent ſtandard, to two lacks of rupees a year; being the rate at which the company held the Circars by treaty, for the firſt ſix years.

This unexpected demand on the Nizam was made in the latter end of June; and coming in the place of payment of the arrear, or apology for the delay, and while the freſh ſore of the Guntoor was green and rankling in his mind, could not fail greatly to affect and alarm him. He was accordingly exceedingly agitated—ſaid, that he now found the preſidency were determined to break the treaty, and there was no further occaſion for Mr. Hollond's ſtaying there; that if they were bent on war, he was likewiſe ready; and that if they ſaw any advantage in breaking with him, he ſhould be very well pleaſed, as he was convinced, in caſe of a rupture, the advantages of the conteſt would be on his ſide.—He ſtated, that the ſurrender of the Circars to the company, had proceeded from the fraud and ignorance of his managers; and that he had ſubmitted to that heavy loſs from a ſenſe of his engagements, and conſidering himſelf bound by the treaties, had ſtill adhered to them. He concluded, by threatening immediately to join Hyder Ally, and deſired that his declaration might be immediately communicated to the preſidency, and a ſpeedy anſwer returned; for if there was any delay, his troops might poſſibly advance upon Col. Harper, on his way to the Guntoor.

In the anſwer returned to Hollond upon this ſubject, the committee obſerved, that, although the Nizam's reſentment was raiſed, they ſtill flattered themſelves with greater ſucceſs than they could have procured by a different line of conduct:—He was inſtructed to repreſent to him that no threat was meant, but that it was intended the remiſſion ſhould proceed from his favour and generoſity—that the claim, however, was built on ſuch a foundation of equity, that it could not be relinquiſhed, and hoped he would be convinced of it. Hollond was farther inſtructed, that as a remiſſion of the whole could not be hoped for, he ſhould aim at the propoſed abatement; and he was alſo to throw out, that though they ſhould pay what was owing to the Nizam, when circumſtances permitted, they ſhould be fully prepared to revenge the leaſt inſult that was offered to them.

It ſhould ſcarcely be overlooked, that in this ſeaſon of extraordinary tranſaction and unlooked for demand, amidſt ſo many other ſubjects of irritation, the diſmiſſion of the forces under Lally, and the ſending them to the ſea coaſts, in order that the European part ſhould be ſhipped off for their own quarter of the world, and the native diſperſed, was among the points warmly inſiſted upon with the Nizam.

That prince at length concluded a conference with Mr. Hollond by informing him, that the commencement of hoſtilities muſt be Aug. 31ſt.

the neceſſary conſequence of withholding the peſhcuſh; and that he might have his audience of leave in two days; which was ſucceeded by a formal notice to Hollond to prepare for his departure. In the mean time, the Nizam talked publicly of taking the field as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was over.

It was no ſmall degree of good fortune, that the governor general and ſupreme council totally diſapproved of and condemned, thoſe offenſive meaſures with reſpect to the Nizam, which were purſued on the ſide of Madras. For it is probably to their interference on this occaſion, that we are principally, if not entirely, to attribute the ſubſequent inactivity of this prince, in the ſupport of that grand league of confederacy againſt the Engliſh, of which he boaſted himſelf to be the founder.

It was, however, late, before they received an account of theſe tranſactions, and conſequently more ſo before their interference could take effect. Advices being at length received from Mr. Hollond at Calcutta, it was immediately and unanimouſly determined in the ſupreme council, that they ſhould take an active part in the buſineſs, in order to prevent or remedy thoſe miſchiefs and dangers which were likely to proceed, from the unjuſtifiable meaſures purſued with the Nizam. They accordingly diſpatched a letter to that prince, calculated to quiet or remove his apprehenſions, but, at the ſame time, imputing as little blame as poſſible to the preſidency of fort St. George, in order to avoid leſſening or diſgracing that government in his eyes. In this they ſtated, that the government of Madras could not have had an idea of the offenſive intentions which his highneſs imputed to them; for if they had, they muſt have imparted it to the government of Bengal, as ſuch a deſign could not be carried into execution, nor could the company's name be ever pledged, without the ſanction of the ſupreme council. They likewiſe acquainted him, that they had directed Mr. Hollond to ſuſpend his negociation, until he ſhould have received further inſtructions from his immediate conſtituents, to whom they had themſelves written on the ſubject. They encloſed a copy of the letter to the Nizam in that which they directed to Madras; and without any ſevere cenſure or heavy condemnation of what had been done, only enjoined a ſtrict compliance with the injunctions now laid down for reſtoring amity.

Nov. 1ſt.

The Nizam expreſſed great ſatisfaction, to Mr. Hollond, on reading his letter, which he only received a few days before Chriſtmas; and after dwelling on the reputation which the Engliſh had obtained through former good faith, aſked how the late conduct of his employers could be reconciled with that character? After charging them with a violation of treaty, particularly in ſeizing his brother's Circar, he declared that he was on the eve of revenging theſe inſults when the letter arrived; but that he would now put a ſtop to his meaſures. He then added, "If what you write is "from your heart, and the go"vernment of Madras will ad"here ſtrictly to treaty, and will "relin-

relinquiſh the poſſeſſion of the Circar, it is well; if not, I have nothing of greater conſequence than defending my country. It is from this new line of conduct of the Engliſh company, that the foundations of enmity have been laid in the whole country of Indoſtan." He concluded by deſiring, that their friendſhip might continue ready.

This interference of the ſupreme council was exceedingly ill taken at Madras. They teſtified the greateſt ſurprize, that their endeavours to get rid of a heavy and diſgraceful burthen, ſhould be repreſented as a violation of faith; they charged themſelves only with erring on the ſide of forbearance in their conduct with the Nizam, and attributed his violent behaviour to that ſort of paſſionate folly, which ſometimes ariſes from a ſenſe of inability and weakneſs; but if he really entertained ideas or deſigns inimical to the company, they aroſe entirely from the Maratta war, and not from any tranſactions that paſſed between him and their preſidency; and they juſtified their ſtopping of the peſhcuſh, by recriminating with great warmth upon Bengal, for the example which they had ſet, in ſtripping the Shah Allum of his tribute. But they went ſtill farther, and ſtiffly diſputed the point of juriſdiction with the ſupreme council; totally denying their right of interference, and putting ſuch a conſtruction upon a clauſe of the act of parliament from which they derived their authority, as tended to ſhew, that their reſtraining powers did not at all extend to the preſent inſtance.—The preſidency, at the ſame time, recalled and ſuſpended Mr. Hollond; for whoſe diſgrace no other cauſe appears, than his communicating to the ſupreme council the tranſactions with the Nizam; which, by his original inſtructions, it appears to have been his duty to do. He was, however, continued by the ſupreme council at the court of Hyderabad, and appointed their reſident to the Nizam.

This diſpute, between the ſupreme council and the preſidency of Madras, run deep into the following year; and was at length only ended, and ſatisfaction obtained for the Nizam, (in the midſt of the confuſion occaſioned by Hyder Ally's invaſion of the Carnatic) by the former proceeding to the laſt extremity of ſuſpending Mr. Whitehill, who ſucceeded Sir Thomas Rumbold as preſident of that council.

We have ſeen Col. Harper's ineffectual attempt to paſs through Hyder Ally's newly acquired territories in his way to the Guntoor Circar, which equally extended to the relief or protection of Bazalet Jung in his capital of Adoni; and of Harper's conſequent return to Innaconda. The failure of this expedition, which aroſe entirely from an ill-judged and unprofitable attempt, not at all connected with it, totally diſconcerted the views of the preſidency with reſpect to that prince. Harper was then not only detained for freſh orders, but when they arrived, he had neither money nor proviſions to enable him to purſue his march by that way, which ſhould have been originally adopted, and which then would have produced the intended effect. The

preſidency fretted at a delay, which ſo materially interfered with their deſigns, and which, though it proceeded from, they were by no means willing to attribute to themſelves, charged Harper with dilatorineſs, and gave the command of the detachment to Col. Baillie.

In the mean time, Bazalet Jung, preſſed on both ſides by his brother and Hyder Ally, to renounce the engagements into which he had entered with the Engliſh, and particularly terrified by the threats of the latter, was inceſſant in his applications at Madras, for that immediate ſuccour and protection, without which he could no longer maintain them. Hyder no longer held any reſerve with reſpect to his enmity to the Engliſh, or, perhaps more properly, to the government of Madras. In his letters to Bazalet Jung, he affected to hold their councils in the utmoſt contempt, at the ſame time that he repreſented their views and deſigns, as the moſt atrocious and dangerous that could poſſibly be imagined. He ſaid, that he knew them well; and while he repreſented them as the common enemy of the country, if not of mankind, he endeavoured to ſhew from his own experience and ſucceſs in the laſt war, that they were not near ſo formidable, even in arms, as was vainly imagined by thoſe who had not courage to try their force. He concluded, with what was equivalent to a threat, that he could not admit of his putting the Circar into the hands of his old and bitter enemy.

The Nizam aſked him if he did not know the diſpoſition of the Europeans? and that nothing, which they, by any means, once got poſſeſſion of, could ever be got out of their hands? He quoted the inſtance of their treatment of Sujah Dowla and his ſon, to ſhew the danger and ruin which even attended their friendſhip; and concluded with menaces, that if he perſiſted in his connection with them, his troops ſhould join Hyder Ally's, in totally diſpoſſeſſing him of all his territories; and that he would then grant the Guntoor Circar to Hyder.

But letters and menaces not producing the expected effect, Hyder's troops, taking advantage of the delays, which Harper and his ſucceſſor's detachment met with, ſuddenly entered Bazalet Jung's territories, and ſeizing all the open country, confined that terrified prince within the walls of Adoni, his capital. In this ſtate, he repreſented at Madras the impoſſibility now of fulfilling his engagements, accompanied with a requeſt, that they would withdraw their troops and civil officers from the Guntoor Circar, as their continuance there would prove his inevitable ruin.

Such was the ſtate of public affairs at the cloſe of the year 1779, and the beginning of the following year. And ſuch were the meaſures purſued on both ſides of India, whether for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, or for giving occaſion to that dangerous confederacy of the native powers, calculated for the annihilation of the Engliſh power and intereſts in that part of the world. The preſidency of Madras, the ſupreme council, and the government of Bombay, have all accuſed each other, of having given riſe to the fatal events that enſued.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

State of affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel. Mahie taken. Nabob of Arcot. Strong indications of Hyder Ally's indiſpoſition to the government of Madras, and of his deſigns upon the Carnatic. Neglect of preparation. Diſſentions in council. Hyder invades the Carnatic with a great army. Country ravaged; Conjeveram burnt. Arcot beſieged. Gen. Sir Hector Monro marches with the army from the Mount, in order to form a junction with Col. Baillie, and to relieve Arcot. Hyder raiſes the ſiege, and places his army in a poſition to prevent the junction. Baillie defeats Meer and Tippo Saib, but Hyder's whole army being in his way, is unable to proceed on his march. Col. Fletcher ſent with a choſen detachment to reinforce Baillie. Deſperate action, between Hyder's army and the united detachment. Singular gallantry diſplayed by that ſmall body of men. Accidental blowing up of their powder, changes the fortune of the day, and occaſions the loſs of the whole corps. Great ſlaughter; Col. Fletcher killed, and Baillie, with a ſmall number of Europeans, taken priſoners. Gen. Sir H. Monro retreats to Chingleput, and from thence to Madras. Deplorable ſtate of the country, and of the company's affairs. Guntoor Circar reſtored to Bazalet Jung; and a conciliatory letter ſent to the Nizam. Hyder renews the ſiege of Arcot. Takes the city, and afterwards the fort or citadel. Vigorous meaſures taken by the Supreme Council, for the relief of the Carnatic. Sir Eyre Coote arrives at Madras, with a large ſum of money, and a reinforcement of Europeans, from Bengal: takes the command of the army. Mr. Whitehill ſuſpended from his office of preſident and governor.

IT was not a little ſingular as well as unfortunate, that while meaſures of irritation tending ſtrongly to hoſtility with the neighbouring powers, were purſued by the government of Madras, no ſuitable military preparations were made, nor means provided, whether for diverting the conſequences which might be apprehended from thoſe meaſures, or for ſupporting the deſigns which ſome of them apparently indicated. Hyder Ally's indiſpoſition towards that government, as well as his intimate connections with the French, were publicly known. He affected to make a diſtinction between that preſidency and the company at large; for whom, and for the Engliſh in general, he occaſionally profeſſed good wiſhes and regard; but took no pains to diſguiſe his jealouſy of the former.

Beſides the failure on the ſide of Madras, in not acting up to the conditions of the treaty of 1769, at the time that Hyder was diſtreſſed and overborne by the Marattas, various other matters which afforded ground for complaint and diſguſt had ſince occurred. It is probable, that he was of late induſtrious in ſeeking or watching for occaſions of this nature; but it ſhould likewiſe ſeem, that he was not without ſome well-founded cauſes of complaint. A gentleman of conſiderable rank and command in the company's military

ſervice was ſo ſenſible of it, that he did not ſcruple in a letter to the preſidency, indirectly to arraign their conduct, by complaining of the many things which had been done to irritate Hyder's government, without their providing in any manner againſt the inevitable conſequences.

It was even the general opinion, both with natives and foreigners, that nothing leſs than Hyder's being ſo deeply engaged as he was in the Maratta war, could have prevented his marching to the aſſiſtance of the French, when Pondicherry was reduced in 1778. His behaviour with reſpect to the expedition againſt the French fort and ſettlement of Mahie, in the beginning of the following year, not only afforded a demonſtration of his attachment to that nation, and indiſpoſition to the government of Madras, but might have been conſidered as an index to his future conduct.

Mahie was ſituated in the territories of one of the ſmall princes on the Malabar coaſt, who, with his neighbours, being overruled by the fortune of Hyder Ally, had been forced to ſubmit to a dependance on him. Hyder made this circumſtance a pretext, for affecting to conſider Mahie as a part of his dominion; and in a high and authoritative tone, remonſtrated againſt the expedition. He declared, that many Europeans, French, Engliſh, Dutch, Danes, and Portugueſe, had eſtabliſhed factories, or were individually ſettled in his dominions, for the purpoſes of commerce, and to the mutual benefit of his own ſubjects and theirs: that they were all under his protection, and ſhould fully receive it: that he had nothing to do with their particular quarrels; that he ſhould conſider the intended attempt on Mahie as a direct attack upon himſelf, and that he would accordingly, repel and revenge it to the utmoſt of his power. At the ſame time, his vakeel, or reſident, at Madras, denounced, in plain terms, an irruption into the Carnatic if the expedition took place. Theſe threats occaſioned ſome pauſe in the proſecution of the meaſure; but Hyder being ſtill engaged in war, and the expulſion of the French from Mahie, conſidered as a matter of the utmoſt importance, it was at length determined to encounter the conſequences. Col. Brathwaite's rapid ſucceſs in the reduction of that place, defeated Hyder's views for its preſervation; but he treated it upon all occaſions as an injury of a nature not to be borne, and in a manner, which indicated his determination of obtaining in due time full ſatisfaction.

Little doubt ſeemed now to remain, as to the part which Hyder would take, whenever he was diſengaged from the Maratta war; and this diſpoſition became ſoon more dangerous, from the number of troops which the French were continually ſending to their African iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon; as well as the ſtrong ſquadron which they not long after diſpatched from Europe, for the ſupport of their intereſt in the Eaſt.

Yet, with all this diſſatisfaction and ill temper, on the ſide of Hyder Ally, the commander in chief of the Britiſh forces in India has ſince recorded his opinion, by a written

written minute in the council of Madras, and in terms which shew a full conviction, that, notwithstanding the affair of Mahie, and all other subjects of jealousy or difference, peace might not only have been still preserved, but an advantageous and firm alliance concluded between him and the company, if it had not been for the untoward measures pursued with Bazalet Jung relative to the Guntoor Circar. From that time indeed, Hyder held no reserve in declaring his sentiments with respect to the government of Madras.

Although the Nabob of Arcot was most shamefully and culpably negligent, in every thing that depended upon himself relative to preparation and defence, yet he was a vigilant watchman with respect to the presidency, and gave them repeated warnings of the approaching danger. He had been early in advising the wholesome measure, of drawing the troops together in the Carnatic, and of forming one or two camps in such positions, as would appear the best calculated for preserving the communications, and for protecting the country in case of invasion.—He stated, in support of his advice, the suddenness of the irruption, if it took place, and the rapidity with which the enemy's horse would overspread the country; the difficulty and danger which would then attend every attempt to collect the troops, if they lay scattered in remote quarters; and what would be scarcely less pernicious, the impracticability of procuring, under the general impression of terror, bullocks, (which are generally used in India) for the service of the artillery, or a sufficient number of those native coolies, or porters, who are necessary to all armies in that country, for the purpose of assisting in the conveyance both of baggage and provisions. He at the same time declared, that he had neither treasures nor cavalry upon which he could found a hope of making an effectual resistance. The nabob's intelligence and advice were both good, but his rooted enmity to Hyder Ally rendered them suspected, and probably, not always without reason. He had long urged the presidency to an alliance with the Marattas against Hyder; a proposal, which if it had been otherwise approved of, the measures pursued on the other side of India would have rendered impracticable.

Towards the close of the year 1779, the presidency received intelligence from the nabob, of the peace concluded between Hyder and the Marattas, with some faint sketch of the alliance formed between those powers and the Nizam against the English. This was not at first credited, but by the end of the year was too well confirmed. Although the nature and extent of the new confederacy were not exactly known, yet, as things stood, a peace of any sort between Hyder and the Marattas, might have been considered as the signal of a war with the former. Though this seemed in some sort to be understood at Madras, and that the ruinous consequences of an invasion of the Carnatic were fully displayed in their correspondence with Bengal, yet that government relied so much upon an accommodation between the other

presidencies and the Marattas, as the certain means of averting the evil, that it perhaps slackened their endeavours to provide for the last extremity in case of failure. They did not believe that Hyder would have ventured upon a war, if the disputes with the Marattas were settled; (an opinion which, however, appears sufficiently problematical) and they perhaps depended too much upon the accommodating spirit of ths other parties.

The governor of Fort St. George had already employed a private person to convey a letter to, and to open a secret negociation with Hyder, hoping by a direct personal communication, to be able to settle or remove the existing differences, and at any rate to acquire a real knowledge of his sentiments. Hyder's answer to his letter, corresponded with the cold and haughty manner in which he treated the bearer of it. He observed, that when a friendship, confirmed by a solid treaty, had subsisted between the company and him, he imagined it would daily increase, and not have been broken through, as he asserted it had been on our side; he said, that out of consideration for the friendship of the king of England and the company, whom he had considered as one, but now thought otherwise, he had not yet taken vengeance. He concluded in the following abrupt sentences: — "It is no matter! — But if you, henceforth forgetting all treaties and engagements of the company, still are intent on breaking with me, what advantage can attend writing to you? — You are acquainted with every thing; it is right to act in all things with prudence and forefight."

Notwithstanding these circumstances, it appears by a letter from the president to the court of directors, in the following month of February, that all apprehensions of a war with Hyder was then over at the presidency. But a letter which Hyder sent in the following month to the president, was considered by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, (who commanded the British squadron in the Indian seas) as containing such evident testimonies of his hostile disposition, that he thought it his duty to dispatch a copy of it home to the secretary of state. This letter contained a short but explicit detail of various causes of complaint which he had exhibited against that government, from the conclusion of the treaty in the year 1769, to the present time, and conveyed in a language and manner, which not only shewed that those injuries were fresh in memory, but likewise expressed a strong sense of their not being yet accounted for. It concludes with the following expostulation: — "When such improper conduct is pursued, what engagements will remain inviolate? I leave it to the judgment of you and your council to determine, on whose part the engagements and promises have been infringed."

March 19, 1780.

He expressed himself to the same purpose, in a letter of answer which he had written a short time before to Bombay, relative to some English gentlemen who had been imprisoned in his dominions, and whom he released upon the application of that presidency; he informed

formed them, after ſtating his complaints, that he had given orders to his officers to oppoſe by arms any future encroachment on his territories, by the government of Madras; but, as there were no differences between him and Bombay, he declared, that his reſentments ſhould fall only on thoſe who were the authors of injuſtice.

Such were the indications of the future ſtorm. As the ſummer advanced, every thing was in motion in Hyder's dominions. Large bodies of his troops were aſſembled on the borders of the Carnatic, particularly in the neighbourhood of thoſe gauts, or difficult paſſes through the mountains, which afford the only means to an army of penetrating into that country; great magazines were formed, artillery, and all the equipments of war brought forward; Hyder himſelf, advanced from his capital, of Seringapatam, to the frontiers, and the moſt evident marks were diſplayed on all hands of the approaching danger.

In this ſtate of things, the means of defence provided by the government of Madras, and the Nabob of Arcot, in order to preſerve the Carnatic, were not by any means ſo abundant as might have been deſired. It is neceſſary however to relate the ſituation of both.

That prince, through the ill government of his affairs, and a diſſipation of his treaſures, (for which it is difficult to account) was in debt to all the world; to the company, to his army, and to individuals. He borrowed from all who would lend, and never paid. His garriſons were without ſtores, ammunition or proviſions; and he was ſo deeply in arrear to his officers and troops, that all diſcipline and order had long been at an end, and mutiny and deſertion every where prevailed in his army. His cavalry, in particular, were totally ruined. They deſerted, that is to ſay, they marched off at noon day, with their horſes and arms, by whole regiments. His beſt regiment of horſe was, in theſe circumſtances, recovered and brought back, by the generoſity and public ſpirit of a Britiſh military officer, who advanced his whole fortune for the payment of their arrears. This gentleman being afterwards obliged to return to England for the recovery of his health, was exceedingly diſtreſſed for the money which he had ſo applied, until it was advanced on the nabob's account, by the government of Madras.

On the other ſide, the government of Madras had a gallant and well diſciplined army, amounting to ſomething about 30,000 effective men; and had been lately reinforced by the arrival of Lord Macleod, with a new raiſed regiment, of a thouſand men, from England. But this force, which would have been ſo conſiderable in its effect, if collected and acting in a body, was rendered weak and inert, by its being broken into ſmall parties, diſperſed at great diſtances, whether in quarters, garriſons, or upon various detached ſervices. A conſiderable party, but much more ſo with reſpect to the nature and value of the troops than their number, were, in this ſeaſon of danger, ſent to aſſiſt Gen. Goddard in the Guzerat war. The applications from Bengal for this reinforcement,

were,

were, however, too urgent not to be complied with. Others were in garriſon on the Malabar coaſt; and a very valuable detachment was in the Guntoor Circar, under the conduct of Col. Baillie. Thoſe immediately in the Carnatic were diſperſed in the manner we have before obſerved. A ſcarcity of money uſually ſuperinduces every other want. This misfortune now prevailed; and the troops were generally deſtitute of all thoſe neceſſaries and means which could enable them to take the field.

Whether it proceeded from a ſhame of expoſing his ill conduct, or from ſome ſtrange pride or jealouſy, no account could be obtained from the nabob, either now or for ſome years back, though earneſtly urged by the preſidency, of his military eſtabliſhment, or the ſtate or number of his troops. It was, however, known, that the uſual eſtabliſhment of his army, at ſome former periods, was about 35,000 men; a number which, if only in tolerable condition, that, joined to the company's forces, would have ſecured the Carnatic againſt any invaſion. But indeed, the behaviour of his officers and troops, rendered their number of little conſequence. It is to be obſerved, that upon the repeated intelligence which the nabob conveyed of Hyder's deſigns or movements, he was as conſtantly urged and warned by the preſidency to be prepared for the worſt that could happen; not only by having his army, forts, and garriſons, well ſupplied and in good condition, but by diſcharging the large debts and arrears which he owed to the company, and thereby enabling them to act with vigour, in his ſupport as well as their own. His plea of inability and poverty, though treated as too incomprehenſible to be credited, brought out much ſevere reproof from the preſident, relative to the unaccountable ill conduct, which could poſſibly produce ſuch a ſtate of his affairs.

The preſidency ſeemed however to have given no farther credit to the various intelligence received, than was neceſſary for making it the ground of their remonſtrances. All accounts of Hyder's deſigns, and of the movements of his forces, were not only ſlighted, but at the laſt, and when he had actually penetrated into the Carnatic, the firſt intelligence of the invaſion was treated with the higheſt contempt at Madras; ſo that the burning of Conjeveram, four days after his entering the country, and the arrival of ſome of his horſe in the neighbourhood of Madras, were the firſt evidences of danger that were admitted.

Two members, however, of the council, had repeatedly endeavoured to awaken the majority to a ſenſe of the common danger; and particularly to collect the troops, and adopt other meaſures of preparation, neceſſary to the defence and protection of the country. Another member of the council, but not of the ſelect committee, in a minute which he delivered a few days after the invaſion, declared, without reſerve, That they had been long approaching to that unhappy ſtate, at which they were now arrived; that private miſmanagement, and not public calamity, had brought them to the brink of deſtruction; that Hyder had long treated them with neglect and inſult; that he had

had for several months been assembling a large army on the frontiers, while his vakeel (or resident) was allowed to remain at Madras, to give him daily intelligence of the effect his motions had upon that government, which remained inactive, and had neither resolution to question him about his intentions, or wisdom to provide against the danger. That they had suffered their troops to remain scattered in different parts of the country, without stores or guns; that their garrisons were not put in a state of defence; that no pains were taken to replenish an empty treasury; and that their want of exertion on the imminence of danger, was equal to their want of timely precaution.

These severe strictures on the conduct of government, accompanied by many others not less so, excited the warmest resentment of the presidency. They pronounced Mr. Sadlier's observations to be illiberal reflections on the conduct and measures of government, and the whole minute to be an inflammatory declamation, which they attributed either to a shameful weakness, or to the most unworthy motives; and laying hold of some expressions which they construed into a design of sowing disaffection among the people at large, and others which called in question the authority of the select committee, they made them the grounds of a vote, for suspending that gentleman from his seat in the council, as well as from the company's service in general. Nor did the matter rest there; but was followed by a challenge from the commander in chief of the forces in the Carnatic.

The two gentlemen of the select committee, whom we have before-mentioned, (Mr. Johnson and Mr. Smith) strongly opposed, and protested against the act of suspension, which they represented as irregular, violent, and unjust. They declared, that the representation made by Mr. Sadlier, agreed in many particulars with their own sentiments; that this would fully appear from their former remonstrances upon the indolence and negligence which prevailed in that government with respect to preparation and defence. In protesting against the violence of the measure of suspension, they declare their apprehension, that the terror of the example was calculated to overawe the members of administration from a free declaration of their sentiments; they support their imputation of injustice on the ground, that no specific charge was brought against Mr. Sadlier, and that he was not heard in his defence; and they venture to intimate a suspicion, that private resentment, more than public utility, had caused the severity exercised against that gentleman.

Charges of neglect, with respect to the garrisons, stores, and the state of the army for taking the field, by no means dissimilar, tho' delivered in softer language, to those brought by Mr. Sadlier, were afterwards delivered in council by the commander of the forces himself. In the mean time, Hyder Ally openly treated the conduct and councils of the government of Madras with superlative contempt. He publicly declared his determination to ruin the Carnatic, and to chastise the English. He had tried

tried them, he ſaid, already, and he knew them well; they had no conduct; and even now, ſaid he, "when I have aſſembled ſo great "a force to enter into their coun-"try, they have not manifeſted "the leaſt glimmering of ability; "and now therefore is the time to "go againſt them."

Such was the ſtate of things, when, about the 20th of July, 1780, Hyder having made his way through the gauts, burſt at once, like a prodigious torrent, into the Carnatic. No care whatever had been taken to guard or fortify theſe mountainous defiles; nor did he meet with any other obſtruction in his paſſage, than what aroſe from the narrowneſs and difficulty of the ground. Even ſome of the garriſons near their opening, which had made previous remonſtrances of their weakneſs and danger, and applications for ſpeedy reinforcements, had been totally unattended to.

Hyder's army was eſtimated at 100,000 men; but by accurate accounts, they exceeded 86,000 men, of all ſorts, (the irregulars forming a great claſs) beſides a ſtrong body which had been diſpatched under Meer Saib towards the northern Circars, and other parties which were employed in every where alarming the frontiers. In the grand army under his own command, it was computed that he had about 30,000 well diſciplined foot, and 20,000 good cavalry; his force being rendered more formidable and effective, by the aid of Lally's troops, whom he had obtained from the Nizam, beſides the number of French officers, and other Europeans, who were before in his ſervice.

The general terror and confuſion which now prevailed, could not be leſſened by the indeciſion which appeared in the public councils. Different and fluctuating opinions were held, with reſpect to the modes of defence proper to be adopted, and the manner, and place of aſſembling the forces. Orders were accordingly haſtily iſſued to the commanding officers at different ſtations, and were again ſuddenly revoked. What appears an odd reſolution was paſſed in the ſelect committee, that the commander in chief's counſel rendered his preſence more neceſſary at Madras, than at the head of the army. In conſequence of this reſolution, inſtructions were ſent to Lord Macleod, to ſupply his place, by collecting the forces, and forming an encampment. But that officer differing much in opinion, from the arrangements made in council, particularly with reſpect to the place preſcribed for aſſembling the army, ſubmitted his thoughts upon the ſubject, along with a plan which ſuited his own ideas, to the preſidency; at the ſame time declaring, that he could not adopt a reſponſibility in the execution of plans which did not coincide with his own judgment. This difference of opinion, as the propoſed change of arrangement was not approved of, occaſioned a departure, in the ſelect committee, from the late reſolution of detaining Sir Hector Monro at Madras.

In the mean time, intelligence upon intelligence was continually poured in, of the ruin ſpread on

all ſides, and the danger threatened in every quarter, by the enemy; and theſe accounts were generally accompanied with repreſentations from the different garriſons, of their inequality to any effectual reſiſtance; and that without a ſpeedy and material ſupply of men and ſtores, they muſt fall an eaſy prey to the invader.

The Nabob anſwered the urgency of the preſidency, for exertion on his part, and for ſpeedy ſupplies of proviſions and means to enable the army to act, partly with excuſes, and partly with reproaches for their tardineſs and inactivity. He promiſed, however, to procure ſupplies of oxen, ſheep and rice, in as great number and quantity as he could. That he would exert himſelf to complete four regiments of cavalry, which ſhould be put under the directions of the commander in chief, during the war; and he conſented, to make aſſignments of territory, for the ſums which ſhould be advanced by the company to pay his troops.

But ſo defective was the order eſtabliſhed in this prince's government, and ſo heedleſs were his miniſters and council, in at all providing for thoſe ſudden emergencies which were to be expected in the preſent ſtate of invaſion and danger, that his commander in the very ſtrong and important fortreſs of Gingee, when, under the apprehenſion of an immediate attack by Hyder, and though his own force and proviſion were totally incompetent to the preſervation of the place, yet refuſed to permit a Britiſh officer, who was ſent with a reinforcement, to take any meaſures for its defence, until he had received ſpecific orders from his maſter for that purpoſe. Col. Brathwaite felt great ſurprize and concern upon his arrival at Carangolly, to find the defence of that important poſt in the hands of a very inferior officer, and only 20 of the Nabob's ſepoys; but his ſurprize was heightened, when that petty commandant ſcrupled to receive even a ſupply of ammunition from him, becauſe he had received no particular orders on the ſubject. The troops which that colonel was leading from Pondicherry to join the army, afterwards experienced the greateſt diſtreſſes upon their march, through the ſame want of orders, which the Nabob's renters made a pretence, for abſolutely refuſing to ſupply him with proviſions.

Such was the ſtate of vigour, concert, and preparation, which appeared on the ſide of the defenders of the Carnatic, in this ſeaſon of imminent danger, and actual invaſion; when every day furniſhed new accounts of devaſtation and loſs: and there was ſcarcely a place from one end of the coaſt to the other that was not menaced, and in a ſtate of alarm and confuſion. Nor were theſe confined to the Carnatic. Tippoo Saib advanced with a great body of cavalry upon the northern Circars; whilſt, at the oppoſite extremity, different parties of the enemy were approaching to Madura, and the borders of the Tinivelly country. In this ſtate of things, the company's forces, tho' in excellent condition with reſpect to diſcipline, and the goodneſs and ſpirit of the troops, were rendered incapable, from the cauſes already ſtated, of aſſembling, and conſequently

quently of acting with effect. And while the army, which was capable of acting in the field, was reſtrained by theſe impediments, the ſpirit of diſaffection and mutiny, which bad payment and long arrears had ſpread through the Nabob's garriſons, left little room for hoping, that they were not much more diſpoſed to wiſh for and accelerate a change of maſters, than to undergo the hardſhips, or encounter the danger, of maintaining their poſts.

The only meaſure that carried any appearance of vigour that was now adopted, (although the ſcheme was well laid, and the deſign capable of good effect) ſunk under the prevalent fortune of the time. This was a plan committed, in the beginning of Auguſt, to the execution of Col. Coſby, for ſuddenly drawing together a conſiderable body of troops from the nearer garriſons, to be joined by two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry, with a view of cutting off ſome great convoys of ſtores and proviſions, which were to come through the paſſes, in their way from Hyder's country to the ſupply of his army.

Notwithſtanding the provoking and unexpected delays which occurred in collecting the troops, Coſby's activity and bravery might ſtill have been crowned with ſucceſs, if it had not been for the general diſaffection of the country people, and the treachery of the Nabob's ſervants and officers. While the former not only refuſed to communicate any true information, whether with reſpect to the enemy or to the country, and were induſtrious in forging falſehoods, on purpoſe to miſlead that commander, the latter were no leſs diligent in giving the moſt exact intelligence to Hyder of all his motions. By theſe means, the hope of an enterprize which might have had great effect in changing the fortune of the war, was not only overthrown; but it was with great difficulty, and no ſmall exertion of diligence and activity, that Coſby's party eſcaped being cut off, in his endeavours to join the army; which he only effected upon the retreat from Conjeveram, in the middle of the following month.

In the mean time, Aug. 10th. an attack made by Hyder's horſe upon the villages and gardens about the Mount, brought the alarm immediately home to Madras; and occaſioned conſultations for the throwing up of ſome works to cover the black town. The army had been ordered to aſſemble at Conjeveram; but on the day preceding the middle of the month, the general informed the ſelect committee, that this deſign could not be effected, through the want of bullocks to convey a ſufficient quantity of proviſions; the country people, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, having conveyed them to diſtant places of refuge. He therefore adviſed, that the Mount ſhould now be made the place of general rendezvous, where the troops ſhould remain, until eight days proviſions could be collected, and the means of conveyance procured; when the army ſhould immediately proceed on its march. This being agreed to, another application was made to the Nabob, to urge his exertion in procuring a ſpeedy ſupply of bullocks

bullocks and proviſions; and farther requiring, that he ſhould appoint ſome perſon of diſtinction and conſequence to reſide with, and attend to the wants of the army, in order that their future ſupplies might be regular and conſtant.

Hyder, after menacing Gingee, and ſome other places with a ſiege, as a blind only to his real deſign, ſuddenly marched, and ſate down before Arcot, on the 21ſt. of Auguſt. This circumſtance forwarded the Nabob's anſwer to the late application; in which, he reminded the committee of the ſtores of all kinds which he had laid up in ſeveral of his forts; and intreated, that they would order the army to march immediately to the relief of his capital, where, he aſſured them, that the troops ſhould be plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary they wanted. However Hyder endeavoured to cover his deſign upon Arcot, it had been ſo far penetrated, or ſuſpected, that a conſiderable detachment of the company's troops had been previouſly ſent from the important fortreſs of Vellore, which arrived in time for the reinforcement of that garriſon. It was in a few days after Hyder inveſted Arcot, that it was found neceſſary at Madras, that Sir Hector Monro ſhould quit the committee for the camp; and he accordingly proceeded on the 25th to take the command of the army at the Mount.

We have already ſeen, that Col. Baillie commanded the company's forces in the Guntoor Circar. The orders which that officer had from time to time received ſince the invaſion took place, were various and contradictory, and had occaſioned no ſmall claſhing of opinions in the ſelect committee at Madras. His firſt, and ſome ſubſequent inſtructions, went to the direct attack of Hyder's dominions in that quarter, particularly to the reduction of the Cuddepah country; with, however, a diſcretionary latitude to the exerciſe of his own judgment, in immediately directing his operations to thoſe particular parts, where it might appear at the time they were moſt likely to prove effective. Theſe orders were ſtrongly oppoſed and proteſted againſt by two members of the committee; who ſtated various reaſons to ſhew, that Baillie's detachment ſhould be immediately directed to march forward with the utmoſt expedition, and to join the army, at its then intended rendezvous near Conjeveram.

Advices being ſoon after received from Baillie, that the nearneſs of Hyder's cavalry to the ſouthward, with the overflowing of the Kriſtna on the northward, had, on both ſides, ſo contracted the ſources, and interrupted the courſe of his ſupplies of proviſion, that the providing ſubſiſtence for the forces became every day more alarming and precarious; and, what was no leſs alarming, that he was apprehenſive of not being able much longer to detain the bullocks neceſſary for a march, and without which the army could not in any circumſtance at all move. Theſe advices occaſioned, on the laſt day of July, ſome enlargement of that commander's inſtructions; he being authorized, by the diſpatches then forwarded, to march towards the preſidency, if he ſhould find it abſolutely impracticable to ſubſiſt the forces, either

either in the enemy's country, or from ſome other quarter.

But as the danger at home approached more near, and became every day more urgent, the committee, very ſoon after, thought it neceſſary to become converts to the original opinion of the two diſſenting members, and to diſpatch accordingly an expreſs to Col. Baillie, with orders to march towards the preſidency at all events; but with an avaricious eye ſtill to more diſtant ſervice, adviſed him to take ſuch a route, as might poſſibly afford him an opportunity of cutting off ſome of the enemy's convoys. The delay occaſioned by this indeciſion with reſpect to Baillie's detachment, though not amounting to very many days, was the means of producing the fatal cataſtrophe that followed, the effects of which will be long remembered, and late, if ever, recovered.

Aug. 25th. The only cavalry in the army at St. Thomas's Mount, was a ſingle regiment belonging to the Nabob. Upon the arrival of the general, Sir Hector Monro, in the camp, this regiment totally refuſed ſerving any longer, unleſs their arrears were immediately diſcharged. The Ameer, a principal officer of the Nabob's, who was preſent, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of the exigency, when the fate of his maſter's capital was depending, refuſed to comply with the demand. The troops continuing obſtinate, the remedy adopted was to break the regiment, and to ſtrip them of their horſes and arms. Seventeen black officers, and about ſixty of the men, offered to ſerve in a new corps, under the company, and were gladly accepted by the general; the reſt of the broken troopers were ordered to be ſent under a guard, as priſoners, to Madras; but the Ameer, on the following morning, took an opportunity of enliſting them all into his own body guard. Such was the diſpoſition and attention to that prince's ſervice and intereſt, which then appeared among his principal ſervants.

The continual rain which now fell, had ſwelled the rivers in ſuch a degree, as to render the way from the Guntoor nearly impaſſible: which, beſides greatly retarding the march of Baillie's detachment, incommoded and diſtreſſed the troops exceedingly. Although Sir Hector Monro's force at the Mount was ſo totally inferior in point of number, as not to ſeem by any means equal to the encounter of Hyder's army in the field, yet the excellency of the troops, along with the fine train of artillery that accompanied them, was no ſmall counter-balance to the great ſuperiority of the enemy in other reſpects, and the junction of Baillie's corps, it was expected, would have enabled them to undertake any enterprize with effect. In theſe circumſtances, the general conſidered, that a forward movement towards Arcot, would probably alarm Hyder ſo much, as to induce him to raiſe the ſiege of that place; and that the junction with Baillie, would produce a greater or more timely effect, by its taking place at Conjeveram, which was near forty miles on the way to his object, than it would, by waiting for his arrival at St. Thomas's Mount. It is true, that Conjeveram

eram was entirely out of Baillie's
rect way, and neceſſarily led
im to change his courſe conſider-
bly to the weſtward; but no idea
as then entertained, of any dan-
r or difficulty that could occur in
aking good the junction.

Under this determination, diſ-
tches being forwarded to Baillie,
ith inſtructions for the new courſe
was to take, the army was or-
red to march from the Mount.
ch was the wretched ſtate of
ings at this time, that it was
th the greateſt difficulty, (after
month's preparation or alarm,
d within ſix miles of Madras)
at the general could procure
ht day's rice for the army;
ile the collecting of draught
llocks was ſo impracticable,
at the Sepoys were obliged to
ry half this proviſion on their
cks. The whole force was only
out 6,000 men; but of theſe,
re Lord Macleod's and a com-
ny's regiment of Europeans;
ſides a company or two of Eu-
pean grenadiers, belonging to
er regiments, and 300 artil-
y.

th. They arrived in four
day's march at Conjeve-
n, being harraſſed by the ene-
's horſe, which followed and
ng on all ſides of them during
way; but they were much
re incommoded by the violence
the rains than by the enemy;
d their condition was not mend-
, by finding the whole country
der water at their arrival. An
cer from the Nabob attended
coming of the army at Conje-
am, who was to conduct them
their way to Arcot. To him
general immediately applied
procure proviſions, as well for
the troops preſent, as for thoſe
that were expected on the follow-
ing day; accompanied with a re-
quiſition equally urgent, that he
would uſe all poſſible means to ob-
tain intelligence of the ſtate and
motions of the enemy. The an-
ſwer made by this agent of the
Nabob's, is perhaps without a
parallel upon any ſimilar occaſion.
He told the general, that he was
under orders to attend him, but
that he had no authority to pro-
cure either proviſions or intelli-
gence.—As there was only four
days proviſion left, the army had
no other reſource than to encoun-
ter the difficulties of the weather,
and the danger of the enemy's
horſe, by collecting paddy, as the
growing rice is called, in the open,
but overflowed ſurrounding coun-
try.

Hyder Ally, as the general fore-
ſaw, raiſed the ſiege of Arcot,
upon his movement towards Con-
jeveram; but what had not been
expected, he threw his army in
ſuch a manner acroſs the courſe
which Baillie's detachment were
making to that place, as to pre-
vent the intended junction. This
was expected to have taken place
the day after the arrival of the
army; but Baillie, before the in-
tervention of the enemy, was for
ſome days ſtopped, at no great
diſtance, by the ſudden riſing of a
ſmall river in his way. For about
a week after the arrival of the ar-
my in the neighbourhood of Con-
jeveram, it rained almoſt conti-
nually by day and night, and the
waters were out in ſuch a degree,
that they were obliged to change
the ſituation of their encampment
to higher ground; whilſt the in-
duſtry of the troops, in collecting

paddy, and beating the rice from the ſtraw, was no more than ſufficient for their preſent ſubſiſtence. Such was the ſtate of intelligence under all theſe difficulties, that, excepting the accidental report of a deſerter, the firſt account which the general received of Hyder's having quitted his ground before Arcot, of his having croſſed the River Palaar, and being encamped within five miles of his front, was from one of his own officers, who was out upon detached ſervice. In two days after he received intelligence from Col. Baillie, of his having at length croſſed the river, which had ſo unfortunately barred his paſſage.

Sept. 3d.

But that officer was now doomed to meet with more unſurmountable obſtacles. On the day after the general had received this advice, the enemy's army made a great movement to the north-eaſt, which induced Sir Hector Monro to change his poſition likewiſe, and to advance about two miles, to a high ground on the Trepaſſore Road, which was the way that the expected detachment was to come. By theſe movements, the hoſtile camps were brought within two miles of each other; the enemy lying about that diſtance to the left of the Engliſh.

Hyder's view in this movement, was to cover and ſupport the great attack, which he intended that day upon Baillie's detachment. He had already ſent his brother-in-law, Meer Saib, with 8,000 horſe, upon that ſervice; who being gallantly repulſed on the preceding day, he, immediately after this movement, detached his ſon, Tippoo Saib, with 6,000 regular infantry, 12 pieces of cannon, and 18,000 cavalry, the whole being compoſed of the beſt troops in his army, to join the former party, in an united and deciſive attack. They encountered Col. Baillie at a place called Perimbancum, where he made the most maſterly diſpoſitions to withſtand this prodigious ſuperiority of force. After an exceedingly ſevere and well-fought action, of ſeveral hours continuance, the enemy were routed, and Baillie gained a complete a victory, as a total want of cavalry, and the ſmallneſs of his number, could poſſibly admit. Through theſe circumſtances he loſt his baggage; and that of a number of brave men was inevitable. His whole force did not exceed three or four battalions of Sepoys, and from one to two companies of European artillery. The event ſhewed the ſuperior excellence of thoſe troops.

6th.

The conqueror now experienced a new and ſtrange ſituation of things; being reduced to the most diſtreſſing circumſtances in the arms of victory. The Engliſh camp was within a few miles, but Hyder's whole army lay full in his way; and, if any advantage were to be derived from his preſent poſt, he could not retain that through the want of proviſions. He accordingly diſpatched an express to the general with an account of his ſituation; ſtating the loſs he had ſuſtained in the late action, which rendered him incapable of advancing; and the impoſſibility of continuing where he was. He accordingly urged the neceſſity, holding out, at the ſame time, the fulleſt confidence, of his being ſpeedily extricated, by the army

arrival of the army at Perimbancum.

The general's ſituation, upon this occaſion, was undoubtedly very difficult. He found himſelf in a dilemma, where the hazard and danger were ſo balanced on both ſides, that the determination which to take, ſeemed to be a matter rather of fortune, than of judgment. The queſtion was, whether, for the purpoſe of extricating Baillie's detachment, which was to be conſidered as a matter of abſolute neceſſity, he ſhould, with the very inferior force under his command, give Hyder every poſſible advantage over him in a general action, by advancing with the army into a flat and open country, where the immenſe cavalry of the enemy could act upon them on every ſide with the utmoſt effect? Or, whether he ſhould endeavour to attain his object at leſs apparent hazard, by ſending ſuch a reinforcement to Baillie, as would enable him to puſh forward to the camp, in deſpite of the enemy. In the former caſe, beſides the diſadvantage we have mentioned, the army muſt have abandoned their only proviſion, conſiſting in a pagoda full of paddy, which they had collected ſince their arrival. This the enemy would immediately have ſeized, as well as the poſt of Conjeveram, and the ſtrong grounds which they had quitted. Thus the army would have been equally deſtitute of ſhelter, and expoſed to the danger of ſtarving, upon its return from Perimbancum. Nor was the other part of the alternative without its full ſhare of difficulty, hazard, and danger.

This was, however, adopted; and Col. Fletcher, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, appointed with a ſtrong detachment, compoſed of the flower and moſt active part of the army, to the relief of Baillie. The force upon this expedition, conſiſted of the grenadier and light infantry companies of Lord Macleod's highland regiment, two other companies of European grenadiers, one company of Sepoy markſmen, and ten companies of Sepoy grenadiers. As their ſecurity depended upon the remoteneſs and difficulty of their way, as well as the ſilence and ſecrecy of their march, Fletcher refuſed four ſix-pounders which were offered, and ſet out from the camp at nine o'clock at night. Though the men left their knapſacks behind, it was thought neceſſary that they ſhould carry two day's rice, with ſome biſcuit and arrack, to provide againſt the penury at Perimbancum.

Hyder had ſuch excellent intelligence in the Engliſh camp, that he had an early and exact knowledge, not only of the deſign, but of the particular circumſtances relative to Fletcher's detachment; the time, the route, the number and nature of his troops, and even their proceeding without artillery, were all faithfully communicated by his ſpies. He accordingly ſent a ſtrong body of forces to intercept and cut off the detachment on their way; but Col. Fletcher, by a ſingular ſagacity, having conceived ſome ſuſpicion of his guides, ſuddenly changed his route, and by a wide circuitous ſweep, through rice-fields and ſwamps to the right, he by that means, and the cover of the night, evaded the danger.

The late defeat of Meer and

Tippoo Saib, by a force ſo totally inferior in point of number, had greatly damped the ſpirit of the Myſore army; but the account of Fletcher's junction with Baillie, ſpread univerſal diſmay through their camp. The foreign officers were particularly alarmed. They conſidered the whole as a maſterly ſtroke of generalſhip, by which the army would be encloſed, and being attacked on both ſides at once, that nothing but ruin could enſue. Under this impreſſion, Col. Lallie, with moſt of the native general officers, ſtrongly remonſtrated with Hyder, on the neceſſity of immediately breaking up his camp, and repaſſing the Palaar, to avoid the immediate danger, which they otherwiſe conſidered as inevitable. Hyder himſelf was undetermined how to act, and ſeemed to be giving way to the general ſentiment, when the arrival of two of his ſpies from Conjeveram, ſuddenly changed the ſtate of things. The aſſurances given by theſe, that the Engliſh army was perfectly quiet in camp, and that the ſmalleſt preparation was not making, nor in fact any deſign of a movement entertained, at once determined Hyder's conduct. The Europeans ſtill, to a man, held their former opinion. They conſidered the intelligence as too extraordinary, and even too near an impoſſibility, to be at all credited. They accordingly concluded, that the ſpies had ſold Hyder; and that his facility in giving way to the deception, had rendered his ruin inevitable. Lally, however, went once more to Hyder, to urge the neceſſity of ſending off, at any rate, the guns and infantry.

In the mean time the trap was preparing, and laid with no ſmall degree of art, ability, and judgment, for the unfortunate corps that were under the command of Baillie and Fletcher. The moſt covert and difficult ground on the road which they were to paſs, was occupied and enfiladed by ſeveral batteries of cannon; and as the time and circumſtances of their march were known, large bodies of the beſt foot in Hyder's army, lay in ambuſcade on either ſide; he himſelf, with almoſt his whole force, being in readineſs to ſupport the attack. While theſe real diſpoſitions were making, or taking effect, which, by degrees, occupied all the valuable part of Hyder's army, a cloud of irregular cavalry were employed in various motions on the ſide of Conjeveram, in order to attract the attention of the Engliſh camp.

Juſt at day light, Sept. 10th. Baillie's corps was perceived by the enemy, advancing into the very center of the toils which they had laid for them. They marched in column, and the firſt notice they had of their danger, was the opening of a battery of twelve guns, loaded with grape ſhot, which poured in upon their right flank. In half an hour, 57 pieces of cannon were brought to bear, as to penetrate into every part of the Britiſh line; and by ſeven o'clock, the action was become as general, as ſuch a handful of men, engaged with ſo vaſt a hoſt, could make it. Such a conflict has ſeldom been heard of; nor will the example render it common in the practice. Surrounded and attacked on all ſides by 25,000 cavalry, by 30 regiments of diſciplined

Sepoy infantry, beſides Hyder's European corps, and a numerous artillery, generally playing upon them within grape ſhot diſtance, yet this invincible column ſtood firm and undaunted, and repulſed every charge made by the Myſore army, with a prodigious ſlaughter of their braveſt men. Some European gentlemen who were upon buſineſs in Hyder's camp, and thereby became ſpectators of the battle, while they beheld with admiration the cool and intrepid countenance preſerved by the commander, and by his unequalled followers, were ſtill ſtruck with greater aſtoniſhment, in the midſt of all the tumult and danger of ſo unequal a conflict, to ſee their various evolutions performed, with a preciſion and ſteadineſs, which would have gained applauſe in the regulated exerciſes of a field day.

Col. Baillie had only ten pieces of cannon; but theſe were ſo excellently ſerved, that they kept up an unremitting fire, and made great havock among the enemy during the whole engagement.—After a dubious conteſt of three hours, victory began, at half paſt nine o'clock, to declare for the Engliſh; the flower of the Myſore cavalry, after many bloody repulſes, were at length entirely defeated, with great ſlaughter, and driven back upon the main body; and the right wing, compoſed of Hyder's beſt forces, was thrown into diſorder, and began to give way. Hyder himſelf, deſpairing of keeping his infantry much longer in the field, prepared for a retreat. A rapid and maſterly movement, from the right to the center, made at the inſtant by Col. Baillie, confirmed this diſpoſition, and ſeemed entirely to decide the fortune of the day. Orders were accordingly given to Lally to draw off the artillery, and to the cavalry to cover the retreat.

At this moment of joy, exultation, and triumph, as well for unhoped deliverance, as for victory, on the one ſide, and of diſappointment and diſmay on the other, an unforeſeen and unavoidable miſfortune, ſuddenly changed the fortune of the day.

From whatever fatality it proceeded, the tumbrils which contained the ammunition, ſuddenly blew up, with two dreadful exploſions, in the center of the Britiſh lines. One whole face of their column was entirely laid open, and their artillery overturned and deſtroyed. Though the deſtruction of men was great, the total loſs of ammunition was ſtill more dreadful to the ſurvivors. Tippoo Saib inſtantly caught the moment of advantage, and, without waiting for orders, fell with the utmoſt rapidity, at the head of the Mogul and Carnatic horſe, into the broken ſquare, which had not yet time in any degree to recover its order or form; and the cavalry being ſpeedily followed by the French corps, and by the firſt line of infantry, the fate of that gallant band was no longer doubtful. After the prodigies of valour which they had ſo nobly exhibited, the brave Sepoys were almoſt to a man cut to pieces.

Col. Baillie, though already ſeverely wounded, rallied the Europeans, and under the fire of the whole immenſe artillery of the enemy, gained a little eminence, and forming a new ſquare, theſe

invincible relicks of the field, without ammunition, the officers fighting only with their ſwords, and the ſoldiers with their bayonets, and moſt of them grievouſly wounded, reſiſted and repulſed the enemy in thirteen different attacks; until at length, incapable of withſtanding the torrents of freſh troops that were continually pouring upon them, they were borne down and trampled under foot by the horſe and elephants.

Many of the ſtill unconquered private ſoldiers, though cut down and miſerably wounded, diſdained to accept of quarter, and as they lay upon the ground, continued to thruſt fiercely with their bayonets at man and horſe that approached. Never was reputation more highly eſtabliſhed, or more dearly purchaſed by any army. This action afforded the firſt inſtance, in which Sepoys were only diſtinguiſhable by their colour from Europeans in a hard and deſperate action.

The loſs on the Engliſh ſide has been variouſly eſtimated, from 3,300, to 5000 Sepoys, and from five to ſeven hundred Europeans. The lower calculation is probably neareſt the truth; at leaſt with reſpect to the Sepoys. The gallant and lamented Col. Fletcher, was one of the number of brave Engliſh officers who lay on the field. It is indeed a matter of no ſmall wonder, that any of them could have eſcaped the rage of ſuch a carnage. Col. Baillie, with ſomething about 200 Europeans, were, however, made priſoners. Leſs mercy has often been ſhewn, in conflicts of much leſs blood and ſeverity, between Europeans and Chriſtians. Col. Baillie, ſtript, ſorely wounded in three places, and covered with blood, was brought in that condition before Hyder. The conqueror, enraged at his loſs, and at the ſame time intoxicated by his ſudden and unexpected ſucceſs, with that rough barbariſm in war, which only European manners have yet been able in ſome ſort to ſubdue, is ſaid to have inſulted his brave priſoner, by the haughty and imperious tone of his exultation. Baillie, diſdaining to ſink under misfortune or danger, indignantly appealed to his ſon, and to the general officers who were preſent, aſking if the victory was not in his hands, until he was deprived of it by a diſaſter which no human foreſight could have prevented?

This fatal diſaſter is ſaid to have proceeded from the looſe powder which was conveyed in bags by Col. Fletcher's detachment, and which there had not been time for ſhifting into proper packages. As every thing relating to ſo ſignal and extraordinary an action becomes intereſting, it probably will not be thought too minute to relate the account given by an European reſident at Hyder's court (who was preſent at the action, and is ſaid to be a military officer of diſtinction in the ſervice of his own country) of the behaviour of the priſoners. This ingenious foreigner, who ſeems to have felt all the ſympathy of a brave man, in the fate of the troops, ſays of them: — "Officers and men, "ſupported their misfortune with "that haughty, ſullen fortitude, "which is the characteriſtic of "their country."

The Myſore army purchaſed their victory very dearly. The ſlaughter fell almoſt entirely upon their

their beſt troops; and is ſaid to have been ſo immenſe, that if a particular account of the loſs could be obtained, the amount would appear incredible. It is likewiſe ſaid, that if the Conjeveram army had come up, at any time during the engagement, previous to the fatal event of the tumbrils, Hyder would not have been able to carry a ſingle gun, or a ſingle battalion off the field. He appeared in the field mounted on an elephant; and it is ſaid, was fired at five times by an Engliſh artillery officer. Hyder was ſtill ſo apprehenſive of the ſuppoſed danger of his ſituation, that only upon a flying rumour of Sir Hector Monro's army advancing upon him, he precipitately abandoned the field of battle, and retreated, in great confuſion, to a place called the Round Wells, leaving a great part of his baggage, and all the wounded behind. But upon receiving information there, that the Engliſh army had abandoned their artillery, and were retreating towards Chingleput, he inſtantly diſpatched all the freſh and irregular cavalry in purſuit, who returned ſucceſsfully, loaded with ſpoil, and ſufficiently incumbered with wounded priſoners.

It appears that the Conjeveram army had advanced on that unhappy morning along the Trepaſſore road, in order to meet the expected detachments; and that they both heard the firing, and ſaw the ſmoke, on their left; but at too great a diſtance for their coming up before the firing ceaſed. It would ſeem, that no notion was entertained of Hyder's advancing with his whole army to action; that the firing was conſidered as proceeding only from the deſultory attacks of his cavalry; and that too great a confidence was placed in Baillie's ſucceſs againſt every obſtacle. The repeated firing of the appointed number of ſignal cannon, without any return being made, along with the dead ſtillneſs which on all ſides prevailed, began to afford ſome melancholy preſages of diſaſter, (though nothing near ſo bad as it really was) when, at length, the arrival in ſucceſſion of two or three wounded Sepoys, who had the fortune ſingly to eſcape from the carnage, although their relation was indiſtinct and diſtracted, carried ſuch teſtimonials about them, as left no longer a doubt of the fatal event.

The army, both officers and men, Europeans and natives, were ſtung with anger and with grief, almoſt to madneſs, at the deſtruction of their friends and fellows. They were accordingly, without regard to ſtrength or condition, almoſt outrageous in their deſire, to take an immediate and ſevere revenge on the enemy.—Undoubtedly, in that temper, it would have been no eaſy matter to withſtand their fury. But the general, who was fully ſenſible of the weakneſs of his force, and who ſaw and knew the critical ſituation of affairs, found it neceſſary to reſtrain this impetuoſity. He was totally uninformed as to the ſtate and circumſtances of Hyder's army, and ignorant of the great loſs they had ſuſtained in the late action. His own was too certain; he had loſt the flower of his army. His proviſions were likewiſe within a day or two of being exhauſted; his weakneſs, and want of cavalry, rendered the procuring a ſupply

impracticable; his retreat was liable to be cut off, and the army might be ſurrounded, and obliged, through mere hunger, to ſurrender at diſcretion, without ſtriking a blow. The conſequence would be, the loſs of Madras, and of the whole Carnatic.

However ſufficient theſe cauſes were, and however well founded thoſe deductions and meaſures which aroſe from them, the greateſt diſcontent prevailed in the army, and nothing but cenſure and reproach was to be heard. This temper and diſpoſition was ſpread even among the officers; and went ſo far, as it was ſaid, as to put an end to all friendly intercourſe between the general and the nobleman who commanded the regiment belonging to the crown, which, as we have ſeen, had ſome time before arrived from Europe. The orders for a retreat, for ſpiking the heavy artillery, and deſtroying the camp equipage and baggage, not only increaſed theſe diſcontents, but are ſaid to have produced an unequalled ſcene of diſorder and confuſion. Such a ſeries of loſs and diſgrace, was new to the troops, and could ill be borne by them. It was impoſſible that a retreat could be well and orderly conducted under ſuch circumſtances; and to theſe are to be charged the loſs which the army ſuffered, through the purſuit of Hyder's cavalry, on their return to Chingleput.

12th. At Chingleput, they were joined on the day of their arrival, by the forces which Col. Coſby had collected for the enterprize againſt Hyder's convoys, conſiſting of ten companies of Sepoy grenadiers, about an equal number of battalion and light infantry companies, with two regiments of the Nabob's cavalry. Small as this reinforcement was, if it could have joined the army before the late misfortune, a very different face of affairs might probably have appeared. The want of proviſions obliged the army to proceed from Chingleput to the neighbourhood of Madras, where they were encamped.

The terror and confuſion which now reigned in the Carnatic, may be much more eaſily imagined than deſcribed. The danger ſeemed every where immediate; and Madras itſelf, deſtitute as it was of proviſions, and of moſt or all of the neceſſaries eſſential to defence, trembled under the apprehenſion of a ſiege. This ſtate of difficulty and danger was rendered ſtill more hopeleſs, by the diſſentions which prevailed in the government; if not by its conduct. Two members of the ſelect committee made grievous complaints of that of the majority; and charged no ſmall degree of blame to the inſtitution itſelf, which they repreſented as being exceedingly faulty in its conſtruction, and pernicious in the effect. They alledged, that it threw ſo much power into the hands of the governor, as rendered him in a great degree independent of the council; and to this want of controul they attributed the moſt ruinous conſequences; particularly charging the late governor, (who had ſome ſmall time before the invaſion returned to England) with withholding from them the full and perfect information which he had received at various times, and in ſome inſtances long before

before his departure, of Hyder's preparations and designs. Their charges against the majority were of the same nature with those, for a representation of which, Mr. Sadlier had been degraded; like him, they laid all the present calamities at their door. They likewise objected, in strong terms, to the dispatches which were then making up for Europe. A favourable representation of conduct and transactions, was, they said, in a certain degree allowable; but a statement of things insupportable by facts, was not to be endured; nor could the purpose it was intended to produce be of much avail, as the detection, at no great distance of time, would be inevitable.

In this season of disorder, a mutinous spirit appeared, and great disturbances broke out, among the Sepoys in the northern Circars. That order of men, in general, bear a mortal aversion to voyages by sea; so that it requires not only the most perfect discipline, but a strong attachment to their commanders, to induce them to forego a prejudice, which is founded as much in the peculiar maxims, habits, and rites of their religion, as in their natural apprehension of an element with which they have so little acquaintance. It being now necessary to draw some of the troops from the northern Circars, and the way by land being impracticable, they were ordered to take their passage by sea, which the Sepoys absolutely refusing to comply with, the endeavour to force them to so hated and dreaded an adventure, produced the disturbances we have mentioned. At the presidency of Mazulipatam, the mutiny was quelled, and order with difficulty restored, through the address of the commanding officer; the point of embarkation being, however, given up; but at Vizigapatam, the Sepoys proceeded to the most extreme outrages, and after killing several of their officers, made a complete plunder of the place, the property of individuals being no more spared than that of the company. The revolted Sepoys then marched off in a body, with their arms and plunder; their farther design being not less alarming, than their past acts had been prejudicial.

In this state of danger and general disaffection it was no matter of wonder, that Sitteram Rauze, a man always of bad character, should now shew how unworthy he was of the unaccountable favour which he had lately met with at Madras; but it was scarcely to be expected that his eldest brother, at whose expence Sitteram had been placed in great opulence, authority, and possession, (altho' his direct reverse in every thing) should so far forget the recent wrong, as to give, in this trying season, a signal proof of his fidelity. Whilst Sitteram kept at a distance, and evaded giving any assistance towards the preservation of the country, which, under the example of the Sepoys, and the dissatisfaction of the people, was on the point of throwing off all allegiance to the company, the injured Vizeram Rauze immediately collected the troops of his remaining zemindary, and with the vigorous assistance of another zemindar, in similar circumstances, who had likewise lost a part or the whole of his possessions, the mutineers were

pursued

purſued with ſuch ſpirit and effect, that after conſiderable loſs, they were not only obliged to diſperſe, but to abandon their arms, and much of their plunder.

While the preſidency of Madras were thus in every degree diſtreſſed at home, their ſettlements on the Malabar Coaſt were ſo ſtraitened and endangered by the enemy, and the troops ſo much wanted in the Carnatic, that a reſolution was paſſed, for abandoning the antient ſettlement and important poſt of Tellicherry; being thus reduced to the ſad neceſſity of a dereliction of ſome of their poſſeſſions, in order to be the better enabled to preſerve the reſt. Thro' a ſubſequent change of circumſtances, Tellicherry was fortunately preſerved; the garriſon being relieved by Sir Edward Hughes, who conveyed a reinforcement to them from Bombay. They likewiſe diſpatched a letter to Bombay, ſtating the urgent neceſſity they were under for the ſpeedy return of the troops which had been ſent to ſupport General Goddard in the Guzerat war. And the preſidency renewed their applications to Bengal, in ſtill more preſſing terms, for ſpeedy ſupplies of money and of troops. This was enforced by a letter from Sir Edward Hughes, who, beſides ſtating the imminent danger of the Carnatic, intreated, in the moſt urgent manner, the governor general and council, to lay aſide all plans againſt the Marattas, and to direct their force and attention to oppoſe Hyder and the French, who were undoubtedly acting in concert. The arrival of a French force from the iſlands was at this time hourly expected.

The preſent misfortunes, along with the neceſſity of ſuccour from Bengal, and the apprehenſion of the Nizam's joining Hyder Ally, ſerved all together at this time, to quicken the determination of the preſidency on the buſineſs of the Guntoor Circar; which had been ſo long delayed, and productive of ſo much altercation with the ſupreme council. Orders were iſſued for reſtoring that Circar to Bazalet Jung, as well as for withdrawing the Nabob's managers; and theſe were followed by letters to the prince and to his brother. In that to the Sept. 23d. Nizam, beſides informing him of a tranſaction which he had ſo much at heart as the reſtoration of the Circar, they lamented the loſs diſappointment they found to their hopes, of being able to pay him their arrears of the peſcuſh due from the other Circars; but hoped he would believe their aſſurances that they would neglect no opportunity for the future of making good the balances; and ſatisfaction being given on that point, they expreſſed a confident hope "that his highneſs would act ac- "cording to the treaties ſubſiſting "between him and the company, "and endeavour to the utmoſt of "his power to check the deſigns "of their enemies."

Hyder, as ſoon as his army had recovered the effects of their late victory, prepared to renew the ſiege of Arcot. That place, excluſive of its being the Nabob's capital, was of the greateſt importance to both ſides; from its being nothing leſs than a prodigious magazine, of all manner of ſtores, proviſions, and neceſſaries, and that in ſo ample a degree,

be equal to the ſupport if not the equipment of a large army; and its being beſides ſo capacious, as to afford cover and ſecurity as well as ſubſiſtence. It was defended by about 7,000 of the Nabob's people, of all ſorts, in arms, and about 150 of the company's European infantry and artillery, with a few companies of their Sepoys. The place ſeemed capable of a long defence, at leaſt againſt an Indian army; but beſides the little dependance that was to be placed on the Nabob's people, Hyder's army was now become truly formidable even in ſieges. His beſt troops, and theſe were ſufficiently numerous, were compoſed principally of deſerters from the company and the Nabob's ſervice, who had been trained up and diſciplined by Engliſh officers. His approaches were accordingly conducted with ſuch regularity, his attacks ſo well ſupported, and his artillery ſo well ſerved, as could not but greatly ſurprize the Europeans in garriſon; who were particularly aſtoniſhed, and no leſs diſheartened, at the facility with which his batteries diſmounted their cannon.

In the mean time, his cavalry were ſo thoroughly maſters of the country, that even in the camp near Madras, the troops could not venture two miles from their entrenchments; and ſuch was the diſaffection that prevailed in the Nabob's garriſons, that ſeveral of his forts were ſurrendered to parties of the enemy's horſe, without the firing of a ſingle ſhot on either ſide. Nor was it among the ſmalleſt evils or misfortunes of the preſent time, that the government had become ſo generally odious to the people as to have it ſuppoſed, that there was ſcarcely a native from one end of the Carnatic to the other, who did not wiſh ſucceſs to Hyder's arms.

The government of Bengal were ſo little ſatisfied with the paſt, and placed ſo little confidence in the future conduct of Madras, that they did not think it fitting, upon the firſt account which they received of the invaſion, to take any immediate meaſures towards their relief; conſidering it as better to wait for ſuch further information, as would not only enable them to aſcertain the degree of aſſiſtance that was really neceſſary, but likewiſe to adopt ſuch meaſures as ſhould inſure its right application.

But when accounts were received of the ſevere blow ſuſtained in the loſs of Col. Baillie's detachment, and of the danger and ruin which involved the whole Carnatic, the moſt vigorous meaſures of relief were immediately adopted; to which, however, the monſoon ſeaſon then prevailing was a great impediment. A conſiderable reinforcement of European troops by ſea, with a ſupply of fifteen lacks of rupees in money, was immediately reſolved; and as the repugnance of the Sepoys to all expeditions on that element was too ſtrong to be ſafely meddled with, it was determined, as ſoon as the ſeaſon and roads would admit, to ſend a ſtrong body of thoſe forces to the relief of the Carnatic by land. But this being a meaſure of much doubt, delay and difficulty, no great reliance was probably placed on its ſucceſs. For the route of the Sepoys, in their way to the northern Circars, was, of neceſſity, through Moc-

dajee Booſla's territories in the province of Oriſſa; and that prince's diſpoſition was not only doubtful, but his ſon was then advanced with a ſtrong army to the borders of Bengal, and lay in the Cuttack, full in the courſe which they ſhould paſs, with views apparently hoſtile. Meaſures were at the ſame time taken by the ſupreme council, for a plentiful ſupply of grain, as ſoon as it could be done, to Madras; and a quantity of ſalted proviſions were directly ſent, to provide againſt the neceſſities of a ſiege, if ſo unexpected an extremity ſhould poſſibly occur.

But all the hopes of the ſupreme council, for retrieving the Britiſh affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel, were centered in the abilities and ſervices of that experienced and diſtinguiſhed officer, Gen. Sir Eyre Coote; who was then a member of their own body, as well as commander in chief of all the forces in India. It was urged in council, that the danger impending on the company's intereſts in the Carnatic might be eaſily repelled, even by its own immediate force, if that were properly applied and conducted.—But that it did not appear to have been properly applied, nor could it be expected to be properly conducted, "unleſs Sir Eyre Coote would at "this criſis ſtand forth, and vin"dicate, in his own perſon, the "rights and honour of the Britiſh "arms."

A reſolution was accordingly paſſed, to intreat Sir Eyre Coote to take upon him the command of the army, and the application of the means for the relief and deliverance of the Carnatic; a requiſition with which, notwithſtanding the badneſs of the ſeaſon, and the precarious ſtate of his health, he immediately complied. Doubts being then ſuggeſted, and the queſtion agitated, upon the propriety of entruſting ſo large a ſum of money as 15 lacks of rupees to the management of thoſe, whoſe miſapplication and waſte had, it was alledged, brought on their own preſent neceſſities and dangers, it was reſolved, that the treaſure ſhould be conſigned to the care of Sir Eyre Coote, and by him, to be appropriated excluſively to military ſervices; with, however, a diſcretionary authority in the general, of advancing any part of it on the requiſition of the preſident and ſelect committee of Fort St. George, but being himſelf to determine on the expediency of the meaſure.

The ſupreme council communicated, both to the preſidency of Madras, and to Sir Edward Hughes, an early account of the meaſures of relief which they were taking; together with an aſſurance of their diſpoſition to a peace with the Marattas, and their determination to make ſpeedy propoſals for that purpoſe. Upon this head they were, however, more full with that admiral than with the preſidency, as an anſwer to the letter which he had ſo lately written upon the ſubject; they alſo requeſted, that he would, if poſſible, direct the operations of his ſquadron againſt Hyder's ports and ſhipping on the Malabar Coaſt.

Sir Eyre Coote's voyage was unuſually ſhort and favourable for the ſeaſon, he being only 17 days on his paſſage from Calcutta to Madras, where he arrived on the

he 5th of November. He brought ith him two hundred European rtillery, six companies of infantry, ne of volunteers, and between six nd seven hundred Lascars. With his reinforcement, more consider- ble indeed from the intrinsic va- ue of the troops than their num- er, the whole force which he ould collect in two months time t the Mount, (where he encamp- d) scarcely exceeded 7,000 men. The monsoon afforded a seasonable olour for inaction, with an army hich was in every respect inca- able of taking the field. The rotection of Madras was the ut- most, in the present state of things, hat could be hoped for.

The city of Arcot had been aken by assault a few days before he arrival of the general; and the ort or citadel, which was capable f a long defence, was given up three days after. Hy- Nov. 3d. der, who seems to have been seldom deficient in suiting his conduct to the occasion, what- ever that might be, displayed an extraordinary degree of humanity and kindness to the prisoners taken in Arcot. These found means to inform their countrymen in the fort, of the generous treatment and kindness which they had experi- enced; and at the same time that they extolled the conqueror, to- tally condemning their folly and obstinacy, in fruitlessly resisting the arms of so great and excellent a prince. The consequence was, that all the Sepoys to a man de- serted the fort in the night, and went over to Hyder, leaving their European officers to provide for themselves as they might; who were accordingly obliged to sur- render the place and themselves.

It was undoubtedly the disaf- fection of the Nabob's people, which occasioned the continual differences that prevailed between them and the Europeans during the whole course of the siege; and to both causes may be attributed their afterwards charging them with the loss of the place, when, being prisoners, they were equally inca- pable of knowing the charge, and of making any defence if they had. That Arcot was lost through their own treachery, there is every rea- son for believing; and if others were wanting, Hyder's taking the Nabob's principal officer there into his service and particular confi- dence, immediately after the cap- ture, might be considered as no slight evidence. Indeed it had slipped (with more inadvertence than could have been well ex- pected) from Hyder long before, that he had full information of the most secret transactions of the Na- bob's court.

In two days after the general's arrival at Madras, he took his seat, as second, in the council, and produced the orders which he had conveyed from the supreme government of Bengal, for the suspension of Mr. Whitehill, the president. This measure princi- pally proceeded from his obstinate perseverance in those transactions relativ- to Bazalet Jung and the Guntoor Circar, which had so much alienated the Nizam from the company's interests; notwith- standing the long repeated in- junctions of the supreme council to the contrary. That gentleman now totally disclaimed, and pro- tested against, the authority of the supreme council, to deprive him of his office of president and gover- nor;

nor; and held every member of the adminiſtration, who ſhould ſubmit to it in the preſent inſtance, to be anſwerable to the company for the ſubverſion of the government, and to him, for any loſs he might ſuſtain in his perſon or liberty. The ſuſpenſion was however confirmed by a majority of the council; and the late preſident aſſumed a merit from that moderation, which induced him to prevent the evils of a civil war by ſubmitting. Mr. Sm..h, as next to the chair, ſucceeded to the government.

The ſituation of affairs in the Carnatic, at the time of Sir Eyre Coote's arrival, was ſo deplorable, as far to exceed all report and imagination upon the ſubject; and the unaccountable neglect which had marked every department of adminiſtration, ſeemed rather the effect of ſome fatality, than of indolence or weakneſs. That general obſerves in his letters to the directors, as well as to ſome of the principal officers of the ſtate, that the ſame inactivity and bad policy which had operated, in not collecting the troops, in the defect of every kind of preparation, in leaving the paſſes open to Hyder's entrance, and in ſo many other ruinous inſtances, were ſtill prevalent at the time of his arrival; and that what ought to have been their firſt care, lay as much neglected as if no enemy had been near. That even the neceſſary arrangements for the ſecurity of Fort St. George, the very foundation of our exiſtence on that coaſt, had not been made; that no pains had been taken, to repair the ſhattered condition of the very ſmall army that remained for their defence; that the field artillery requiſite for a campaign, was ſo far from being in readineſs, that the carriages were then making up. That the troops were diſpirited, the Sepoys deſerting, the country deſolated, the inhabitants treacherous, all communications cut off, their proviſions conſumed, and their reſources exhauſted. That the Nabob, ſo far from being able to give aſſiſtance in this exigency, had neither men, money, or influence, and looked up to the company for the ſupport of his intereſts and credit.—After ſtating the dangerous and ruinous conduct which had been purſued with reſpect to Pondicherry, (the effects of which will appear) he obſerves, that to all the diſadvantages, ariſing from theſe misfortunes, and from the miſconduct of government, on one ſide, ſhould be added, the increaſe of ſuperiority to the enemy, ariſing from his good policy, as well as from the ſtrength and ſucceſs of his arms; "for, "that Hyder had taken every "meaſure which could occur to "the moſt experienced general, "to diſtreſs us, and to render "himſelf formidable; and, that "his conduct in his civil capacity "had been ſupported by a degree "of political addreſs, unequalled "by any power that had yet ap-"peared in Hindoſtan."

Such was the enemy, with whom the Eaſt-India Company were now engaged in ſo arduous a conteſt; and ſuch was part of a picture of the affairs of the Carnatic, drawn, upon the ſpot, at the cloſe of the year 1780, by Sir Eyre Coote.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Sir Eyre Coote's design of relieving the besieged fortresses, confirmed by the opinion of the council of war, and the approbation of the select committee. Hyder raises the siege of Wandewash, and retires with precipitation, on the approach of the British army. The other beleaguered places relieved and supplied. Dangers arising from the perfidy of the French at Pondicherry obviated, by the General's disarming the inhabitants, destroying their boats, and removing their magazines from Carangolly. Hyder's shipping destroyed in his own ports by Sir Edward Hughes. Sir Eyre Coote marches to Porto Novo, to frustrate the enemy's design on Tritchinapoli. Hyder's immense force. Numberless difficulties which the English General had to surmount. Grand battle on the 1st of July. Hyder's vast host, after a very long and obstinate engagement, defeated. Hyder retreats towards Arcot, and Tippoo Saib raises the siege of Wandewash. English General marches to the northward, and forms a junction with the forces from Bengal. Takes Trepassore, defeats Hyder, in a hard and difficult conflict, on the 27th of August. Defeats him a third time on the 27th of September. Succeeding actions, in which the English army is constantly victorious. Dutch settlements on the island of Sumatra subdued. Sir Edward Hughes, and Gen. Sir Hector Monro, besiege Negapatam by Sea and land. Place surrendered, upon conditions. The Admiral proceeds to the island of Ceylon, and takes the Dutch forts and settlement of Trincamale.

AMONG the good consequences which attended Sir Eyre Coote's coming to take the command in the Carnatic, the unanimity which from thence prevailed in the government was far from being the least. The council were unanimous in his support, and wisely committed the whole conduct and management of the war, without reserve, into his hands. An appearance of vigour, in despite of weakness, and of all the wretched circumstances of affairs, accordingly took place in every department; and the enemy, impressed with a sense of the general's fame and military abilities, became more guarded in their conduct.

Hyder's army was by this time prodigiously augmented; his force, within the Carnatic, was supposed far to exceed a hundred thousand men; and some accounts went so far, as to estimate his matchlock men, and irregular infantry only, at not less than 80,000. The weakness of the army at Madras, the necessity by which he knew it was tied down to the protection of that place, together with the multitude of his own troops, encouraged and enabled Hyder, after the taking of Arcot, to lay siege, at one and the same time, to several of the principal fortresses in the Carnatic.

Few generals have had a more difficult game to play, or a greater stake

ſtake depending, than Sir Eyre Coote at this juncture. His whole force did not exceed 7,000 men. Yet with what may be comparatively called a handful of men, his dependence was ſo great on the goodneſs of the troops, and upon his own ability, that in any leſs critical ſtate of war, he would, without heſitation, have met Hyder's vaſt hoſt in the field. But every thing was now at ſtake. The fate of Madras, of the Britiſh intereſts in the Carnatic, and perhaps in all India, to the very exiſtence of the Engliſh name, being wrapt up in that of the ſmall army he commanded, a greater degree of conſideration became neceſſary. And, beſides the principal danger of any misfortune to the army, it was foreſeen that Madras itſelf might be expoſed during its abſence, however ſucceſsful he might be in relieving the beſieged fortreſſes. The multitude of Hyder's troops, enabled him to make detachments to any amount, and the celerity of his numerous irregular cavalry, laid all parts open to their ſudden enterprize; while his main army, inſtead of being weakened, was rendered more manageable by detaching.

In theſe critical circumſtances, and under ſuch a weight of danger and of perſonal reſponſibility, the general thought it wiſe and neceſſary, to take all the counſel which it was in his power to obtain; his own opinion going ſtrongly, under a full ſenſe of all the poſſible conſequences, to the relief of thoſe fortreſſes, which were the moſt important, and in the greateſt danger. He accordingly drew a ſhort but comprehenſive ſketch of the preſent ſituation of things in writing, fully ſtating the value, importance, and reſpective danger of the objects in view, the degrees of hope and apprehenſion to which the propoſed meaſure of relief would be liable, with his own opinion upon the whole; and calling a council of war, compoſed of Sir Hector Monro, Lord Macleod, and Brigadier General Stuart, laid it before them, deſiring, that after the moſt mature conſideration, they would give their ſeparate opinions in writing upon the ſubject.

Vellore, Wandewaſh, Permacoil, and Chingleput, were the places beſieged; the firſt, from its ſituation and ſtrength, afforded no cauſe of immediate apprehenſion, excepting from the treachery of the garriſon; but ſome of the others were in imminent danger; and as they contained large magazines of proviſions, the ſupply of the enemy in that reſpect, as well as with their artillery and ſtores, would have been a two-fold prejudice. It was remarkable in the ſtatement upon this ſubject preſented by the general, that he obſerved, as a known fact, that they had not only Hyder, but the whole Carnatic to combat againſt; ſo that they could not hope for the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance, in any part of the road through which they were to march, or of the country which they might enter: and he informs them, that the treachery of one of the Nabob's renters, in endeavouring to betray Vellore to the enemy, having been fortunately diſcovered by the commander of that garriſon, he had ordered

dered him to be put in irons; ping, he ſaid, "that he might be inſtrumental to the diſcovery of thoſe dark deſigns, which he had long ſuſpected to exiſt in the court of a native power, living under the very walls of our garriſon of Fort St. George."

The three general officers coinded entirely in opinion with Sir yre Coote, for the march of the my to the relief of the beſieged aces; and as Wandewaſh was in mediate and imminent danger, d it was expected that Hyder ould collect his whole force, and e his utmoſt efforts, to prevent eir paſſing the river Palaar, hich lay in their way to that ace, Sir Hector Monro, ſo far om being diſcouraged by that rcumſtance, declared there was thing more to be wiſhed, than e bringing him to a general tion; at the ſame time geneuſly declaring his confidence, at the army would be ſucceſsful nder its preſent leader. Upon e ſame ground, he did not wiſh at the commander in chief ould be fettered by a reſolution, r the immediate return of the my to the protection of Madras, hen the intended ſervice was rformed; but on the contrary, at it ſhould be left entirely to s own diſcretion to act in that ſpect, as future information ight indicate, or circumſtances oint out.

So nice, notwithſtanding, was e caution of the general in this itical and momentous buſineſs, at he departed from the eſtabſhed military rule in ſuch caſes, laying the whole proceedings the council of war before the ſelect committee, deſiring their advice upon the ſubject; a meaſure, however irregular and unuſual, which could not fail effectually to rivet their confidence in him. The event was, a full approbation of the opinion of the council of war,

Sir Eyre Coote marched at the head of the army from the encampment at the mount, to the relief of Wandewaſh, in the beginning of the year. Hyder Ally, upon the firſt account of his approach, not only raiſed the ſiege of Wandewaſh with precipitation, but abandoned all the others in the ſame manner; and ſo far from meeting the Engliſh army in the field, or, oppoſing, as was expected, their paſſing the Palaar, retired with his whole force to a cautious and guarded diſtance. Thus the beleaguered places were not only relieved and provided, and other garriſons that were weak and expoſed reinforced, but a great extent of country was recovered, and a new frontier formed; and from hence, Sir Eyre Coote continuing to keep the field, and prepared every where to look the enemy in the face, provided as effectually for the ſecurity of Madras, as if the army had been encamped under its walls. So ſudden a change in the face of affairs, reſtored the ſpirit and confidence of the troops, both European and native, and prepared them for every exertion which their commander might require. Jan. 17th. 1781.

The perfidy of the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, who had been treated with unexampled lenity and tenderneſs ſince the reduction of that place, had con-

tributed greatly to increase the alarm and confusion of the Carnatic. These people, besides the fullest protection in the possession and enjoyment of their houses and estates, and the most liberal construction of the articles of capitulation in their favour, were even admitted to the rights of subjects, and to traffick under the English flag. The fortifications, and the powder magazine, had been alone demolished; in all other respects, the town, port, and public buildings, were left in their former state.

Upon the commencement of the present troubles, as it became necessary to withdraw the British troops to Madras, it was thought fitting to remove the French officers and veterans, who, through lenity, and a tenderness for their circumstances, had hitherto been left upon parole at Pondicherry, to the same place; while these gentlemen expressed the most grievous apprehension, lest this removal might proceed from any doubt of their honour in the strictest adherence to their paroles. At the same time, as the conduct of the inhabitants had lately afforded much room for jealousy, and became daily more suspicious, as the troubles in the country, and the expectation of the arrival of a French force increased, it was in contemplation to send the late attorney-general, with several other of the principal inhabitants, who, from their conduct, influence, or turbulence, were deemed the most dangerous, to Madras likewise. Lenity, however, prevailed; and the measure was evaded, by these persons renewing their allegiance, and voluntarily presenting a written declaration, signed with their names, and binding themselves anew to the most inviolable fidelity; thus rendering themselves doubly criminal.

For in return for all past favour and present confidence, Colonel Brathwaite, had scarcely marched with his troops out of sight of the place, when the French inhabitants suddenly rise in arms, seize and plunder the solitary English resident who had been left to superintend their conduct; and to complete the outrage, compel him with fixed bayonets at his breast to sign a written instrument, the contents of which he is totally unacquainted with. They then proceeded to raise and arm two or three battalions of Sepoys, most of whom, having composed a part of the late garrison, had received the same protection, and were bound to the same conditions with themselves. As some cover to this breach of faith, they, however, pretended, that these Sepoys were in Hyder's pay and service; the former of which indeed was probably true. And that nothing might be wanting for the reception and support of the fleet and army which they expected from the Mauritius, they proceeded to amass vast quantities of provision at Carangolly, a town at some distance upon the sea coast.

Such infractions of faith are to be condemned, besides their own inherent turpitude, as they tend to discourage the exercise of clemency and moderation. But we are always happy to find council ever erring on the side of lenity justified by the final event; as was the case in the present instance.

Surrounded, however, with difficulties and dangers on all sides, as Sir Eyre Coote was at his first arrival, he strongly condemned a degree of imprudent security, thro' which Pondicherry was permitted to become a garrison and place of arms for the reception and support of a new, as well as of the old enemy. One of his first measures, after the immediately necessary services, of obliging Hyder to raise the sieges, and of re-inforcing and supplying the weak or exposed garrisons, was the remedy of this evil. This he accomplished effectually, by disarming the inhabitants of Pondicherry, by the destruction of all their boats, and by the removal of the provisions from Carangolly. The destruction of the boats was in a peculiar manner timely and fortunate; for M. de Orves, arrived with a squadron soon after off that place, and being in great distress for water, provisions and other necessaries, the want of boats on both sides, occasioned his quitting the coast without obtaining any relief.

In the mean time, Sir Edward Hughes had performed excellent service on the Malabar coast towards the close of the year, and of a nature the most vexatious that could be to Hyder, by the destruction of his shipping in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore; and thereby nipping in the bud his hopes of becoming a formidable maritime power, which was a favourite object of his ambition.

Sir Eyre Coote's force being too weak to encourage adventure, and Hyder too cautious to hazard much without necessity, nothing of consequence took place for several months between the armies.

Such a state of things, however, could not be lasting. Hyder having made preparations for the siege of Tritchinapoly, Sir Eyre Coote marched with the army to Porto Novo, as well to frustrate that design, as to repress his depredation on the side of Tanjour, and the southern provinces. So wretchedly was the army still provided for the field, and so sorely the want of a provident foresight, and timely preparation yet felt, that the general could not have made this movement, if Sir Edward Hughes had not attended at that place, to supply him with provisions from the ships; for besides the paucity in number of their cattle for draught and burthen, so miserable was the condition of the bullocks they had, that they were scarcely able to drag the artillery in any manner along, and were sinking under the moderate weight of that proportion of camp equipage, which was indispensably necessary to the service, and could be conveyed by no other means.

Hyder was now so confident in the strength of his immense army, and so determined on his object, that he departed from his general resolution of avoiding field-actions with the English, rather preferring to stand the hazard of a general engagement, than to relinquish his design on Tritchinapoly, and his views on the southern provinces. Thus impelled, he advanced on the direct road which the English army were to take on their way to Cuddalore, and took an exceedingly well chosen and

advantageous position within a short distance of our camp, while the troops were engaged in procuring a few days provision from the shipping, which, through the weather and surf, was with no small difficulty landed.

His army was now become enormous in bulk and number. Of this multitude, 11,000 Topasses, clad and armed after the European manner, with 23 battalions of regular Sepoys, amounting to about 15,000 men, composed, with six or seven hundred Europeans, the flower and strength of his infantry; and were in fact, an extremely well disciplined and formidable body. His irregular infantry, armed with match-locks, pikes, and rockets, amounted to 120,000; his calvary exceeded 40,000. His artillery was worked by Europeans, or by deserters from the nabob, who had been trained under English officers; and some thousands of his and the company's Sepoys, who were either under the same description, or had been taken prisoners since the war, were incorporated in Hyder's line of disciplined infantry. All these forces, of whatever sort, were in his own immediate pay; exclusive of several bodies of native troops, who, under their respective Poligars or Raja's, had joined him as allies, or followers of his fortune, since the commencement of the war. If to these we add the Lascars, pioneers, and artificers, who composed a numerous body, along with the other numberless followers of an Indian camp, the whole will form such a multitude, as may afford no very inadequate idea of the antient eastern armies. Yet, at this very time, Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, was besieging Wandewash, with 30,000 men.

Notwithstanding this mighty force, the unexpected determination and approach of the enemy, afforded the greatest satisfaction to Sir Eyre Coote, who wished for nothing so much as a general engagement, but was crippled in such a manner, from the want of cavalry, and of all the means of expeditious movement, that it was impossible for him to compel Hyder to abide that issue. The valour and excellency of his troops, supplied, with their general, the defect of number. The inequality in that respect was too great to bear a comparison; in all others they were unrivalled. His Europeans amounted to about 1,700 men, and his Sepoys were scarcely less to be depended on.

One of the great difficulties which he had to encounter, was the total impossibility of obtaining any information of the enemy's state or position. Such clouds of Hyder's cavalry hovered round the English camp, and covered the country on all sides farther than the eye could reach, that the sending out of a reconnoitring party was not only impracticable, but even a single man could not escape detection; so that of all the scouts whom the general dispatched for intelligence, not one ever returned, and no farther knowledge of the situation of the enemy could be obtained, than the short view from his own advanced posts admitted. Thus forced to make his way in the dark, no previous disposition could be made,

nor plan of action formed; and Sir Eyre Coote was in the ſingular ſituation, of being obliged to truſt entirely to his own genius, and to the quickneſs and fertility of his reſource, for making his diſpoſitions in the face of an enemy ſo infinitely ſuperior.

July 1ſt. 1781. At five in the morning, the army began to draw out from the camp at Porto Novo; and at ſeven, commenced its march, with the ſea, at no great diſtance, on the right. Small as it was, and the utmoſt exertion of every ſingle man it contained evidently neceſſary, to the purpoſe of attacking and forcing ſo prodigious an army, in a choſen and fortified ſituation, yet the general was under the hard neceſſity of drawing off a conſiderable detachment from his line, for the protection, during the march and action, of the baggage and of the numerous followers of the camp, from that multitude of Hyder's irregular cavalry, who, upon the firſt opening, would be ready to pour in upon them. Theſe, with their uſual guard, conſiſting of about 150 Sepoys, thoſe few Poligars who had joined the company's forces, and a ſmall Mahratta corps, were judiciouſly placed, in the opening between the right of the army and the ſea; and the detachment, now unavoidably drawn off from the line of action for their ſupport, conſiſted of two regiments of cavalry, and a battalion of Sepoys, with ſeven pieces of light artillery.

The country, in about an hour's march, opened an extenſive plain to their view, and as the enemy's cavalry appeared drawn up in great force on their way, Sir Eyre Coote formed the army in two lines, and proceeded on his march in order of battle. The grounds which Hyder occupied, were naturally ſtrong and commanding; and he had already rendered this poſition truly formidable, by the judgment and diſpatch with which he had ſtrengthened and fortified the moſt advantageous ſpots with well conſtructed front and flanking batteries. Indeed, it would have afforded no ſmall demonſtration of his military abilities, if other eſſential proofs of it were wanting, that he had formed ſuch a body of pioneers, as had never before been known in India.

The army had not advanced far, when the enemy's poſition and works were clearly diſcovered, and their batteries ſeen to lie directly upon the intended line of march. Hyder's principal force, was drawn up in order of battle in the rear of his works, and extending farther on the plain, than the eye could command; large bodies of cavalry caught the ſight in every direction, and an infinite number of rockets were unintermittingly thrown, as well to prevent and confound the obſervation, as to diſorder the march and impede the movements of the Engliſh army. At the ſame time they were expoſed to a warm though diſtant cannonade; the enemy's artillery were well ſerved, and did execution; while the Engliſh general could not afford to return many ſhot, as he was ſenſible that every round he poſſeſſed, would, in the courſe of the day, be wanted to take the moſt deciſive effect.

Critical and dangerous as this ſituation was, a pauſe, little ſhort

of an hour, became abſolutely neceſſary; not only to afford time to the general to examine the enemy's immediate poſition, but farther to diſcover, whether the country on the right, might not admit of his taking ſuch a ſweep, as would enable him to turn the enemy's left; and thereby to fall upon them rather obliquely, than to be obliged to make his attack in the full front and fire of their works and batteries. The country on the right fortunately anſwered his hope; and nothing was ever more boldly and happily executed, than this daring and maſterly movement, in the face of ſuch an enemy, and under the fire of a numerous artillery. The troops had endured the galling fire of the enemy, during the pauſe we have mentioned, with the utmoſt conſtancy and compoſure; in the ſubſequent march and movement, they were obliged to paſs, as it were in review, under the heavy flanking fire of all the enemy's batteries, while the Sepoys unharneſſed their wretched oxen, which were totally unequal to the celerity of the occaſion, and drew the artillery along at a quick pace, through a deep and heavy ſand, for above a mile. The moſt admirable order was preſerved through the whole.

This prompt and happy movement, which was performed by the firſt line only, decided the fortune of the day. Nothing leſs could have done the buſineſs, or indeed have well ſaved the army; for they had only four days proviſion, which they carried on their backs, and delay, or even a drawn battle, would have been no leſs ruinous than a defeat. The general, in filing off to the right, had been neceſſarily obliged to contract his front and break his former order; but as ſoon as he had gained the point he aimed at, and the ground would admit, he inſtantly formed anew, about nine o'clock, in order of battle, being within reach of, but partly covered from, the fire of the enemy's cannon. He then looked eagerly back, to ſee whether the heights in his rear were occupied by the ſecond line; for on the ſucceſs of that part of his deſign every thing ſtill depended, as the poſſeſſion of them, would not only have enabled the enemy to ſeparate the two lines, but entirely to encloſe and ſurround the firſt, as ſoon as it ventured into action. General Stuart, who commanded the ſecond wing, performed that ſervice with ſuch activity, as not to keep him long in ſuſpence; and as ſoon as he ſaw they were covered, he advanced with confidence on the enemy.

Theſe ſudden and unexpected evolutions, performed with an alertneſs of which Hyder himſelf had yet ſeen no example, obliged him to a new arrangement of his army. His guns were withdrawn from the batteries to the line with equal order and expedition; he inſtantly formed a new front to receive Sir Eyre Coote; and ſeeing at once the conſequences which would attend the poſſeſſion of the high grounds, he detached a ſtrong body of his diſciplined infantry, with a ſuitable artillery, beſides a number of irregulars, and a very great force of cavalry, to attack the ſecond line; while another detachment, or part of the ſame, attempted, by getting into

to the interval during the con-
ct, to attack Sir Eyre Coote in
e rear. Thus the battle was
uble; and each wing, separate-
, and almoſt equally engaged.
The main battle was long and
ſtinately fought; and it was not
til four o'clock, that, by dint
courage, the moſt invincible
rſeverance, and an exertion, for
many hours, on the utmoſt
etch, that the Engliſh at length
ined the day. At that time,
e firſt line triumphing over every
ſtacle, drove Hyder's infantry,
tillery, and cavalry, promiſcu-
ſly before them, and compelled
s whole army to ſeek their ſafe-
in a retreat. During this time,
e ſecond line, under the conduct
Brig. General Stuart, had not
ly gallantly repulſed the repeat-
attempts made by the other
viſion of Hyder's army upon
heights, but attacked, carried
d maintained, thoſe, of which
e enemy had firſt gained poſſeſ-
n; and while the rear of that
e were thus fully occupied,
eir van moſt obſtinately diſput-
, and at length totally defeated,
e attempt made to attack the
neral's rear. This poſſeſſion,
d brave defence of the heights,
kewiſe prevented the enemy,
otwithſtanding their multitude,
om being able to make any puſh
wards the ſea, or the ſmalleſt
tempt upon the baggage.

Thus the victory was complete
all ſides. Many of its advan-
ges were, however, loſt, through
e victors being bereft of the means
purſuit. If it were not for
at unfortunate circumſtance, the
hole of Hyder's artillery and
ores would have fallen into their
nds, and he would undoubtedly
have been obliged to abandon the Carnatic. It was intolerably vexatious to thoſe brave men, to behold the ſtrong and vigorous cattle of the flying enemy, carrying off their artillery at a full trot, while their own were ſcarcely able to drag the guns along.

The conduct and gallantry of Major General Sir Hector Monro, who commanded the firſt line on this day, was highly diſtinguiſhed. Indeed the behaviour of every individual in the army, from the commander in chief to the meaneſt Sepoy, was beyond all praiſe. Sir Eyre Coote declares in a letter, that every individual of his little army ſeemed to feel, that all the intereſts of the nation and company were then at ſtake; that falling, as they already were, the moſt extraordinary exertions were neceſſary to their ſupport; and, to their credit, ſaid he, "every nerve was exerted to the "very extent of poſſibility."

Hyder left about 3,000 of his men dead upon the ground. His principal and favourite general, Meer Saib, was mortally wounded; and ſeveral other of his leaders, and beſt officers, were among the killed or wounded. Sir Eyre Coote halted juſt beyond the enemy's ground, from his inability to continue the purſuit farther; and was joined by the ſecond line and the baggage about midnight. The loſs on his ſide was far from being conſiderable, conſidering the nature of the action; and did not exceed 400 men in killed and wounded; nor was there any officer of note in either liſt. Nothing could more fully ſhew Hyder's conviction of his inferiority in the field, and his determination

not to hazard another action under any advantage of ground, than his leaving the ſtrong and important paſs of Puravenaur open to the purſuit of the Engliſh when he made his retreat through it in the evening. Among the immediate conſequences of the victory, Tippoo Saib's raiſing the ſiege of Wandewaſh was not the leaſt.

Hyder withdrew with his army to the neighbourhood of Arcot, where he was joined by Tippoo Saib's detachment. Sir Eyre Coote, having thus freed the ſouthern provinces from depredation and danger, marched with his army to the northward, in order to meet the long expected and wiſhed for reinforcement from Bengal, which, under the favour of Moodajee Booſla, and his ſon, had marched through his territories in Oriſſa, and were now arrived in the northern circars. This junction was happily effected in the beginning of Auguſt; and the general being now enabled to act with vigour, marched to lay ſiege to Trepaſſore. This place capitulated after a few days ſiege, and nothing could be more timely or fortunate than the ſurrender; for beſides that the poſſeſſion was of importance, the advance of Hyder's army (who was in full march to its relief) appeared in ſight, at the moment that the troops were taking poſſeſſion of the works, and there was then only one day's rice left in the Engliſh army.

Aug. 23d.

Trepaſſore afforded ſome immediate relief, and the general finding that Hyder was in full force at about ſixteen miles diſtance, determined to attack him; but was under a neceſſity of waiting to draw ſome rice from Poonamalla. This ſupply being obtained, he marched to ſeek the enemy; and Hyder upon his approach fell back a few miles to the very ground where he had defeated Colonel Baillie. There he took a very ſtrong poſition; but was more influenced, as it is reported, by a ſuperſtitious confidence in its being a lucky ſpot, than by the ſtrength of the ground, in his determination to try the fortune of a ſecond battle.

Sir Eyre Coote arrived in ſight of the enemy about eight o'clock in the morning, and diſcovered him to be in great force, his army drawn up in order of battle ready to receive him, and in poſſeſſion of ſeveral very commanding and advantageous poſts. This ſituation was rendered ſtill more formidable, by the nature of the country lying between both armies, which was interſected by ſeveral very deep watercourſes, ſo that nothing could be more arduous than the approach of the troops to their object. The general, in order to preſent a front to the enemy, was under a neceſſity of forming his line under a very heavy cannonade, as well from ſeveral batteries placed to great advantage, as from the guns in the enemies line. This was an arduous trial of the diſcipline and firmneſs of the troops, and the general declared, that the ſteady valour which they ſhewed upon this occaſion, could not have been ſurpaſſed by the firſt veterans of any nation in Europe.

They had full occaſion for the continual exerciſe of theſe qualities, during the courſe of a very long and hard fought day. The

battle

ttle lasted from nine in the orning until it was near sun-set. y that time, Hyder was cured of s superstition; his army were riven successively from all their rong posts, and obliged to aban- on the field of battle with preci- itation. The loss sustained by e English army in this action as greater than on the 1st of ly, and that of the enemy less; hich, besides the causes we have en, proceeded from their shel- ring themselves under the banks tanks, and from their posses- ng in general such inequalities ground as afforded much co- r. It seems probable, that their tillery caused the principal loss the English army. General uart lost a leg by a cannon shot. olonel Browne, an old, able, d experienced officer, his life, the same means; and Captain ilop, one of the general's aid camps, an active and spirited ung officer, was killed, close to s side, by a cannon shot. These re the only officers of note who ll.

It seemed as if defeat had rought the extraordinary change Hyder's disposition, of render- g him enamoured of field battles. For, on the day month pt. 27th. of the late action, he ited to be attacked by Sir Eyre oote, near a place called Sho- gur. But this affair was soon cided. The action did not be- n until four o'clock, and before ght his army was completely uted. In this battle both his valry and infantry suffered ex- emely, while the loss of the ficers was so trifling as not to serve mention; but the enemy's ops were now used to be beaten.

The general then relieved Vel- lore, which was reduced to the last extremity, and afterwards be- sieged and took Chittor. The season for some time occasioned a cessation of action on both sides; but Vellore being again reduced to great distress for provisions, the general was obliged, in the begin- ning of the year 1782, to march again to its relief.

Repeated defeat, was not ca- ble of producing any remission of Hyder's vigour or vigilance. On Sir Eyre Coote's march to Vellore, as the army were passing through a deep morass, the enemy appear- ed in force on different Jan. 10th, quarters, and commenc- 1782. ed a distant but very hea- vy cannonade. Their object was, besides impeding the progress of the army to Vellore, (which was reduced to the last day's provision) to cut off the baggage and convoy, while the troops were entangled in these bad grounds. After an action, such as we have described, which lasted for four hours, the enemy being foiled in all their attempts, were at length forced to abandon their object, and retiring on all sides, the army, which had suffered very little in this action, pursued its course without inter- ruption to Vellore.

Upon the return of the army, three days after, their indefatiga- ble, and ever watchful enemy, was again prepared for their re- ception. On coming up to the same morass, they found Hyder in full force on the other side, and determined to dispute their passage. They, however, passed the swamp, under the fire of his cannon, about four in the afternoon, and the ge- neral having immediately formed,

and

and secured the baggage, the troops advanced with their usual alacrity upon the enemy. These made but a faint resistance; they gave way on all sides, retreated with precipitation, and were pursued with considerable execution until dark. The vigour of Hyder's exertions was no longer seconded by that of his troops.

Such was the surprising change which the admirable conduct and military abilities of Sir Eyre Coote, seconded by some excellent officers, and supported by the unparalleled efforts of a small but glorious army, had, in a short time, produced in the affairs of the Carnatic: and such the events, of one of the most arduous campaigns of which we have any knowledge.

During these transactions, an account of the war with Holland having arrived in India during the month of August, it fortuned soon after, that five India ships from China, arrived, in their way home, at Fort Marlborough, on the coast of Sumatra. The arrival of these ships excited the gentlemen of that factory, to an enterprize against the Dutch settlements on that island. Mr. Botham, one of the council, was appointed to conduct this expedition, and Captain Clements, commodore of the five ships; the fort could only spare Capt. Mandeville, with a hundred men for the service. The address and good conduct of these gentlemen so effectually supplied the want of force, that the Governor of Padang, being artfully imposed upon with respect to their strength, was terrified into a surrender, not only of that place, but of all the other Dutch settlements on the western coasts of Sumatra, into their hands.

The Dutch settlement, in the town, port, and fortress of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country, could not, even in time of peace, but be considered as some eyesore to the company; but, in the present state of things, its being in the possession of an enemy was full of danger. The consequences of such a fortress and port being open for the reception of the French fleet and army, and of its becoming a great naval and military magazine, for Hyder's constant supply, as well as theirs, were indeed easily understood; but the immediately dangerous state of affairs, and urgent demands for every possible exertion in the Carnatic, seemed to render the application of a timely preventive remedy, a matter of the greatest difficulty.

The success of Sir Eyre Coote's arms, having happily lessened the difficulties on that side, this new evil and danger became an object of the first consideration; it was, however, some time before the design against Negapatam could be carried into effect; but during that interval, Sir Edward Hughes had, from his first knowledge of the rupture with Holland, closely blocked up the place by sea. Major General Sir Hector Monro, was appointed to conduct this enterprize in concert with the admiral; and the troops already stationed in the Tanjore country, were the only land force assigned to this service. The difficulties which they had to encounter, required all the abilities and exertion of both commanders. The

fortifi-

rtifications had already been nſiderably ſtrengthened by new orks; the garriſon re-inforced a large detachment of Hyder's oops; and what was ſtill a mat- of more ſerious conſideration, e ſeaſon was far advanced for ilitary operations, the ſhift of e monſoon being at hand. But e great importance of the object aranted riſque, and reduced the fficulties to nothing in the minds the aſſailants.

Oct. 21ſt. 1781. The troops being arrived at Nagore, a place on the ſea coaſt, near egapatam, Sir Hector Monro as immediately landed to take e command; and at the ſame me, all the marines of the ſqua- ron, amounting, with their offi- rs, to 443, were likewiſe land- d, and joined the company's oops. On the following day, a tachment of 827 ſeamen, with eir proper officers, and com- anded by three naval captains, ere landed, under orders from e admiral, to co-operate with e general to the utmoſt, in every eaſure for the attack of the lace. The great difficulty lay landing the artillery (which ere ſupplied by the ſquadron) brough a great and dangerous urf. This difficulty was ſur- ounted, though with incredible abour, fatigue, and no ſmall anger, by the courage and acti- ity of the ſeamen. Catamarans, rafts, were made with wonder- ul expedition, and with the aid f the boats, 16 eighteen poun- ers, 2 twelve pounders, with 2 eavy mortars, and 6 lighter, to- ether with their carriages, ſhot, hells, powder, and all neceſſary rtillery ſtores, were, on the ſame day, under the ſuperintendence of Captain Ball of the Superbe, landed, without the ſmalleſt loſs or damage.

The garriſon amounted to about 8,000 men of all ſorts, and far exceeded the beſiegers in point of number. It was compoſed of a- bove 500 Europeans, 700 Malays, 4,500 Sepoys, and 2,300 of Hy- der's troops; of the latter, a thou- ſand were cavalry. The whole force of the beſiegers, including ſeamen and marines, did not much exceed 4,000 men capable of ef- fective ſervice. The ſick were pretty numerous; and the troops ſuffered great incommodities from bad weather, and the dampneſs of the ſituation; moſt of the wounded died; and ſeveral of the ſeamen and marines were carried off ſud- denly by violent cramps and ſpaſms, occaſioned by wet and fatigue.

On the night of the 29th of October, the ſtrong lines, flanked by redoubts, which the enemy had thrown up to cover and defend the approaches to the town, were attacked and carried by ſtorm. In this very briſk action, the ſeamen and marines left but little to be done by the land forces; falling on with their uſual intrepidity, nothing could withſtand the vio- lence of their attack for a mo- ment. It was remarkable, that Hyder's cavalry were ſo terrified at the fury which they experi- enced in this rough encounter, that they run entirely away into the open country, and never after joined the garriſon.

On the 3d of November, the general opened ground againſt the north face of the fort, and the approaches were carried on with unuſual

unusual rapidity; to which the alacrity of the seamen and marines contributed greatly. On the 7th a battery of 10 eighteen-pounders, being ready to open within 300 paces of the walls, the admiral and general sent a joint letter of summons to the Dutch governor, which he answered with great respect, but no less firmness.

The garrison made two desperate sallies with almost their whole force, but were beat back into the town with much loss in both. A battery being opened with great effect on the face of a bastion which was intended to be breached, the enemy demanded a parley, and commissioners were sent Nov. 12th. out to settle the terms of capitulation with the admiral and general. By these, the town and citadel, and every thing they contained, belonging to the government or company, were surrendered; private property was secured, and the inhabitants to be protected in their houses and estates, upon taking the oath of allegiance; the garrison were allowed military honours, and then became prisoners of war; and the governor, council, and civil officers, were retained on parole.

Hyder's infantry, with most of the other Sepoys, abandoned their arms, and had made their escape out of the town, during the truce, on the night preceding the surrender. The whole loss of the besiegers, Europeans and natives, in killed, wounded, and missing, during a service of so much action and difficulty, amounted to no more than 133 men. A numerous artillery, with large quantities of shot, shells, military and artillery stores, were found in the place.

The taking of Negapatam produced the immediate happy effect, of Hyder's troops evacuating all the forts and strong posts which they held in the Tanjore country and its borders. It likewise operated so strongly upon the Poligars of the Marawa and Tinnivelly countries, who renouncing their forced obedience to the Nabob of Arcot, had early joined Hyder, that they endeavoured to make their peace with the former upon the best terms which they could obtain.

The monsoon now set in with its utmost fury, and nothing could exceed the dreadful boisterousness of weather which the fleet endured, from the surrender of the place to near the end of the following month. This violence was so constant, that it was with the greatest difficulty, and no small danger, that the admiral, in the course of about three weeks, was able to recal to their respective ships, those seamen and marines who had assisted with so much honour and effect in the siege, and to transmit to Madras only a part of the military prisoners.

The weather becoming moderate towards the close of the year, Sir Edward Hughes proceeded to carry into execution the design which he had formed against the Dutch settlement of Trincamale, in the island of Ceylon. That island, celebrated from the earliest ages for its produce of the Cinamon tree, has been long shut up from the rest of the world, through the avidity of the Dutch to engross and retain the whole commerce and distribution of that precious spice entirely to themselves. For this purpose they seized and fortified

tified the ſea coaſts, and having ven the King of Candy and ſubjects into the interior parts the iſland, where he is allowed retain ſuch a degree of autho- y as is neceſſary to their own rpoſes, they are effectually ſe- ded from all communication h the reſt of mankind. The nd, with reſpect to commercial nation, as well as to products, capable of being one of the ſt valuable in the world. Trin- male lies on the north-eaſt arter of the iſland; its harbour reckoned the beſt and fineſt in dia; and is compoſed of ſeveral s, where the moſt numerous ets might anchor in the greateſt urity; but its being ſo cloſely t up from the winds, may, in t climate, be well ſuppoſed to der it unhealthy.

Sir Edward Hughes was ſup- ed by the general on this ex- dition, with a detachment of out 500 volunteer ſepoys, and officer with 30 artillery-men, order to garriſon the place in e of ſucceſs. The fleet being ived in Trincamale bay, the rines, with two ſix-pounders, a detachment of artillery and two companies of ſepoys, to act as pio- rs, were landed at about three les diſtance from the fort. Theſe re immediately followed by the talion of ſeamen, conſiſting of ſame number of men and of- rs as had ſerved at the attack Negapatam; the ſepoys cloſed debarkation, and the whole ty was commanded by Capt. ll of the Monarca, who was ll aſſiſted by Captain Mon- ue, of the Sea Horſe, and pt. Reynolds, of the Combuſ- tion fire-ſhip. The ſeamen and marines, with the guns and pio- neers, immediately formed, and puſhed forward, though it was nearly dark, to Trincamale fort; and the company of marine gre- nadiers, with the guns, coming up to the gateway, without any attention to regular forms, moſt reſolutely forced their way through, and in an inſtant became maſters of the place. The garriſon con- ſiſted only of three officers and forty ſoldiers; but the fort was of conſequence to their further ope- rations, as it commanded the only place where proviſions and ſtores could be landed from the ſhips.

Intelligence was received from the priſoners, that the enemy's remaining force was collected in fort Oſtenburgh, ſituated on a high hill that commanded the harbour, and holding an open communication with their ſhips, which lay under its protection. The next day was employed in landing the neceſſary ſtores, pro- viſions and baggage for the troops, at Trincamale fort. On the fol- lowing day, the commanding of- ficers, with Major Geils, the en- gineer, were employed in recon- noitering, and in diſcovering the beſt road for their approach to the heights; and every thing being ſettled in that reſpect, the troops marched early on the morning of the 8th towards a high hill which commanded the Oſtenburgh fort, and on the top of which, the ene- my had a poſt defended by an officer's guard. The hill was attacked in the night, and the poſt, which was within 200 yards of the fort, carried and main- tained by a detachment of ſeamen and marines.

In

In these circumstances of advantage and superiority, the admiral, very early in the morning, transmitted, through Capt. Gell, a letter of summons to Mr. Homæd, the governor, stating his total inability of making any effectual resistance, and urging him in the strongest manner, to prevent, by a timely capitulation, the fatal consequences of carrying things to the utmost extremity, when the great superiority of discipline, as well as of force, together with the known and tried courage which he had to oppose, would render every exertion of defence ridiculous. The governor, however, after stating the trust reposed in him, and the ties of fidelity by which he was bound, declared his resolution of defending, at all events, the place to the last.

Sir Edward Hughes was still exceedingly unwilling to proceed to extremities. Independently of the effect produced by national attachment, and by a sense of the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between both countries, he was besides personally and intimately acquainted with Mr. Homæd, and the principals of those along with him; for the goodness of the harbour having rendered Trincamale a place of common rendezvouz, it is probable, that there was scarcely an officer in the fleet, who had not, in the happier season of peace, experienced, in a greater or less degree, some portion of their friendship, hospitality, or kindness. He accordingly wrote a second letter to the Dutch governor, expostulating with him in kinder and more familiar terms on the danger he was running, and attributing his own solicitation to its true cause, to former attachment to himself and his family, as well as to his other acquaintances in the place. It would seem, from the superscription of the governor's answer, that he was not a little affected by this recal of past kindness and friendship, for it runs in the following form——"*His Excellency the generous, brave, and illustrious Sir Edward Hughes,*" &c. &c. He did not justify; nor avow a disposition to resistance in his answer, but placed it to the strictness of his orders, which were to defend the place to the last; so that he could not answer for his conduct to his superiors if he were to give it up in a manner.

Major Geils, the engineer, who was undoubtedly appointed to be the bearer of the letters of summons, for the benefit of the observations which he might make, informed the admiral, that he was strongly of opinion, that the lower fort, at least, might be carried by assault; some of the higher works he had his doubts about; but of the former, he spoke with confidence, and the others must fall of course. This assurance, coming from an officer of such experience and distinguished ability, afforded the highest satisfaction to Sir Edw. Hughes, who was well aware of the labour, difficulty, and delay, which the dragging of heavy cannon up the heights, and the formal operations of a siege, would necessarily occasion.

The necessary dispositions being made, the storming party

conſiſting of 450 ſeamen and marines, under their proper officers, ſ ered on each flank by a company of pioneers, with 20 ſeamen armed with cutlaſſes, who carried the ſcaling ladders, and ſupported by three companies of ſeamen, as many marines, with two fi pieces, who formed the reſe, advanced, at day break, on the eleventh of January, to the aſſault. A ſmall advanced party, under a ſerjeant, who might be conſidered as the forlorn hope, having made their way through the embraſures without diſcovery, were inſtantly followed by the whole ſtorming party, who ſoon driving the enemy from their works, poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort, and procured the immediate ſurrender of the ſhips and veſſels in the harbour.

The humanity of the victors equalled, and was ſtill more praiſeworthy, than even their gallantry. Notwithſtanding the fall of a brave and favourite officer with 20 of their fellows, beſides two officers, and double that number wounded; and notwithſtanding the heat and fury of a ſtorm, when diſcipline, reſpect and command are at an end, yet, under theſe circumſtances, the ſeamen and marines diſdained to ſtain their ſwords in the blood of a flying or proſtrate enemy.—Through this unexampled magnanimity and clemency, very few of the garriſon loſt their lives.

A numerous artillery, a conſiderable number of ſmall arms, a valuable ſtock of gun-powder, with a great quantity of ſhot, and of various ordnance and military ſtores, were found in the place. In the harbour, two ſhips richly laden, with a number of ſmaller veſſels, were taken. The number of European military priſoners, amounted to ſomething near four hundred; a few Malay officers were likewiſe taken, but we do not hear of any native troops they commanded. The admiral greatly regretted the loſs of Mr. Long, a young gentleman of the greateſt worth, and his own ſecond lieutenant in the Superbe, who fell at the head of his company which he was gallantly leading to the aſſault. He ſays that too much praiſe could not be beſtowed on the conduct of the naval and marine officers; but he particularly acknowleges the eminent ſervices performed, and the great abilities diſplayed, both here and at Negapatam, by Major Geils, an engineer in the company's ſervice.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Retrospective View of affairs in Europe to the close of the year 1781. Second attempt of France upon the island of Jersey. Baron de Rullecourt lands his troops in the night, and surprizes St. Helier the capital. Compels the lieutenant-governor to sign a capitulation. Summons Elizabeth Castle. Is gallantly attacked in the town by Major Pierson. French commander falls, and his remaining troops surrender prisoners of War. Major Pierson unfortunately slain in the instant of victory. Necessities of the inhabitants and garrison of Gibraltar. Extraordinary prices of provisions and necessaries. Admiral Darby sails with the grand fleet and a large convoy to its relief. Spanish fleet retires into Cadiz at his approach. Gun-boats. Dreadful cannonade and bombardment of the town and garrison from the Spanish camp. Town destroyed, and many of the inhabitants perish. Convoy from St. Eustatius taken by M. de la Motte Piquet. Secret expedition, under Commodore Johnstone, and Gen. Meadowes. Fleet attacked in Port Praya Bay by M. de Suffrein. French repulsed. M. de Suffrein's timely arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, frustrates the design upon that place. Dutch ships taken by Mr. Johnstone in Saldanha Bay. General Elliot's grand sally from Gibraltar, by which he destroys the enemy's batteries and works. Invasion of the island of Minorca. Combined fleets return from that service, to cruize at the mouth of the Channel. Proposal for attacking Admiral Darby at Torbay, overruled in a council of war. Enemy, frustrated in all their views, retire to their respective ports. State of the war with Holland, in Europe. Admiral Hyde Parker sails with a small squadron for the protection of the Baltic trade. Upon his return, falls in with Admiral Zoutman, with a great Dutch convoy, and a superior force. Desperate engagement on the Doggar-Bank. Dutch Fleet and convoy return in great disorder to their own coasts. Hollandia of 68 guns sunk. Consequences of the action. Royal visit to Admiral Parker at the Nore. Admiral Kempenfeldt sails to intercept a great convoy fitted out at Brest, with troops, stores and supplies, for the French fleets and armies in the East and West Indies. Falls in with and takes several of the convoy; but discovers the enemy to be so greatly superior in force, that he could not prosecute the design farther.

AFTER the wide range which we have taken, through the transactions, wars and intricate politics of the Eastern world; it is now time to return to our own quarter of the globe. We shall in the first place take a retrospective view of such matters of moment, as, from the nature of our arrangement, or the limits of our work, were necessarily postponed in the last volume.

Our nearest and most active, as well as most formidable enemy, began the year 1781, by a second attempt upon the island of Jersey. The Baron de Rullecourt, who had been next in command to Count Nassau in the former attack upon that island, was the undertaker, and

probably the framer of this
erprize. The perſonal objects
ad in view were ſufficiently en-
raging; while his military ar-
r, and natural ambition, were
themſelves capable of urging
to the moſt hazardous attempts.
rank of general, the order of
Louis, and the government of
ey, were to be the ſplendid re-
ds of his ſucceſs. Such power-
ſtimulants, operating upon a
per naturally fiery and bold,
e liable to generate precipita-
The Chevalier de Luxem-
gh, who was his partner in
deſign, and intended to be his
nd in the execution, was,
ugh ſickneſs, or ſome other
e, detained from taking any
in the enterprize.
allecourt's force for this expe-
n, amounted to about 2000
, and was compoſed of the vo-
ers of Luxemburgh, and of
chments from other neigh-
ing corps. Having collected
ficient number of veſſels for
conveyance, and ſome priva-
for their protection, at Gran-
, on the coaſt of Normandy,
impatience was ſo great, that
out regard to the bad weather
h then prevailed, he embark-
he troops and put to ſea.
he immediate conſequence of
precipitation, was the diſper-
of his fleet of ſmall veſſels in a
; by which ten of them, with
t half the troops, were driven
to France, and never after
ed him; whilſt he, totally ig-
nt of their fate, with the re-
nder, put in for ſhelter to a
er of ſmall iſlands and rocks
d Chauſey, or Choze, which
etween the French coaſt and
y. He was ſtill too eager in
ol. XXV.

the purſuit of the high rewards in
view, to be deterred by this mis-
fortune; and forgetting the rough
enemy he had to encounter, en-
tertained no other apprehenſion
than that of being driven back
to his own coaſt. He accordingly
ſeized the firſt opening of fair wea-
ther for paſſing over to Jerſey;
and having made his way with dif-
ficulty, but with good informa-
tion, through the rocks of La
Roque-Platte, arrived in the night
in Grouville Bay, where he land-
ed his troops in the dark, at a
place called the Violet Bank, about
three miles from St. Helier, the
capital of the iſland. The coaſt
was, however, ſo dangerous, that
a privateer, with four other ſmall
veſſels were loſt among the rocks,
and about 200 of his men periſhed.
A ſmall party of militia, who
guarded a redoubt at this place,
thought themſelves ſo ſecure, and
were ſo ſhamefully remiſs in their
duty, as to be ſeized aſleep by
the enemy, who were thus for ſe-
veral hours upon the iſland with-
out the ſmalleſt alarm being given.

M. de Rullecourt, leaving about
120 men in the redoubt at Grou-
ville, marched with the reſt of his
troops to St. Helier, Jan. 6th.
where, having ſeized 1781.
the avenues of the town,
ſurprized the guard in the dark,
and poſſeſſed the market-place,
without noiſe, the inhabitants
were aſtoniſhed at break of day,
on finding themſelves in the hands
of an enemy. Major Corbet, the
deputy governor, with the magi-
ſtracy and principal inhabitants,
being brought priſoners to the
court houſe, the French com-
mander wrote terms of capitula-
tion, which he propoſed to the

former to ſign, by which the iſland was to be ſurrendered to the arms of France, and the troops to lay down their arms, and be tranſmitted to England. To urge an acquieſcence in this meaſure, on which all his hopes depended, he greatly magnified his force, pretending that about 5,000 of his troops were landed and diſperſed in different parts of the iſland, ſo that all reſiſtance was at an end; and at the ſame time held out the barbarous threat of inſtant deſtruction to the town and inhabitants in caſe of refuſal. It was in vain remonſtrated, that no act of the lieutenant-governor's could have the ſmalleſt validity in his preſent ſituation, and that the officers and troops were too well informed of their duty, to pay any regard to his acts while a priſoner. Rullecourt was peremptory in his demand; and the lieutenant-governor, under the impreſſions of the moment, too inadvertently ſigned the capitulation.

The French commander then ſummoned Elizabeth Caſtle, under the terms of the capitulation, which was preſerved by the inſtant recollection, and the unſhaken fortitude, of the Captains Aylward and Mulcaſter, who had fortunately eſcaped thither on the firſt alarm; and being now in ſome degree prepared againſt a ſudden attack, rejected the ſummons with great ſpirit, and peremptorily refuſed to pay the ſmalleſt regard to the capitulation, or to any orders whatever, extorted from or iſſued by the lieutenant-governor, in his preſent circumſtances. The French placing Major Corbet in their front, ſtill continued to advance towards the gate, notwithſtanding expreſs warning to the contrary but they were fired at with ſuch vigour from the caſtle, that they ſoon found it neceſſary to make the beſt of their way back for ſhelter to the town.

In the mean time, as the alarm extended, the neareſt troops, and the militia of the iſland, advanced with the utmoſt expedition towards the point of danger, and began immediately to form on the heights near the town, under the conduct of Major Pierſon, of the 95th regiment, who inſtantly ſecured a hill of great advantage the poſſeſſion of which had been overlooked by the enemy. The French commander then ſent a meſſage to Major Pierſon, to require his compliance with the terms of capitulation; but was peremptorily anſwered by the ſpirited officer, that if he and his troops did not, within twenty minutes, lay down their arms, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, they were at the expiration of that time to be certain of an immediate attack.

Pierſon was punctual to his word, and made a very maſterly diſpoſition of his forces. As he was informed that the enemy had applied the town artillery to the defence, the two columns deſtined to the principal attacks, were each preceded by a Howitzer. The aſſaults were made in all acceſſible parts with ſuch impetuoſity that notwithſtanding the advantage which the enemy derived from the poſſeſſion of the ſtreets and houſes they were every where driven rapidly in upon the center of the force in the market place. There the action was ſoon decided; the French general being mortally wounded

unded, the next in command ing the hopeleſſneſs of their ation, requeſted the lieutenant vernor to reſume his authority, l to accept of their ſurrender priſoners of war.

The ſatisfaction ariſing from ſo den a deliverance, and ſo brave exertion, was unfortunately nped by the fall of the gallant jor Pierſon, who was ſhot thro' heart in the inſtant of vic- y. The extraordinary military lities diſplayed by ſo young an cer, (he being under five-and- nty years of age) in what was bably his firſt eſſay in arms, as y would have held out the heſt expectations to his coun- if he had ſurvived, could not render his death an object of ch general regret. By the nd of Jerſey he was lamented a hero, who had generouſly ſa- ficed his life to their preſerva- n. The death of his uncle, Sir chard Pierſon, (an ancient ge- al officer of repute) which hap- ed immediately after, and was ributed only to that cauſe, ved to render the misfortune more ſtriking and melancholy. The unfortunate Baron de Rul- ourt, perſevered in the ſame ex- vagance of conduct to the laſt, ich had ſo ſtrongly marked his racter. When the attack was mmenced in the market-place, ſeized the lieutenant-governor the arm, and declaring that ſhould ſhare his own fate, led n out of the court-houſe under ſhower of fire, where he was iged to ſtand cloſe by him, il he had himſelf dropped der the preſſure of three or four rtal wounds, which deprived n of the power of ſpeech, though not of life; ſo that he had the misfortune to live until he had ſeen the ruin and ſurrender of his party.

During the engagement at the town, the redoubt at Grouville, was gallantly retaken with fixed bayonets, and without firing a ſhot, by the grenadiers of the 83d regiment, who were on their way to join the main body. Thus the whole of the French party that landed, amounting to ſomething about 800 men, were either killed or taken priſoners. The Britiſh troops were new raiſed, and nothing could exceed the valour and good conduct diſplayed both by them and the militia through the whole affair. The iſland decreed monuments, with ſuitable inſcriptions, to the fallen enemy, as well as to their gallant deliverer; but the former no leſs intended to perpetuate the memory of the ſurprize, as a warning to future times againſt ſimilar negligence.

Such was the iſſue of the ſecond attempt made by France in this war upon the iſland of Jerſey.

The neceſſity of the times had occaſioned much too long a delay in the relief or ſupply of the important fortreſs of Gibraltar. The unconſumed part of the proviſion which had been conveyed to that place by Admiral Rodney's fleet in the beginning of the preceding year, had by this paſſed its proper time of keeping, and beſides its being generally bad in quality, was ſo much reduced in quantity, as to afford room for the moſt ſerious apprehenſions. So early as the preceding month of October, their wary and provident governor, found it neceſſary to make a reduction of a quarter of a pound

from each man's daily allowance of bread. Their quantity of meat was likewiſe reduced to a pound and a half in the week; and that became latterly ſo bad as to be ſcarcely eatable. The officers were even forbid the uſe of powder in their hair; a regulation of œconomy, which though not very eſſential in itſelf, could not but produce a good effect in reconciling the minds of the common men to the neceſſity of their ſituation. Of all poſſible teſts of the diſcipline, attachment, and virtue of an army, a reſtriction of food has ever, with juſtice, been deemed the greateſt. To the honour of the ſoldiery, in the preſent inſtance, they not only ſubmitted to it without murmur, but with univerſal chearfulneſs and good temper.

If ſuch were the ſtreights of the garriſon, under the care and providence of government for their ſupport, what will be thought of the diſtreſſes of the unfortunate inhabitants, who were far too numerous for ſo new and unexpected a ſituation, and were much increaſed by the families of the married officers. The former were chained to the place by their houſes, property, and occupations, as well as by habit, connexion, and the not knowing whither to remove. From the time of the laſt ſupply from England, and even earlier, not a ſingle veſſel had arrived with proviſions or neceſſaries, either from the neighbouring Barbary ſhores, or from any of the more diſtant coaſts of Africa; ſo that, along with every other misfortune, they were at once cut off from that great and long eſtabliſhed ſource of a cheap and plentiful market, and reduced to depend entirely for relief, on the caſual arrival of a few ſmall Minorquin veſſels, whoſe ſupply was inſufficient, and prices immoderate.

As it has not been the fortune of the Engliſh for many years paſt to have acted much upon the defenſive in ſieges, an account of the market prices at Gibraltar during that period, may probably be conſidered as a matter of ſome curioſity; but it is of much more moment, as a means of conveying information to the public, of the obligations they are under to their brave officers, who ſo long ſuſtained the honour and intereſt of their country, by their glorious defence of Gibraltar.

Of the moſt common and indiſpenſible neceſſaries of life, ſhip biſcuit, full of worms, was ſold at a ſhilling a pound; flour in not much better condition, at the ſame price; old dried peas at a third more; the worſt ſalt half dirt, the ſweeping of ſhips bottoms and ſtorehouſes, at eightpence; old Iriſh ſalt butter, at half-a-crown; the worſt ſort of brown ſugar, brought the ſame price; and Engliſh farthing candles were ſold at ſix-pence a piece.

But freſh proviſions bore ſtill more exorbitant prices. Even when the arrival of veſſels from the Mediterranean opened a market, turkies ſold at 3l. 12s. a piece, ſucking pigs at two guineas, ducks, at half a guinea; and ſmall hens ſold at nine ſhillings a piece. A guinea was refuſed for a calf's pluck; and 1l. 7s. aſked for an oxe head. To heighten every diſtreſs, the firing was ſo near exhauſted, as ſcarcely to afford a ſufficiency for the moſt indiſpenſible

e culinary purpoſes; ſo that all linnen of the town and gar- was waſhed in cold water, worn without ironing. This nt was ſeverely felt in the wet ſon; which, notwithſtanding general warmth of the cli- te, is exceedingly cold at Gib- tar.

From this ſtate of things ſome a may be formed of the diſtreſſes the inhabitants; and it need be e wondered at, if ſuch officers were not high in command, d who had families to maintain, uld have been exceedingly em- raſſed and diſtreſſed in their cumſtances. Such men have faireſt claim, not only upon benevolence but the juſtice of eir country.

The intereſts and honour of eat Britain were deeply en- ed in the timely relief of that portant fortreſs. It was ac- dingly one of the firſt objects of vernment in the commencement the year 1781, and the grand et, under the conduct of the mirals Darby, Digby, and Sir Lockhart Roſs, was fitted out rly for this ſervice. It was vided into three ſquadrons under eir reſpective commanders; but ough France, as well as Spain, d loudly boaſted, that they uld not only diſpute, but abſo- ely defeat the execution of this ſign, yet, ſo widely extended as the war, and ſo numerous d detached were the ſervices of e Britiſh navy, that only 28 ſail the line could be ſpared for ſo eat an object.

France had, at the ſame time, fleet little inferior either in mber or force, nearly ready for e ſea at Breſt, and Don Lewis de Cordova, with about 30 Spaniſh ſhips of the line, was continually parading in and out of Cadiz, avowedly to fight the Britiſh fleet, and to intercept the ſuccours. But to prevent all trouble in the buſineſs, his force was magnified far beyond its real ſtate; and it was farther pretended, that it was to be joined by ſtrong reinforce- ments, as well from Toulon, as from the French ports in the ocean. The matter of fact was, that France was too anxious and eager for the completion of her own great ſchemes in the Weſt Indies and North America, and for retrieving her affairs in the Eaſtern world, to be diverted from their purſuit by attending to the views of Spain with reſpect to Gibraltar. She accordingly di- rected her whole attention and in- duſtry, to the early fitting out, and the effectual equipment, of the fleet which was to ſail from Breſt, under the conduct of M. de Graſſe, for the Weſt Indies, and to the ſquadron under M. de Suffrein, which was to proceed in company, on its way to the Eaſt Indies. On the other hand, Spain, being diffident of her own ſtrength to prevent the ſuccour of Gib- raltar, boaſted loudly of her cou- rage, and of the greatneſs of her force, hoping thereby to deter her enemy from the attempt.

The fleet ſailed from St. Helen's, March 13th, 1781. with the great Eaſt and Weſt India convoys, before the middle of March; but met with ſome delay on the coaſt of Ireland, in waiting for the victu- allers from Corke, which were to proceed with them to Gibraltar. It was probably owing to this de-

lay, that they miſſed falling in with M. de Graſſe's fleet of 26 ſhips of the line, which ſailed from Breſt on the 22d of March. This circumſtance has occaſioned a queſtion, which has ſince been not a little agitated both in parliament and out, Whether the intercepting of De Graſſe ſhould not have been the firſt object of our fleet, inſtead of loſing time in going to Ireland, and thereby miſſing the opportunity.

On the affirmative ſide of the queſtion it was ſaid, that the meaſure would have been the means of totally overthrowing the great deſigns formed by France both in the Eaſtern and the Weſtern world. That our Weſt India Iſlands would have been preſerved, Lord Cornwallis's army ſaved from the fatal cataſtrophe at York Town, and our hopes and claims not only kept alive, but with great probability of ſucceſs in North America.—To this it was anſwered, that no certain knowledge could be obtained of the time that the Breſt fleet would ſail; that the meaſure of intercepting it would be a matter of great uncertainty, and the attempt attended with much delay; and that the conſequent detention of the great outward-bound convoys, which were under the care of Admiral Darby, would have been highly deſtructive to our commerce, and ruinous to the merchants. That in caſe of ſucceſs, the loſs of Gibraltar muſt be the certain conſequence; as it could not be ſuppoſed, that after the rough encounter of two fleets ſo nearly equal in force, Admiral Darby ſhould be in condition to proceed to a freſh engagement with the Spaniſh fleet at Cadiz, which was ſuperior, at leaſt in number, to either. And that the relief of Gibraltar, as it was executed, was highly honourable to this country; and, beſides the importance of the object itſelf, was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of our character and conſequence with the other powers of Europe.

The Eaſt and Weſt India convoys, amounting to about 300 ſail, having proceeded on their reſpective voyages, the Britiſh fleet with 97 tranſports, ſtoreſhips, and victuallers, kept on its courſe for Gibraltar; and meeting no enemy, which they expected to have done, in the latitude of Cape St. Vincents, arrived off Cadiz before the middle of April, and looking into the harbour, ſaw the Spaniſh fleet lying peaceably at anchor, without the ſmalleſt appearance of any intention to diſturb their purpoſe. It has ſince appeared, that Don Cordova with his fleet had kept the ſea for about a month before, and had narrowly eſcaped an unwilling encounter with the Engliſh; but having the fortune to receive notice from a neutral ſhip of their near approach, all the vaunts which had been ſo long thrown out, of his determination and eagerneſs to fight them, were at once given up, and he made the beſt of his way into Cadiz. On the ſame day, after exploring the ſituation of the Spaniſh fleet, Admiral Darby ſo warded the convoy, with ſome men of war and frigates to cover them, to Gibraltar, as well as 13 ſail into the Mediterranean, on their way to Minorca, while he cruized with the main body

April 12th

fleet off the Streight's mouth, order to watch the motions of enemy if they ſhould venture out to ſea.

But though Spain dared not encounter the Britiſh fleet at ſhe had by this time prepared, ew, exceedingly troubleſome, not a little dangerous, enemy, hin the Bay of Gibraltar itſelf, n which ſhe depended, not y for defeating the deſign of ef to that fortreſs, but for burn- the convoy in the attempt. have heretofore had occaſion take notice, of the trouble, ich a few gun-boats they had ſtructed at Algeziras, (on the oſite ſide of the bay to Gibral-) had frequently given, by ning from their retreat, and ng upon the town and garriſon er the covert of the night. long leiſure of the ſiege, and continual opportunity which forded, for invention, experi- nt, and practical improvement, enabled the Spaniards to ar- e at the higheſt perfection in conſtruction and management this ſort of veſſels, and to in- aſe their number ſo as to form ittle fleet of gun-boats. Each theſe was worked by 20 oars, d carried a long 26 pounder in prow, which threw ſhot much ther than any ſhip guns could ch; and this kind of force was ndered ſtill more formidable and ngerous, by the addition of ſe- ral bomb-boats upon a ſimilar nſtruction. Beſides, they had the great misfortune of the rriſon, in having no ſimilar, or her force to oppoſe them) been long in the uninterrupted poſ- ſion of the bay, that they had this time meaſured all their diſtances, and knew the effect of their fire in every direction.

During the continuance of the convoy in the bay, about 20 of theſe, under the conduct of a Don Moreno, who appeared in his barge giving orders, ſallied, under the benefit of the early calm, every morning from Algeziras, and with a fixed and ſteady aim, regularly cannonaded and bombarded our ſhips; but as ſoon as the wind, at its ſtated hour, began to ſpring up, they immediately fled, and were purſued in vain. Theſe attacks were ſo dangerous to the convoy, that Sir John Lockhart Roſs, with his whole diviſion of two-decked ſhips, was ſent in to their protection; and every captain in his ſquadron, as well as the other officers, was obliged to take a perſonal and active part in this contemptible warfare. Nothing was ever more vexatious to the ſeamen, or excited their indignation in a greater degree, than the ſucceſsful audacity of this petty enemy. As their prows were only expoſed to view, the object was ſo ſmall, that when they ventured within reach of our ſhot, it was ſtill no more than a bare poſſibility to hit the mark; and the repeated exertions of ſome of the braveſt officers and beſt ſeamen in the world to cut off their retreat was fruitleſs. The Spaniards however failed in their grand object; their continued efforts were only capable of producing trouble and vexation; and ſo far from burning the convoy, no material damage was done to any part of the ſhipping.

Nothing could be more grievous to Spain than this relief, nor more mortifying to her pride, than the

disgrace, after so much boasting, which her navy now suffered in the eyes of all Europe. She had set her heart so entirely on the recovery of Gibraltar, that she scarcely seemed to have another object in the war. She lavished her treasures with an unsparing hand in that pursuit. The labour of the nation was exhausted in the stupendous works which she raised before the place, and they were now covered with the most tremendous artillery that has perhaps been known in any siege. Indeed the whole naval and military force of the state, and its resources of every sort, seemed directed to that single object.

All these powers were now called into action, and the unfortunate town, with its miserable inhabitants, were the victims to her indignation. 170 pieces of cannon of the heaviest metal, and fourscore mortars, disgorged their tremendous torrents of fire all at once upon that narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works, but the rock itself, must have been overwhelmed. This dreadful cannonade and bombardment, was continued night and day, for a considerable time, without intermission. It is said, and may well be supposed, that nothing could be more splendidly magnificent, or dreadfully sublime, than the view and the report of this tremendous scene, to those who observed them from the neighbouring hills of Barbary and Spain during the night; especially in the beginning, when the cannonade of the enemy being returned, with still superior power, and greater fierceness by General Elliot, the whole rock seemed to vomit out fire, and all distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke.

It was computed by the artillery officers and engineers in the garrison, that during more than three weeks from the first attack the enemy continued regularly to expend, at least, a thousand barrels of gunpowder, of an hundred pound weight each, and to fire from four to five thousand shot and shells, in every twenty-four hours upon the fortress. Nor powers of supply, could long support this expenditure. After discharging 75,000 shot, and 25,000 shells, in this course of firing, was then lowered to about 600 both in the 24 hours; at which reduced scale it was continued several weeks longer.

While the fleet continued in Bay, Gen. Elliot retorted the enemy's attack with a prodigious shower of fire; but as it was standing maxim with that experienced commander never to waste his ammunition, and that the great, and evidently increasing difficulty of supply, rendered the caution still more essentially necessary, he soon retrenched in that respect, and seemed to behold unconcerned the fury and violence of the enemy. The loss of men on the side of the garrison, during this unexampled cannonade and bombardment, was much less than could have been possibly imagined, even, without considering the narrowness of the ground which they defended, its high situation above the works, and the great proportion of their number which were continually exposed in the duty and relief of their numerous guards. The whole loss from the 12th of April to the end

of June, amounted only to one commissioned officer, and 52 private men killed, and to seven officers, and 253 others wounded. The damage to the works was too trifling to give any concern to the defenders; but the duty and fatigue were extreme, and they experienced in a high degree all the incommodities and rigours of a siege, famine and pestilence only excepted.

The town and its inhabitants were the sacrifice. It could not be large, but it was extremely populous. Though the number of houses was under five hundred, the inhabitants (at least in the beginning of the siege) considerably exceeded three thousand. These were composed of various nations and religions, the English amounting only to 500, the Roman Catholics to near 2000, and the Jews were little short of 900. They had been formed, early in the reign of George the Second, into a corporation, with a mayor and aldermen (according to the English model) for their government. The wives and families of the officers and garrison, it is probable, are not included in this estimate.

Upon these fell, almost, the whole weight of this cruel cannonade and bombardment. Such as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, in the general destruction of the first night, fled, many of them nearly naked, to the remote parts of the rock. But the shells from the batteries reached to places which had always been deemed secure; and where these failed, the gun-boats lurking in the dark, poured death and destruction during the night to the most sequestered recesses. No scene could be more deplorable. It is said, that mothers and children, clasped in each others arms, were, at the same instant, so compleatly blown to pieces by the bombs, that it seemed rather an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. The casemates, which could alone afford security, were filled by the garrison; and happy did ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate habits deem it, to be admitted to a few hours repose in them, amidst all the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded who were brought in from their works.

Time and fear, by degrees, led to the discovery of new places of security; nor was the fire of the enemy at all times equally fatal in those within reach; but when a cessation of its violence ensued, the surviving inhabitants having lost their houses and property, could no longer live in the place. They accordingly, including the families of the officers, eagerly seized every opportunity of shipping that offered for an escape, whether to England or to the neighbouring countries.

It seemed as if the spoil of the Dutch island of St. Eustatius had been subject to some fatality, which was to deprive the nation as well as the captors of its benefit. A rich convoy, freighted with the most valuable commodities taken at that island, was on its way to England, at the time that Admiral Darby sailed to the relief of Gibraltar. France, determining to profit of the absence of the grand fleet, had equipped seven or eight ships of the line with the utmost

moſt expedition at Breſt, which were ſent out under the command of M. de la Motte Piquet, in order to intercept the Euſtatius convoy, as well as a rich fleet, which was then likewiſe on its way home from Jamaica.

M. Piquet ſucceeded in the firſt part of his deſign. Commodore Hotham had only four ſhips of war for the protection of the convoy from St. Euſtatius. May 2d. Fourteen or fifteen of the merchant ſhips were taken; but the men of war, with the remainder of the convoy, were ſheltered in ſome of the weſtern ports of Ireland. Advice of this miſadventure being received in the grand fleet on its way back from Gibraltar, Admiral Darby immediately diſpatched a ſufficient force to intercept M. Piquet's ſquadron, on its return to France. The French commander prudently evaded this danger; for upon finding the number and richneſs of his prizes, he thought their preſervation of too much importance to be hazarded upon a very doubtful contingency; and giving up at once all views upon the Jamaica fleet, his immediate return to his own coaſts, was barely ſufficient to prevent his falling in with the Britiſh ſquadron. It was ſaid, that the under-writers, or inſurers in England, loſt ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds by this capture.

A ſecret expedition, to a very remote part of the world, had been long talked of, and ſuppoſed to have been more than once in contemplation in England. The reports of great commotions in Peru, and ſome other of the Spaniſh dominions in America, made it generally ſuppoſed, that the South Seas would have been the deſtination of ſuch an armament. It ſeems probable, that nothing leſs than the numberleſs exigencies, and the various untoward events of the war, could have delayed the proſecution of a deſign, which ſeemed pregnant with the moſt fatal conſequences to the enemy.

At this time, when our enemies were multiplied, the deſign ſeemed not only to be revived, but to be ſeriouſly adopted. A ſmall ſquadron (whoſe objects and deſtination were kept ſecret) under the conduct of Commodore Johnſtone, with a body of land forces commanded by General Meadows, (who had been ſo highly diſtinguiſhed in the action with D'Eſtaing at St. Lucia) accompanied the grand fleet on its departure from England for the relief of Gibraltar. The ſquadron conſiſted of a ſeventy-four, a ſixty-four, and three fifty-gun ſhips, beſides ſeveral frigates, a bomb-veſſel, fireſhip, and ſome ſloops of war. The land force was compoſed of three new regiments of a thouſand men each. Several outward bound Eaſt-India-men and ſtore or ordnance veſſels, went out with this convoy, and the whole fleet, including tranſports and armed ſhips, amounted to more than forty ſail. The object of this armament was undoubtedly changed in conſequence of the Dutch war, which occaſioned an attempt upon the Cape of Good Hope to be ſubſtituted, in the place of the large field of enterprize which lay open in South-America. The war was too vaſt, to afford a poſſibility of feeding it in all its parts.

This

This change of object did not ſcape the penetration of France nd Holland. The latter, trem-ling at the danger to which all er poſſeſſions in the Eaſt would be xpoſed by the loſs of that moſt mportant and valuable ſettlement, nd being totally incapable her-elf of providing for its defence, ad no other reſource in this ex-reme urgency, than by an appli-ation to her new friend and ally or aſſiſtance to avert an evil, hich was capable in its conſe-uences of ſhaking the Republic o its foundations. France was carcely leſs intereſted in the pre-ervation of the Cape of Good Hope, or leſs concerned in the conſequences of its loſs, than Hol-and; but ſhe was beſides deſirous, nd it was no leſs neceſſary, that, nder the circumſtances of ſo new nd unexpected a connection, ſhe hould, by a timely diſplay of her ower and gratitude, juſtify to hem and to the world, the extra-ordinary part which ſhe had led the States-General to take in the conteſt. A ſquadron of five ſhips of the line, and ſome frigates, with a body of land forces, were accordingly deſtined to this ſer-vice, under the conduct of M. de Suffrein, who ſailed from Breſt, in company with the grand fleet bound to the Weſt-Indies under the Count de Graſſe, in the latter end of March. The naval part of this armament, was ultimately deſigned to reinforce M. de Orves, and to oppoſe the Engliſh fleet un-der Sir Edward Hughes, in the Eaſt-Indies; but Suffrein's imme-diate and particular inſtructions, went, to purſue and counteract Johnſtone's armament, upon every occaſion, and in every poſſible manner; ſtill, however, keeping a conſtant eye to his principal ob-ject, the effectual protection of the Cape of Good Hope, which was to take place of all other con-ſiderations whatever.

As there was no great difference in point of time, between the de-parture of the two armaments from England and France, their encounter was, even in the uſual courſe of things, not improbable; but as the court of Verſailles was accurately informed of Johnſtone's force, and of all the circumſtances attending his convoy, it may be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that they were not totally ignorant of his courſe, any more than of his de-ſtination.

That commodore had, with the fleet under his care, put into the Cape de Verd Iſlands, belonging to Portugal, for water and freſh proviſions; and as they had no idea of any enemy or danger being at hand, they ſeem to have lain without much care or order, as it ſuited the convenience of the re-ſpective captains, in an open har-bour or bay called Port Praya, ſituated in the moſt conſiderable of thoſe iſlands, called St. Jago, and belonging to the principal town. A great number of the crews were abſent from the ſhips, being engaged in the various pur-poſes of watering, fiſhing, em-barking live cattle, and all the other occupations, neceſſary to the preparation or ſupply of ſo many veſſels, for ſo long a voyage. A number of men and officers were likewiſe on ſhore, partaking of the health and recreations of the iſland.

In this unprepared and diſor-dered ſtate, the Iſis man of war of

50 guns, which happened to be one of the outermoſt ſhips, perceived, between nine and ten in the morning, a ſtrange ſquadron, coming cloſe round under a narrow ſlip of land, the extreme point of which forms the eaſtern angle at the entrance of the harbour; and although the land of the intervening neck was high, ſo much was ſeen of their ſignals and manner of working, that they were eaſily perceived to be an enemy, and judged to be French. The alarm being given, ſignals for unmooring, for preparing for action, and for recalling the people on ſhore, were ſpeedily thrown out; for though the port was neutral, it was well known that the French, where advantage offered, were ſeldom ſcrupulous in the obſervation of it; and beſides, as the Portugueſe fort and garriſon were utterly incapable of maintaining the rights of ſovereignty, it might be ſuppoſed that they would be leſs attended to.

April 16, 1781.

No fleet could be taken at a greater diſadvantage; and among their various embarraſments it was not the leaſt, that the decks of moſt of the ſhips were encumbered with water caſks and live ſtock, while the ſuddenneſs of the attack afforded no time for their being cleared. M. de Suffrein, having ſeparated from the convoy, and hauling cloſe round the eaſtern point of land, with his five ſail of the line, was very ſoon in the centre of the Britiſh fleet, the French ſhips firing on both ſides as they paſſed. The Hannibal, of 74 guns, M. de Tremignon, led the way with great intrepidity; and when he got as near our ſhips (the Hero, of 74 guns, Capt. Hawker, the Monmouth of 6[illegible] Captain Alms, and the Jupiter [illegible] 50, Captain Parſley) as he could fetch, dropped his anchors with a noble air of reſolution, which gained the applauſe even of his enemies. The Heros, of the ſame force, M. de Suffrein's own ſhip, took the next place; and the Artheſien, of 64 guns, anchored a-ſtern of the Heros. The Vengeur and Sphynx, of 64 guns each, ranged up and down, as they could, through the crowd of ſhips, and fired, on either ſide, at every ſhip as they paſſed. The Romney, of 50 guns, the commodore's own ſhip, being too far advanced towards the bottom of the bay, and too much interrupted by the veſſels that lay between, to take an effective part in the action, Mr. Johnſtone accordingly quitted her, and went on board the Hero.

The engagement laſted from firſt to laſt about an hour and half; and the ſhips being very cloſe, and the Engliſh firing only from one ſide, the guns were inceſſantly played, and the cannonade was extremely heavy. In ſome time after the action began, ſeveral of the India ſhips, having recovered from their firſt ſurprize, fired with good effect on the enemy. On the other hand, the two French ſeventy-fours carried much heavier metal than the Engliſh, their loweſt tiers of 36 pounders throwing ſhot equal to 42 pounds of our weight; and the Iſis, as well as the Romney, was by ſituation cut off from any great ſhare in the action; although the former ſuffered ſeverely from the fire of the enemy as they paſſed.

In about an hour, the ſituation

he three French ſhips at anchor me too intolerable to be en- ed, and M. de Cardaillac, a ght of Malta, and captain of Arteſien, being killed, that cut her cable, and endea- red to make the beſt of her way M. de Suffrein, thus de- ed by his ſecond a-ſtern, found danger ſo great, and the ad- ture ſo hopeleſs, that he fol- ed the example. The unfor- ate Hannibal was now left ne as a mark to be fired at, by ry ſhip in the fleet whoſe guns ld be brought to bear upon the ect; while ſhe was herſelf ſo mantled and ruined, that her urns were ſlow and ineffective. erwhelmed by ſuch a weight d quantity of fire, ſhe exhibited extraordinary ſpectacle of di- eſs and gallantry; the only com- t left in ſo terrible a ſituation, ing the impoſſibility of its long ntinuance. She had already t her fore-maſt and bowſprit, d her cable being either cut or ot away, in the effort of hoiſting ore ſail to get out of the fire, both r main and mizen maſts went verboard, ſo that ſhe remained a ere hulk upon the water. It is ot eaſy to be underſtood by land- en, how ſhe could eſcape in ſuch condition. Her colours were ther ſtruck, or ſhot away; the rmer being aſſerted on one ſide, nd denied on the other. She, owever, joined the other ſhips at he mouth of the bay; and was owed off, and aſſiſted in erecting ury maſts by them. As their at- ack was ſudden, their retreat was o precipitate, that the Sphynx, f 64 guns, narrowly eſcaped be- ng loſt upon a reef of rocks, which runs out from the weſtern point of the harbour.

Commodore Johnſtone purſued the enemy, and endeavoured to renew the engagement. But various obſtacles, among which were the damage ſuſtained by the Iſis, the nature of the winds and currents, and the late time of day at which there ſeemed any poſſibility of its being done, all concurred in defeating this purpoſe. The Hinchingbrooke Eaſt-Indiaman, which, after a gallant reſiſtance, and being much torn, had been carried out by the enemy, was retaken; and, as if it had been decreed, that they ſhould bear away no trophy from this action, the Infernal fire-ſhip, which (by unluckily lying too near the mouth of the bay) had likewiſe been carried off, was recovered by her own crew.

Such was the iſſue of this ſtrangely conducted, irregular, and confuſed action, in which M. de Suffrein made no great diſplay of thoſe eminent qualities, which have ſince, through the ſeries of hard fought and deſperate conflicts he ſuſtained againſt Sir Edward Hughes in India, rendered his name ſo highly and ſo deſervedly renowned. The French ſeem to have built too much upon the advantages of their ſurprize; and to have acted as if they had been ruſhing on to a certain prey, rather than to the rough encounter of an enemy, who was in all circumſtances and ſituations truly formidable. A few of our land officers and ſoldiers, who were paſſengers on board the India ſhips and tranſports, were killed or wounded; but the loſs of men upon

upon the whole, considering the closeness of the action, the smoothness of the water, with the number and crowded situation of the shipping, was very small; and such as it was, was so divided, that almost every vessel of the fleet and convoy sustained some part. The merchant shipping received, however, considerable damage in their hulls and rigging. The Fortitude Indiaman was distinguished by the extraordinary bravery of her defence; and when she was at length, after much fire, boarded, Captain Jenkinson, who, with his company of the 98th regiment were passengers, most gallantly cleared the deck and rigging of the enemy; and the victors had afterwards the satisfaction of taking up and saving some of those whom they had compelled to jump overboard.

May 2d. The fleet sailed from Port Praya in the beginning of May, and towards the middle of June the commodore dispatched Captain Pigot, with three or four of the best sailing frigates and cutters, to proceed towards the southern extremity of Africa, in order, if possible, to obtain some intelligence of the state of the enemy in that quarter; with instructions to rejoin the fleet, at a given point of latitude and longitude. Captain Pigot had the fortune to fall in with and take a large Dutch East-India ship of 1200 tons burthen, which had newly sailed from Saldanha Bay near the Cape; she was laden with stores and provisions, besides 40,000 l. in bullion, for the island of Ceylon; but the intelligence she afforded was of still greater value than the cargo.

From this it appeared, that M. de Suffrein, with five sail of the line, most of his transports, and a considerable body of troops, had arrived at False Bay, on the 21st of June; and that several Dutch East-India ships (homeward bound, but afraid to proceed) were then at anchor in Saldanha Bay, which lies about fourteen leagues to the northward of the Cape town and fort. To explain the cause of their lying at so great a distance from their principal settlement and defence, it may be necessary to observe, that the Table Bay, upon which these lie, is not only much smaller, and less convenient than that of Saldanha, but is exceedingly dangerous to shipping during the winds that blow in our summer months. These bad properties attending Table Bay, was the motive of M. de Suffrein's anchoring in False Bay, which lies at the back of that very long and narrow neck of land, running far out into the sea, the mountain at whose head forms what is properly called the Cape. The bottom of this bay lies within about three leagues by land of the Cape town (which is situated a little higher up on the opposite coast than the junction of the continent with the peninsula) although the passage by sea round the neck is long, difficult, and dangerous.

The timely arrival of the French squadron and troops was what preserved the Cape and its dependent settlements to Holland; for neither their troops nor their fortifications were at all capable of resisting the land and the naval force, under General Meadows and Commodore Johnstone. The frigates having rejoined the fleet, with their

eir prize and intelligence, pretty rly in July, and the commanders nding that their views on the ape were entirely fruſtrated, Mr. ohnſtone determined to profit of hat was yet within reach, by an ttempt upon the Dutch ſhips in e bay of Saldanha.

This ſcheme was ably and ſucceſsfully conducted. The perfect nowledge which our ſeamen had f that bay, as well as of the hole coaſt, afforded them the reateſt advantages in the execuion. The difficulty lay in conucting the ſurprize in ſuch a manner, as ſhould prevent the enemy rom having time to deſtroy the hipping. To facilitate this purpoſe, the commodore took the harge of pilotage upon himſelf; nd running in under the ſhore in he night, and judging his diſtance nly by the lead, he was enabled y traverſes to turn into Saldanha ay betimes in the morning; and as ſo alert and rapid in his movements, that though the enemy were apprehenſive of their danger, nd had kept their fore-top-ſails bent in preparation, yet they had ſcarcely time, from the diſcovery to the coming up of the Britiſh ſhips, to looſe them, to cut their cables, and to run the veſſels on ſhore. The boats being inſtantly manned, the ſeamen with their uſual alacrity boarded the ſhips, which were already ſet on fire by the enemy, and had the fortune to extinguiſh the flames, and to ſave four large ſhips, from 1000 to 1100 tons each; but the fire raged with ſuch fury in the Middleburgh, of equal burthen, that all their efforts to ſave her were ineffectual, and ſhe blew up in leſs than ten minutes after the boats had abandoned her; but by a moſt extraordinary exertion of labour and courage, they towed her out ſtern foremoſt, and thereby ſaved the other prizes from deſtruction. It was a matter of ſome curioſity, to ſee General Meadows perſonally aſſiſting in this dangerous ſervice, which was ſo entirely foreign to his profeſſional line of action.

A remarkable inſtance here occurred, of the miſeries to which royalty, as well as the reſt of mankind, is at times liable, and of the ruin which generally attends all intimate connections between weak ſtates and the more powerful; which becomes ſtill more inevitable, and the calamity infinitely more grievous, if the ſtronger is, under any pretence, admitted to gain a hold and footing in the country of the weaker.

A boat was ſeen rowing from the ſhore to the commodore's ſhip, filled with people in the eaſtern garb, who, while yet at a diſtance, made the moſt humiliating ſigns of ſupplication. Theſe were no leſs than the two kings of Ternate and Tidore (two of the valuable ſpice iſlands) with the princes of their reſpective families, who had been long expiating, in the extreme of miſery, thoſe bleſſings of nature, which had rendered their countries the objects of foreign ambition and avarice. Theſe unhappy princes having, upon ſome jealouſy or ſuſpicion, been depoſed by the Dutch, had, according to the harſh and cruel maxims which have ever diſgraced their government in the Eaſt, for ſeveral years been confined within the limits of a parched and deſolate iſland near this place, which ſerves

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as a common priſon and receptacle for malefactors and criminals of all degrees and countries, from their various ſettlements in India; where theſe royal perſonages, with their families, were, without regard to ſex or quality, obliged to herd upon equal terms with the moſt profligate and abandoned of the human race. It ſeems they had been lately removed upon ſome occaſion from the iſland to the continent; and ſeizing the opportunity which the preſent moment of terror and confuſion afforded to eſcape from bondage, they flew for refuge and protection to the Engliſh ſquadron.

The prizes being got afloat, and their principal ſails, which had been carefully hidden, fortunately recovered, they required but little delay in their equipment, which had been already completed for their homeward voyage. The commodore accordingly (as the great object of his expedition had failed) with the Romney, and moſt of the frigates, returned with his valuable prizes to Europe. The reſt of the fleet, with General Meadows and the troops, proceeded on their deſtined courſe to the Eaſt-Indies. In that marked courſe of ill fortune, which has almoſt conſtantly attended us during this war, one of the prizes was loſt near the mouth of the Channel, and a number of brave ſeamen periſhed in her. This expedition afforded much matter of diſcuſſion at home.

The fury of the Spaniards ſeemed exhauſted before Gibraltar, and towards the cloſe of the ſummer, an extraordinary degree of quiet prevailed on both ſides. The works were found by experience ſuperior to all their efforts, the garriſon held their fire in contempt, and the town being deſtroyed, and the inhabitants gone, no gratification remained to revenge. The gun-boats ſtill continued to be troubleſome at night; but the governor having received ſome cannon of a very long bore, which were ſent for the purpoſe from England, and they, with a number of mortars, being fixed on the neareſt batteries, their ſhot, as well as the ſhells, reached to the very centre of the Spaniſh camp; and it being ſoon obſerved, that theſe were only fired in return for the inſolence of the boats, the Spaniſh commanders found it convenient to reſtrain the one, in order to obviate the miſchief and confuſion occaſioned by the other; ſo that by a ſort of tacit convention, hoſtilities, for ſome time, ceaſed on both ſides.

But during this calm, General Elliot, whoſe eſtabliſhed character of prudence, caution, and the greateſt tenderneſs for the lives of his men, was capable of lulling the moſt watchful enemy into ſecurity, was meditating a heavy blow upon the Spaniſh camp. It was not apprehended, that a commander who was ſo great an œconomiſt even of his ammunition, as well as of every thing elſe, need be ſuſpected of great, daring, and hazardous enterprize. The event however ſhewed, that the moſt prudent caution, and the boldeſt enterprize, when under the direction of experience and judgment, were perfectly conſiſtent.

General Elliot ſeeing that the enemy's ſtupendous works were now, after immenſe labour and expence, arrived at their higheſt

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of perfection, conſidered this e proper ſeaſon of attempting ce to fruſtrate all their views, ttacking, ſtorming, and de- ing them. The deſign was ious, and the object great.

he time being fixed, and all arrangements made, a ſtrong chment iſſued from the garri- upon the ſetting of the moon, ree o'clock in the morning of 27th of November, 1781. troops were divided in three mns, the centre being led by Hanoverian Lieutenant-Colo- Dackenhauſen; the column he right, by Lieutenant-Co- l Hugo, of the ſame corps; that on the left, by Lieute- -Colonel Trig, of the 12th ment. The reſerve was led Major Maxwell, of the 73d; rty of ſeamen, in two divi- , by the Lieutenants Camp- nd Muckle, of the Brilliant Porcupine royal frigates; and whole body was commanded by adier-General Roſs. Each mn was formed in the follow- order; an advanced corps; a y of pioneers; a party of ar- ry men, carrying combuſti- ; a ſuſtaining corps; and a rve in the rear. The pioneers he left column were ſeamen. Nothing ever exceeded the ſi- e and order of the march; the our and ſpirit of the attack, or nice and exact combination of he parts. The whole exterior t of the enemy's works was at ſame inſtant every where at- ked, and the ardour of the ps was in every place irreſiſt- . The Spaniards, aſtoniſhed, diſmayed by the fury of the ilants, gave way on every ſide; were ſoon obliged entirely, and with the utmoſt precipitation, to abandon thoſe prodigious works, which had coſt ſo much labour, time and expence in the con- ſtruction, and in whoſe expected effect, the hopes of all Spain were centered. The moſt wonderful exertions were made by the pio- neers and artillery men, who ſpread their fire with ſuch aſto- niſhing rapidity, that in half an hour, two mortar batteries of ten thirteen inch mortars, and three batteries of heavy cannon, with all the lines of approach, commu- nication, and traverſe, were in flames, and every thing ſubject to the action of fire, was finally re- duced to aſhes. The mortars and cannon were ſpiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms de- ſtroyed. The magazines blew up one after another in the courſe of the conflagration.

The fugitives from the works ſeemed to communicate their own confuſion to the whole Spaniſh camp. They continued tame ſpectators of the havock that was made, without an effort to ſave or to avenge their works, unleſs, that an ill directed and ineffective fire of round and grape ſhot, from dif- ferent directions towards the ſcene of deſtruction, might be conſidered as either. The whole ſervice was performed, and the detachment returned to the garriſon, before day-break; it not exceeding two hours from the time of their de- parture. Their loſs was too in- conſiderable to be mentioned. The deſtruction which they made among the enemy in the works, could not, from the darkneſs, and that rapidity of action which af- forded no time for obſervation, be eſtimated; but it was evidently

conſiderable. A wounded Spaniſh officer of quality, and a few private men, were brought in priſoners. The former died in Gibraltar, and the kindneſs and tenderneſs with which he was treated, were acknowledged by the Spaniſh commanders.

It was no ſmall conſolation, in the midſt of the moſt loſing and unfortunate war in which England had ever been involved, that overborne as ſhe was by the multitude of her enemies on all ſides, ſhe ſuffered no diminution of her ancient military and naval renown, which was upheld in its full luſtre, by the greateſt exertions of valour in every quarter of the globe.

We have formerly had occaſion to obſerve, that the war with Great-Britain was by no means a popular act in Spain, and was generally conſidered rather as a court meaſure, originating under the influence of French counſels, than as the reſult of a policy founded on the real intereſts of that country. The little ſucceſs, and the immenſe expence with which it had hitherto been attended, could not but increaſe the public diſſatisfaction; and the court itſelf ſeemed at length to conceive a jealouſy, that France had been more attentive to other objects during the war, than to thoſe which were ſo intereſting and ſo dear to itſelf. It was neceſſary for the court of Verſailles to remove theſe impreſſions; and as neither Jamaica or Gibraltar could afford any ſuch opportunity for the preſent, the ſequeſtered iſland of Minorca, which, from the nature and particular circumſtances of the war, was almoſt cut off from the poſſibility of ſuccour, could not eſcape obſervation, the object immediately offering the purpoſe. Excepting the former places, nothing could more flattering to the court, gratifying to the people of Sp than the recovery of that il Nor was it leſs flattering to pride and ambition of Fr that, at the very time when fleet was deciding the Amer war, and dealing out the re deſtiny of Great-Britain and colonies, ſhe ſhould eſtabli laſting a memorial of her ſuperiority in Europe. The with Holland had ſtill farthe vided the naval force of Engl which, called upon to ſuch mote and various ſervices, wa ceſſarily unequal to great and ceſsful exertion, in any given of action.

The Duke de Crillon, a Fr commander of repute, had taken into the Spaniſh ſervice, appointed to conduct their f in the enterprize againſt Min And in conformity with this ſign, M. de Guichen ſailed Breſt, near the end of June, a powerful ſquadron of eigh capital ſhips (of which four of the greateſt dimenſions, carried 110 guns each) in orde join the Spaniſh fleet, and ſupp the invaſion. The not endeav ing to intercept this fleet, a leaſt to prevent a junction ſo of danger, and which could then but be reſiſtleſs, were ma which occaſioned great compl againſt the admiralty in Engl and afforded a new handle for deavours to bring on a par mentary enquiry into the con of the firſt lord of that depa ment; but which proved as u fect

l in the attempt, as the others of the ſame nature, had been ſo repeatedly foiled the commencement of the The friends of that noble- vindicated his conduct, by ing the impracticability of ing up a fleet in Breſt, and epreſenting the danger to our homeward-bound con- would have been expoſed, g the abſence of the weſtern annel fleet on ſo fruitleſs a

he combined fleets ſailed from z, with about 10,000 Spa- roops, before the end of July. French had been reinforced e Majeſtueux, of 110 guns, ſome other ſhips of the line; were commanded, beſides the de Guichen, by Monſrs. de ſet, and De la Motte Picquet. Spaniſh fleet amounted to 30 ſail of the line, and was manded by Don Lewis of Cor- , and Don M. de Gaſton. army effected its landing at orca, without oppoſition, on oth of Auguſt; and was not after joined by ſix regiments Toulon, under the conduct ajor General Count de Fal- ayn, who was deemed one of beſt officers in the French ſer- The garriſon was weak, ting only of two Engliſh and Hanoverian regiments; and was little to be expected in healthy climate, and dry country, was exceedingly ; and particularly afflicted the ſcurvy, during the ſiege. , however, commanded by diſtinguiſhed officers. Lieu- nt-General Murray, formerly nor of Quebec, now held the rank in Minorca; and was ſeconded by Major-General Sir William Draper, who commanded at the conqueſt of Manilla in the laſt war.

The combined fleets were contented with ſeeing the troops ſafe into the Mediterranean; and then truſting them to a ſmall convoy, returned with diligence, to the amount, as it was ſaid, of 49 ſhips of the line, to cruize at the mouth of the Engliſh channel. Though this was an effectual means of preventing any ſuccour from being ſent to Minorca, the enemy had other objects in view. They hoped to intercept ſome of our great homeward-bound convoys, which were then every day expected; and a very large outward-bound fleet, which was on the point of its departure from Corke, in Ireland, held out a ſimilar temptation. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that the general alarm and confuſion, which it was expected their appearance in the Channel, at ſo critical a ſeaſon, would occaſion in theſe kingdoms, was by any means overlooked in the deſign.

Our intelligence was ſo exceedingly bad, that no information of this naval manœuvre was obtained, nor was the deſign even ſuſpected, until the combined fleets were arrived in the chops of the Channel, and had formed a line from Uſhant to the iſlands of Scilly, in order to bar its entrance; ſo that Admiral Darby, who was then at ſea with only 21 ſhips of the line, was on the point of falling in with them, when the accidental meeting of a neutral veſſel, afforded him notice of their ſituation. In theſe unexpected circumſtances he returned to Torbay, Aug. 24th, where

where he moored his ſquadron acroſs the entrance, while he waited for inſtructions from the Admiralty to regulate his farther conduct. He was ſoon reinforced by ſeveral ſhips from different ports, ſo that his ſquadron was increaſed to 30 ſail of the line, with which he was ordered to proceed to ſea with the utmoſt expedition, in order to the preſervation of the expected Weſt-India convey; an object for which he was to encounter all hazards whatever; but ſtill with ſuch a view to the vaſt ſuperiority of the enemy, as to avoid, ſo much as it could conſiſtently with that be done, the being brought to a cloſe and deciſive engagement. The delay of waiting for reinforcement and inſtructions, in the firſt inſtance, and contrary winds afterwards, detained the fleet in Torbay, notwithſtanding the urgency of the occaſion, until the 14th of September.

In the mean time, a great alarm was ſpread in Ireland as well as England, with reſpect to this unexpected movement, and to the apprehended deſigns of the enemy. The great outward-bound fleet for America and the Weſt-Indies, was not only ſuppoſed to be in imminent danger in the open harbour of Corke, but that city itſelf, which is totally unfortified, and which was at that time ſtored with immenſe quantities of proviſion, was conſidered as not being leſs ſo. The regular forces in that kingdom were accordingly ordered to the ſouthward, for the protection of that city and coaſt; and the patriotic volunteers, who had gained ſo much honour in ſupporting and reclaiming the liberties of their country, now ſhewed no leſs patriotiſm in their immediate offer to government, of inſtantly taking the field, and of marching wherever their ſervices ſhould be neceſſary to its defence.

As ſoon as the commanders of the combined fleets had received intelligence of Admiral Darby's poſition in Torbay, and of the inferiority of his force in point of number, a council of war was held, on the queſtion of attacking him while in that ſituation. It ſeems they were under orders to fight, if the occaſion offered; but the inſtructions were thought not to reach to the preſent caſe, which would have been an attack on the Engliſh ſquadron, in a bay (though that was open) upon their own coaſts. And, under this change of circumſtance, which their inſtructions had not provided for, it was ſuppoſed that they were thereby left at large, to the free exerciſe of their own judgment and diſcretion.

The Count de Guichen is ſaid to have contended ſtrongly for an immediate attack. He argued that the Engliſh fleet would not be caught, as it were, in a net; that ſuch an opportunity of complete advantage over that nation might never again offer; that if by good fortune, and the valour of the combined nations, along with the powerful aid of fire-ſhips (in a ſituation where they were capable of producing the greateſt poſſible effect) that fleet was happily deſtroyed, which they had every reaſon to expect, the power of Great-Britain on the ſeas would be at an end, and the war decided at a blow. Don Vincent Doz the third of the Spaniſh commanders

nders, ſtrongly ſupported this inion; he aſſerted that the deying of Darby's fleet was ſo y practicable, that it would be hly difficult to juſtify or excuſe ir not making the attempt; d to give the greater effect to ſentiments, he boldly offered command the van ſquadron, and lead on the attack in his own p.

On the other hand, M. de auſſet, a French officer of reute, held a totally contrary opion. He ſaid, that all the adntage which the allies derived m their ſuperiority of force and mber, would be given up and tirely loſt, by an attack upon miral Darby's fleet in its preſt ſituation; that the whole of combined fleets could not bear wn upon him in a line of battle reaſt; that of courſe, they muſt m the line of battle a-head, and down upon the enemy ſingly, by ich they would run the greateſt que of being ſhattered and torn pieces before they could get o their ſtations, by the fixed n, and the angular fire in every rection, of ſuch a number of eat and well-provided ſhips, awn up to the greateſt advange, and lying moored and ſteady the water. He therefore conuded, that as the attempt on orbay would, in his opinion, be meaſure unwarrantable in the ſign, and exceedingly hazardus in the execution, ſo, he likeſe thought, that the allied fleets ould direct their whole attention that great and attainable object, intercepting the Engliſh homeard-bound Weſt-India fleets. his was a meaſure which, as ey were now maſters of the ſea, could ſcarcely fail of ſucceſs; and it would prove a blow ſo fatal to England, as ſhe could not recover during the war.

Don Louis de Cordova, with all the Spaniſh flag-officers, except Doz, coincided entirely in opinion with M. de Beauſſet; ſo that M. de Guichen being either brought over to, or over-ruled by the majority, the idea of attacking Admiral Darby in Torbay was entirely renounced. It ſeems very probable, that a recollection of the repeated defeat which D'Eſtaing met with in his attack upon Admiral Barrington's ſmall ſquadron at St. Lucia, had no ſmall influence upon the determination of this council of war.

It has ſince appeared that the combined fleets were in ſuch exceeding bad condition, that had there been any force then at home in England, which could, with any degree of propriety in reſpect to number, at all face them, their ruin muſt have been inevitable. They were originally (the Spaniards in particular) very badly manned; and beſides a great mortality, which had prevailed during the whole voyage and cruize, and a prodigious number of ſick in both fleets, a conſiderable majority of the ſhips were in ſuch a ſtate, that they ſcarcely ſeemed capable of living at ſea in any thing of a ſtrong gale. But though the French fleet was in ſufficiently bad condition, the Spaniſh was, in all reſpects, much worſe. The former diſcovered upon this occaſion, that their new vaſt ſhips of 110 guns each, (a conſtruction which they had run much into of late) were exceedingly unmanageable, dangerous,

and, in their preſent ſtate, could be of very little uſe at ſea.

The hard weather which came on in the beginning of September, accordingly fruſtrated all their views; and abandoning all hope of intercepting the Britiſh convoys, they were glad to get into port as ſoon as poſſible. M. de Guichen returned to Breſt with his diviſion, on the 11th of September, and was near loſing one of his greateſt ſhips in the entrance of the harbour. Whether it proceeded from the particular etiquette of the French with reſpect to that great naval arſenal, or from whatever other cauſe, the Spaniards were obliged to proceed directly home, though ſeveral of their ſhips ſeemed ſcarcely capable of reaching their own coaſts. But the condition and circumſtances of the combined fleets were little capable of ſatisfying the people of France, with reſpect to the conduct of thoſe commanders, who had oppoſed and over-ruled the opinion of Don Vincent Doz in the council of war. The coffee-houſe politicians of Paris had taught the people of that capital to believe, that the Engliſh fleet could not eſcape being either deſtroyed or taken in Torbay; and ſo flattering an illuſion being eagerly ſwallowed, they could now hardly brook the diſappointment, and were particularly violent in their cenſure and invective. The Count de Guichen did not eſcape his full ſhare of theſe, being particularly blamed for ſuffering any diſcuſſion to ariſe, upon the queſtion of obedience to his general inſtructions for fighting; and the prejudice was ſo ſtrong, that the rank and popularity of the Count d'Artois, (the king's brother) who led him arm in arm into his own box at the playhouse, was ſcarcely ſufficient to ſave him from inſult.

The arrival of the Weſt-India trade was ſo much later than had been expected, that Admiral Darby kept the ſea until the month of November, and it was preſſing his attention to that important object, which prevented his falling in with a rich Spaniſh fleet, that in the intermediate time returned from America, and brought a large ſupply of treaſure to Spain, which was then not a little wanted. It ſeemed almoſt remarkable that neither the combined fleets nor the Britiſh, had taken a ſingle prize during the long term they had been reſpectively at ſea.

The war had hitherto languiſhed, in Europe as well as elſewhere elſe, on the ſide of Holland. Their fleets were not only in a bad condition, but they aſtoniſhed the world by the diſcovery of a weakneſs little thought of, conſiſting in a deficiency of ſeamen and a total want of naval ſtores, in both of which they had ever been held to abound beyond any other nation, England only excepted. The vicinity and facility of their ports, along with that ſtate of preparation which they were ſtill capable of making, proved, however, a great check upon the naval operations of Great-Britain through the courſe of the year, and prevented the uſe of thoſe vigorous exertions which might have been otherwiſe made againſt her former enemies. It was neceſſary to keep a ſquadron in the Downs, as well to watch their motions in general, as

prev

vent their intercourſe with the thern parts of Europe. And was ſtill more eſſentially neceſ- y to have ſuch a force in the rth Seas, as would be capable ruining their immenſe com- rce on that ſide, and of effec- lly protecting our own; in- ding the farther great object, preventing the poſſibility of re- ring their marine, by cutting their only ſources of every nd of naval ſupply.

This very important ſervice was mitted to the conduct of Ad- al Hyde Parker, a veteran mander of eſtabliſhed repute, o ſailed from Portſmouth, in beginning of June, with four ps of the line, and one of fifty ns, for the North Sea. In the ea time, Holland ſtrained every ve for the equipment of ſuch force, as might, at leaſt, be able convoy their outward bound de to the Baltic, and to protect on its return, if not to inter- pt ours, and to become entirely aſters of the North Seas. It was t, however, until ſome days er the middle of July, that Ad- iral Zoutman, and Commodore ndſbergen, ſailed from the exel, with a great convoy under eir protection. Their force con- ſted of eight ſhips of the line, om 54 to 74 guns, of ten fri- ates, and five ſloops. Several of he frigates were very large, and arried an unuſual weight of me- l. The Argo, carried 44 guns, nd five more carried 36 guns each. hey were joined by the Charles- own, an American frigate of an xtraordinary conſtruction, ſhe be- g as long and large as a ſhip of he line, with ſeveral hundred en on board, and thirty-ſix 42 pounders upon one deck; a weight of metal, in ſuch a compaſs and ſituation, which, it was thought, few ſingle ſhips could long with- ſtand. She took this opportunity of ſailing with the Dutch fleet, in order to go north about, on her way home.

Admiral Parker was on his re- turn with a great convoy from El- ſineur. He had been joined by ſeveral frigates ſince he left Ports- mouth, and by the Dolphin of 44 guns; and, in this moſt criti- cal and dangerous conjuncture, was very timely and fortunately reinforced by the junction of Com- modore Keith Stuart, in the Ber- wick of 74 guns, who had been for ſome time on the coaſt of Scot- land. The ſquadron now con- ſiſted of ſix ſhips of the line, of which the Princeſs Amelia carried 80 guns, the Fortitude (which was the Admiral's own ſhip) and the Berwick, 74 each, the Bienfaiſant 64, the old Buffalo 60, and the Preſton 50 guns; but the ſupe- riority of the enemy, obliged the admiral to take the Dolphin, of 44 guns, into his line. Of this force, the two ſeventy-fours were by much the beſt ſhips. The Princeſs Amelia, though a three- decker, was ſo very old and weak, that her metal had been reduced to the rate of a 50 gun ſhip, her lower-deck guns being only 24 pounders; and the Buffalo, be- ſides being old, was of ſo bad a conſtruction, that ſhe had ſome years before been diſcharged from the ſervice, and employed as a ſtore-ſhip in America.

The hoſtile fleets came in ſight of each other on the Dogger-Bank, very early in the morning of the 5th of Auguſt, 1781. Though

one of the Dutch line-of-battle ſhips had, through ſome accident, returned to port, yet, as the Argo of 44 guns was ſubſtituted in her place, their line ſtill conſiſted of eight two-decked ſhips. Admiral Parker perceiving the number and ſtrength of the enemy's frigates, detached the convoy, with orders to keep their wind, ſending his own frigates along with them for their protection; and as ſoon as this diſpoſition was made, he threw out a general ſignal to the ſquadron to chace the enemy. The Dutch were by no means diſpoſed to ſhun the conflict; they likewiſe detached their convoy to ſome diſtance, when they drew up with great coolneſs in order of battle, and waited the ſhock with the utmoſt compoſure. This action, though upon a ſmall ſcale, was conducted and fought in ſuch a manner, that it recals freſh to the mind thoſe dreadful ſea-fights between England and Holland which the laſt century witneſſed; and which ſeem to indicate, that thoſe nations contend with the greateſt animoſity, whoſe intereſt it is not to contend at all.

None of that manœuvring was now practiſed on either ſide, through which the French in the preſent war, have eluded the complete deciſion of ſo many naval actions. The parties were equally determined to fight it out to the laſt; a gloomy ſilence, expreſſive of the moſt fixed determination, prevailed; and not a ſingle gun was fired, until the hoſtile fleets were within little more than piſtol ſhot diſtance. Admiral Parker, in the Fortitude, then ranging a-breaſt of Mr. Zoutman's ſhip, the Admiral Ruyter, the action was commenced with the utmoſt fury and violence on both ſides. The cannonade continued without intermiſſion for three hours and forty minutes. Some of our ſhips fired 2,500 ſhot each. The effect of the ancient naval emulation was eminently diſplayed, in the obſtinacy of the battle.

The Dutch ſhips were much ſuperior in weight of metal to the Engliſh of the ſame rates. This difference, however, was but little conſidered; but their heavy frigates, as well as the Charles-Town, having intermixed with their line, took a very effective part in the action, and did much miſchief by raking our ſhips, and firing at their rigging, while cloſely and deſperately engaged with a ſuperior enemy. Such returns were, however, at length made, that they paid dearly for their temerity; and the Charles-Town, among others, ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that it was long ſuppoſed ſhe had gone down, either in, or ſoon after the action.

At the expiration of the term we have ſtated, the ſhips were ſo ruined on both ſides, that they lay like logs upon the water, and were incapable of anſwering ſo much command, as would keep them within the diſtance neceſſary for mutual annoyance; while the combatants were unwillingly ſeparated by the mere action of the water. The Engliſh ſhips were chiefly wounded in their maſts and rigging, which rendered them incapable of purſuing and profiting of their victory; but as they fired entirely at the hulls of the enemy, and by their ſuperior alertneſs and expedition diſcharged a much greater quantity of ſhot, the

greater

ater part of the Dutch ſhips re ſo woefully torn, that it was th the utmoſt difficulty they re kept above water, until they ched, ſeparately, and in the moſt diſtreſs, (notwithſtanding aid of their numerous frigates) h of their own neareſt ports as y could firſt fetch. But the llandia, of 68 guns, and one their beſt ſhips, went down in night of the engagement; and danger was ſo ſudden and exme, that the crew were reced to the melancholy neceſſity abandoning their wounded in itting the ſhip. Her topmaſts, ough ſhe was ſunk in 22 faoms, being ſtill above water, her pendent flying, ſhe was covered in the morning by one the Engliſh frigates, who ſtruck, brought off her colours as a hy.

The action was very bloody. en on the ſide of the Engliſh, o were by much the leaſt ſufers, in that reſpect, 104 men re killed, and 339 wounded, the ſeven ſhips. Of theſe, 20 re killed, and 67 wounded, in Fortitude only. The loſs in Berwick, Princeſs Amelia, and ffalo, was not much leſs. The ath of the gallant Capt. Martney (who left a widow and ge family unprovided for) was uch regretted. His ſon, a boy ſeven years old, was by his ſide en he was killed; and his fortude, as well upon that occaſion, through the whole action, aſtoſhed the boldeſt ſeamen in the ip. Capt. Græme, who fought e Dolphin with the greateſt vaur, loſt an arm, and his ſhip's mpany ſuffered conſiderably. r. Harrington, one of the admiral's lieutenants, an officer of forty years ſervice, and of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, was mortally wounded. Though this gentleman poſſeſſed an affluent fortune, and that his promotion had by no means correſponded with his merit, yet he nobly diſdained to withdraw his profeſſional abilities from the ſervice and defence of his country, in this trying ſeaſon. Other brave officers fell in this action; and the proportion of the wounded to the number engaged was very conſiderable. Admiral Parker's letter, giving an account of the action, was diſtinguiſhed by its conciſeneſs and bluntneſs, by its modeſty with reſpect to his own ſide, and by the full honour which it pays to the valour of the enemy.

On the other hand, the Dutch gazettes tarniſhed the honour which their countrymen had deſervedly obtained in battle, by the exaggerated accounts which they contained, and the gaſconades with which they were ſtuffed. The truth, however, as is uſually the caſe, in deſpite of authorized miſrepreſentation, by degrees appeared. The conſequences ſufficiently told their defeat. Excluſive of the total loſs of the Hollandia, two, at leaſt, of their capital ſhips were ſo totally ruined in the engagement, as to be declared incapable of farther ſervice. Their loſs of men, which was repreſented as being more trifling, than appeared conſiſtent with their own accounts of the nature of the action, and of the damage done to their ſhips, appears, by authenticated private intelligence, to have exceeded 1100 men, in killed, wounded, and ſunk. Their convoy, as well as the ſhips of war, returned home,

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ſcattered, and in great diſorder and confuſion; every idea of proſecuting the voyage to the Baltic, was of neceſſity given up; all means of procuring naval ſtores cut off; and that immenſe carrying trade between the northern and ſouthern nations of Europe, which, along with their fiſheries, had been the great ſource of the Dutch power and wealth, was, along with them, for this year, annihilated.

As this was the firſt naval action of any value or conſequence, in which Holland had been engaged for much the greater part of a century, the States General were beyond meaſure liberal in the praiſe, rewards and honours, which they beſtowed upon their officers. Admiral Zoutman, and Commodore Kindſbergen, were immediately promoted; and moſt, if not all of the firſt and ſecond captains, as well as ſeveral of the lieutenants, were either riſen in rank and command, or flattered with ſome peculiar mark of diſtinction. The gallant Count Bentinck, who bravely fought the Batavia, and who, though mortally wounded, and informed that his ſhip was in danger of ſinking, would not liſten to a propoſal for quitting his ſtation, was ſoothed in his laſt moments by every mark of honour, and teſtimony of regard, which his country and his prince could beſtow. In the few days that he lived after being put a-ſhore, he was created Rear Admiral of Holland and Weſt Frieſland, and appointed Adjutant General to the Prince Statholder; and his funeral was not more honourable to the brave dead, than to the grateful living.

In England, though the conduct and valour diſplayed in this action met with great and general approbation, yet the imputed neglect of government or the admiralty, in furniſhing Admiral Parker with a force equal to the accompliſhment of the great objects which he had in view, excited no leſs general diſſatisfaction. This was not likely to be leſſened by the prevalent opinion that his want of ſupport proceeded merely from the ſuppoſed circumſtance of his not being a favourite; a ſituation indeed, however uſeful or flattering, to which his diſpoſition and habits were by no means likely to lead him. It was ſaid in ſupport of the popular opinion, that the admiralty could not be ignorant of the ſuperior force which had been ſo long fitting out in the Texel, and whoſe object was every where known; that there were at the very time, many ſhips lying idle in port, and waiting for orders in the Downs, as would have enabled Admiral Parker to bring the whole Dutch fleet and convoy into England. That ſo ſignal and fatal a ſtroke muſt have been deciſive of the war with Holland; and by compelling that republic to a ſeparate peace, would have freed us from one of our numerous foes. But, that in conſequence of the ruinous conduct which had been obſerved, inſtead of the poſſibility of taking the Dutch convoy, the preſervation of our own, upon which ſo much depended, was left to reſt ſolely upon the ſuperiority of our ſeamen, and the extraordinary bravery and conduct of our officers. The admiral's ſubſequent conduct, as well as ſome intimation given in his letter to the admiralty,

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ved ſtrongly to confirm the pub- opinion; and ſufficiently indi- ted, that he was no leſs diſſatiſ- d at the want of ſupport, than ey were at its not being given. Thoſe who imagine themſelves pable of diving into the myſte- es of courts, might poſſibly at- ribute, in ſome degree, to this ublic diſſatisfaction and com- laint, the extraordinary favour ewn to the admiral, by a royal ſit, upon his arrival, with his attered ſquadron, at the Nore. is not, however, to be doubted, at the royal viſit was intended o be diſtinguiſhed by ſome ſignal nd permanent marks of favour nd honour to the admiral. But the ough and veteran commander, who as equally incapable of diſguiſe nd flattery, as he ſcorned to con- eal his diſſatisfaction, had too uch pride and ſturdineſs in his ature to be ſoothed out of it; and t was ſoon underſtood, that no ntended promotion or honour would be accepted. The king went on board the Fortitude, where he had a levee of all the officers of the ſquadron, who were re- ceived with the moſt gracious at- tention; and the admiral had the honour of dining with his Majeſty and the Prince of Wales, on board the royal yacht.

It was ſaid upon that occaſion, (the firſt lord of the admiralty, and a number of naval officers, being preſent) that the admiral took an opportunity of hinting, both his diſſatisfaction and inten- tion of retiring by the following words to his ſovereign,—"*That "he wiſhed him younger officers, "and better ſhips?—he was grown "too old for the ſervice*;" and that though he received the moſt flattering compliments, and the greateſt acknowledgements of his diſtinguiſhed ſervices to his coun- try, theſe were not capable of producing any change in his de- termination. It was related like- wiſe as an anecdote at the time, that young Macartney being *pre- ſented* on board the Fortitude, and a royal intention of providing for him, for the ſake of his brave father, being declared, the admi- ral apologized for informing his majeſty, that he had already a- dopted him as his ſon.

The admiral reſigned his com- mand immediately after; and it was, notwithſtanding, probably intended as a mark of favour and regard to him, that his ſon, Sir Hyde Parker, who, for his gal- lantry in North America and the Weſt Indies, had ſome time before the honour of being knighted, was now appointed to the command of a ſquadron of frigates, which were employd in blocking up the Dutch ports during the remainder of the ſeaſon.

The utmoſt expedition had been uſed at Breſt, after the return of M. de Guichen from his cruize, in refitting and preparing the French fleet for ſea, notwithſtand- ing the lateneſs of the ſeaſon. The objects in view were of ſuffi- cient conſequence to excite this diligence. It was neceſſary to re- inforce the Count de Graſſe with both troops and ſhips of war in the Weſt Indies, and it was de- termined to ſend a conſiderable reinforcement of both to ſupport M. de Orves, and De Suffrein, in the Eaſt. But ſhips and troops were not ſufficient for either ſer- vice. It was well foreſeen that M. de Graſſe, after the hard ſer-

vice on the coasts of North America in the preceding campaign, must stand in need of an immense supply of naval and military stores of every sort, both for the land and the sea service, and that his station in the West India islands would extend the want to, almost, every article of provision and necessary of life. The demand for naval and military stores in the East Indies was no less urgent. A numerous convoy of transports, storeships, and provision vessels, were accordingly prepared and provided with the same diligence as the fleet. And as it was likewise necessary to guard against the designs of the English, the preparation was extended to such a number of men of war, as was thought equal to the protection of the whole, until they had got out of reach. This part of the service, as well as the conduct of the whole while he continued in company, was committed to the Count de Guichen; and the command of the squadron and fleet destined for the West Indies, to M. de Vaudrevil. The former was accompanied by Monsr. de la Motte Picquet, and De Beausset; and when he separated from the convoy, was to join the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, in order to defeat any attempt that might be made from England, for the relief of the island of Minorca. M. de Vaudrevil carried out a considerable body of land forces, with a full confidence on the side both of France and Spain, of now carrying into complete execution, the so often laid project of reducing the island of Jamaica.

Intelligence of this preparation, and in a great measure of its object, being received in England, Admiral Kempenfeldt was dispatched in the beginning of December, with 12 sail of the line, one 50 gun ship, and four frigates, in order to intercept the French squadron and convoy. The event of the war, at least in the West Indies, and scarcely less so in the East, seemed in a great measure to hang upon the complete execution of this design. The blow, in its full weight, must have produced very considerable and unexpected effects. But, through bad intelligence, or, as some perhaps may rather think, through a certain marked fatality, which seems to have generally attended our operations through the course of the present war, the French fleet was so much superior to what had been conceived, as well as to Admiral Kempenfeldt's force, that the danger of being intercepted (if such had been the object of the enemy) lay entirely on his side. The Count de Guichen had no less than 19 sail of heavy line of battle ships under his command, besides two more armed *en flute*, as the French call it, that is, their lower deck guns placed in the hold, in order to make room for the conveyance of a moderate cargo; and of the former, five were of that vast size which we have already described, four carrying 110, and the fifth 112 guns.

The English admiral, totally ignorant of the superiority of the enemy, and expecting that he had only an equal force, at the most, to encounter, had the fortune to fall in with them in a hard gale of wind, when both the fleet and convoy were a good deal dispersed, and the latter had fallen considerably a-stern. Mr. Kempenfeldt, with that pro-

Dec. 12th, 1781.

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onal judgment and dexterity which he was eminently diguiſhed, determined to profit the preſent ſituation, by envouring to cut off the convoy, the firſt inſtance, and to fight enemy after. In the movent for this purpoſe, the Triphant of 84 guns, which had ed back to collect the convoy, her way now to rejoin the fleet, me acroſs the Edgar of 74 guns, ich led the Engliſh van; a rp though ſhort fire enſued, in ich the former ſuſtained ſome nſiderable apparent loſs. The ſign in part took place; and if ere had been a ſufficient number frigates, (which are particuly neceſſary in all attacks upon nvoys) the effect would have en ſtill much more conſiderable. bout twenty of the prizes arved ſafe in England, two or ree were ſaid to be ſunk, and veral that ſtruck eſcaped in the ght. A great diſperſion of the nvoy neceſſarily took place, and number of the ſhips were reaonably ſuppoſed to have loſt their oyage.

The French commanders were, the mean time, collecting their eet, and forming the line of attle. Admiral Kempenfeldt likeiſe, having collected his ſhips in he evening, and being ſtill ignoant of their force, got upon the me tack with the enemy, under full determination of engaging hem in the morning. At dayght, perceiving them to leeward, e immediately formed the line; ut diſcovering their force upon a earer approach, he found the neeſſity of changing his reſolution; nd the adverſe fleets, after a full iew of each other, ſeemed to part ith equal conſent on both ſides.

Near 1100 land forces, and between 6 and 700 ſeamen, were taken in the prizes. They were moſtly freighted on the French king's account, and were chiefly laden with the following articles, which will ſufficiently ſhew of what importance their capture was in the preſent ſeaſon, viz. braſs and iron ordnance; gunpowder; ſmall arms; flints; bomb ſhells; cannon balls, and grenades, in a prodigious quantity; iron bars and ſheet lead; travelling magazines and forges; all kinds of ordnance ſtores; tents, camp equipage, and utenſils of all ſorts; ſoldiers cloathing, and accoutrements; with woollen and linen goods for the land and ſea ſervice, in great quantities; bricks; great cables; ſail-cloth and cordage, with every ſupply for ſhipping, to a great amount; wine, oil, brandy, rum, flour, biſcuit, and ſalted proviſions, all in great, and the moſt neceſſary in prodigious quantities.

The value or importance of the capture ſerved, however, only to excite the diſſatisfaction of the public. It was ſaid, that, when fortune had thrown ſo fair an opportunity in our way, of retrieving our affairs, and recovering our former rank and ſituation, the golden moment was loſt, through the negligence of thoſe who had not ſupplied Admiral Kempenfeldt with ſuch a force, as would have enabled him to take or deſtroy the whole French fleet and convoy. A great clamour was accordingly raiſed, which undoubtedly was not leſſened, by the attempts which were made in both houſes of parliament, to render this buſineſs a ground of complaint and charge againſt the firſt lord of the admiralty.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

State of parties at the meeting of parliament. Debates on the ſpeech from the throne. Addreſſes moved in both Houſes, and amendments propoſed and rejected. Debate reſumed on the report of the addreſs from the committee. Motion for granting a ſupply to his majeſty oppoſed by Mr. T. Pitt, and after a warm debate carried, on a diviſion, in the affirmative. Mr. Burke's motion for a committee of the whole Houſe to inquire into the confiſcation and ſale of the effects and merchandize taken on the iſland of St. Euſtatius, rejected. Motion by Mr. Huſſey for adding 10,000 ſeamen to the number moved for by government for the ſervice of the year 1782. Sir James Lowther's motion for putting an end to the American war rejected, after a long debate, by a majority of only 41. Debate on the army eſtimates. Converſation relative to the exchange of priſoners with America. Debate on the motion for adjournment. Petition from Mr. Laurens preſented by Mr. Burke. Receſs.

DURING the receſs of parliament no material change had taken place, either in the general temper of the nation, or in the political ſtate of the contending parties. A total indifference to the deſperate ſituation of affairs, or at leaſt to the means of retrieving them, ſeems to have marked, at this time, the character of the people, beyond any former period of our hiſtory. The unſucceſsful operations of the campaign, a circumſtance which in former times had ſhaken the ſtability of the moſt popular adminiſtrations, ſcarcely raiſed a murmur againſt the preſent. The retreat of the channel fleet recurred with the regularity of an annual review, and was regarded with as much unconcern. Our commerce was intercepted, the coaſts of Great Britain and Ireland threatened and inſulted; the ancient boaſt and ſecurity of this kingdom, the dominion of the ſea, was ſeen in danger of being transferred to our enemies, without its exciting any other feeling than what the imminence of danger at the time produced. Our very ſucceſſes had unfortunately been confined againſt a power whoſe intereſts had hitherto been conſidered as in ſome meaſure involving our own; and the inconſiderate joy, with which theſe triumphs over an ancient ally and a weak and unprovided enemy were received by the people, afforded matter of no ſmall concern to thoſe who revered the old and approved maxims of Engliſh policy.

In ſuch a ſtate of things, it cannot be wondered, that the enormous weight of influence which miniſters derived from the ordinary and eſtabliſhed power of the crown, the patronage of immenſe military eſtabliſhments, and the annual expenditure of upwards of 20 millions of the public money*, ſhould overpower the unaided and diſpirited

* The ſupplies voted for the year 1781 amounted to 25,380,324*l.* 10*s.* 8½*d.*

efforts

forts of thoſe, who wiſhed to uze the nation to a ſenſe of its al ſituation. The only hope, erefore, that remained of reſcu- g it from the effects of a falſe ſtem of politics, under which s ruin ſeemed no longer proble- atical, was from the vigour and dependence of parliament.

It was evident from the num- ers, which divided on the ſide of pposition during the firſt ſeſſion of e new parliament, that, not- ithſtanding the advantage the ourt party had derived from a dden diſſolution, the ſtrength of e miniſter had declined in the Houſe of Commons. The cala- nitous event of the campaign in Virginia, the news of which ar- ived in England but a few days efore their ſecond meeting, was kely to increaſe this defection, d threatened him with conſe- uences not leſs fatal to his power t home, than it was deciſive on he object in diſpute abroad.

The conteſt in America had hi- herto operated as an inſuperable bſtacle to the free exerciſe of par- iamentary deliberation and con- rol. The patient acquieſcence of ſo large a majority in both houſes, under the repeated diſ- graces, in which the purſuance of that object had involved the coun- try, could be attributed to no other cauſe, than the neceſſity they found themſelves under of ſupporting the miniſter at all events, or of abandoning a fa- vourite war, connected in ſome meaſure with their political preju- dices, and in which their paſſions had been artfully and ſucceſsfully inflamed. But the event, alluded to above, having cut up from the root all hope of ſubjugating the revolted colonies in the minds even of the moſt ſanguine adherers to that ſyſtem, it was not to be ex- pected they would ſo readily over- look the errors, or connive at the miſconduct of thoſe, under whoſe miſmanagement they had reaped nothing but mortification and diſ- grace.

What effect an event of ſuch magnitude would produce in the councils of government was looked for with an uncommon degree of anxious expectation. The ground, on which miniſters ſtood, was known to be extremely ſlippery and dangerous. The proſecution of the American war was generally underſtood to be the tenure, by which they held their offices from the court. To abandon the war, was at once inevitably to forfeit the ſupport of that ſecret in- fluence, of which they had too long experienced the effects to be ignorant of its power. To ven- ture to look that power in the face, to bring a full expoſure of the ſtate of affairs before the pub- lic, and to ſtand on their own me- rits, was an experiment, which more fortunate miniſters might have thought too hazardous to be lightly riſked.

It was this view of affairs which appears to have directed admini- ſtration in the firſt ſtep that was neceſſary to be taken at the open- ing of the ſeſſions, on the 27th day of November, 1781. The ſpeech from the throne continued to hold the ſame determined lan- guage, with which both houſes had been laſt diſmiſſed. The con- tinuance of the war was aſcribed to that reſtleſs ambition, which firſt excited our enemies to com- mence it; and his majeſty was made

made to declare, that he ſhould not anſwer the truſt committed to the ſovereign of a free people, nor make a ſuitable return to his ſubjects for their conſtant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to his perſon, family, and government, if he conſented to ſacrifice either to his own deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and relief, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which the future ſtrength and ſecurity of the country muſt ever principally depend. The loſſes in America were neither diſſembled nor palliated, but ſtated as the ground for calling for the firm concurrence and ſupport of parliament, and a more vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and reſources of the nation. This, with the mention of the ſafe and proſperous arrival of our numerous commercial fleets, the favourable appearance of affairs in the Eaſt Indies, and a ſtrong recommendation to parliament to reſume their enquiries into the ſtate and condition of our dominions in that country, formed the ſubſtance of the king's ſpeech.

In the Houſe of Commons, the motion for an addreſs, framed in the uſual form, produced on the part of oppoſition a warm and animated debate, which continued till two in the morning. The alarming declaration, contained in the ſpeech from the throne, of the intentions of government to continue the proſecution of the American war to the laſt extremity; the inſidious attempt to pledge the houſe, by the propoſed addreſs, to the unqualified ſupport of a determination ſo frantic and deſperate, in the ſpite of ſ years dear-bought experience, in the teeth of national bankru and ruin; the audacity of hol ſuch language at the very inſt when the calamitous effects of miſconduct of miniſters called penitence and humiliation, topics urged by Mr. Fox great eloquence and ability, followed by a ſevere reprehenſ of the principles of the war, the deluſions by which parliam had been led on year after yea ſupport it, and of the groſs criminal miſmanagement that peared in every branch of adm niſtration, and particularly in marine department. To the n ligence and incapacity of the m niſter at the head of that boa he aſcribed the loſs of the ar under Lord Cornwallis. T miniſter, he ſaid, had declared another aſſembly, that a firſt l of the admiralty who ſhould f in having a fleet equal to the co bined naval force of the houſ Bourbon, would be unworthy his ſituation, and deſerve to dragged to condign puniſhmen The caſe, he contended, was n before them. The inferior of the Britiſh fleet, in ev quarter of the globe, he end voured to prove from the even of the campaign, and he conju the houſe not to delay that juſtic which the noble earl had cal down on his guilt. After appe ing to the cool and diſpaſſiona ſenſe of the houſe upon the un impracticability of reducing t colonies by force, of which th had now had full experience, a calling particularly on the mem ber, who at that time held t office of paymaſter-general, a

o had declared on a former oc-
ion, "*that if the capture of*
arlet-Town produced no decisive
sequences, he should grow weary
the American war," to join him
obliging administration to put
end to it, he concluded a speech
great length with moving, that
er the first paragraph of the
dress, the following words should
substituted in the place of the
sequent clauses: "And we
will, without delay, apply our-
selves with united hearts to pro-
pose and adjust such councils,
as may in this crisis, excite the
efforts, point the arms, and by
a total change of system, com-
mand the confidence of all his
majesty's subjects."

The impression, which this
ech seemed to make on the
use, and the silence of those
o had formerly been the most
ward, on all occasions, to jus-
y the principles and the policy
the American war, called up
minister early in the debate.
defended, with his usual dex-
ity and address, the grounds of
conteſt between Great-Britain
d her colonies. It did not, he
d, originate, as had been falsely
resented, in any design of mi-
ers to aggrandise the power,
increase the influence of the
wn: had that been their ob-
t, they had thrown away and
ected the opportunity. It was
the prerogative of the crown,
t the claims of parliament, that
merica had resisted. It was,
erefore, to preserve the supre-
cy of parliament, and to main-
in its just rights and privileges,
at they had engaged in the
r, and forborne the offer of ad-
ncing one branch of the legi-
slature to the dominion of Ame-
rica, independent of the other
two. With respect to the conti-
nuance of the war, the question,
he asserted, was in no shape be-
fore the house; and that there-
fore no gentleman voting for the
address, would, as the necessary
result of such a proceeding, pledge
himself to assent either to any spe-
cific mode of operations, or to the
support of war at all against the
colonists.

Though this explication of the
address was also supported by the
third secretary of state, and by
the right honourable member, who
had been so particularly alluded
to in the debate, it was still con-
tended on the part of opposition,
that whatever sense his majesty's
servants might, for the present,
find it convenient to put upon it,
the language was too insidious
and delusive for the house to
adopt; and on a division there
appeared for the amendment 129,
against it 218.

The attack which had been
made, during the course of the
debate, on the conduct of the first
lord of the admiralty, drew from
one of the members of that board
a reply in his defence. He as-
serted, that the crippled state in
which the noble lord had found
the navy, and which had been
owing to the parsimonious œco-
nomy of Lord Hawke's admini-
stration, was the cause of its pre-
sent weakness, if such a fact really
existed. This, however, he po-
sitively denied, and endeavoured
to prove, that it was even stronger
than in its boasted state in 1759.
He asserted, that the first fleet
sent out by Lord Sandwich, was
superior to that of the enemy;

that the nature of the war had rendered it impracticable to meet them in all places with that advantage; but, that even if it ſhould be found we were unable to match them in force and numbers, the fault did not lie with the board of admiralty; it being a truth demonſtrable from our naval hiſtory, that whenever the French directed their whole attention to the improvement and increaſe of their marine, they had always rendered it ſuperior to that of Great-Britain. Theſe poſitions were ſeverally denied by Admiral Keppel; but being irrelevant to the queſtion before the houſe, they underwent no further diſcuſſion for the preſent.

An amendment to the ſame effect with that moved in the Houſe of Commons, and expreſſed in nearly the ſame words, was moved in the upper houſe, and rejected by a majority of 75, including 10 proxies, to 31. The debate alſo turned upon the ſame general topics; but it was remarked, that the language of the two ſecretaries of ſtate in that aſſembly, was much more explicit and unequivocal with reſpect to the intentions of government to proſecute the war in America, than what the miniſters in the other houſe had ventured to maintain. This circumſtance occaſioned a ſecond debate in the Houſe of Commons, upon receiving the report of the addreſs, on the following day, in which the queſtion of the pledge, ſuppoſed to be conveyed by the addreſs to ſupport that war, underwent another very able diſcuſſion.

On the ſide of oppoſition it was argued, that the preſent alarming criſis of affairs called, in a particular manner, for the moſt exp and intelligible language f parliament. That from the o and unqualified declaration of majeſty's ſervants in another pl the intentions of government c no longer remain a matter doubt; and therefore, if the dreſs was not meant to convey the king an engagement on t part to ſupport him in thoſe ſigns, that it was hypocritical deluſive. That from the dark ambiguous expreſſions of the niſter in that houſe, in the for debate, and his total ſilence in preſent, ſome doubts might be tertained reſpecting his real vate ſentiments; but that w ever thoſe might be, the mean of the addreſs could only be lected from the terms in wh it was expreſſed; that t were intelligible to the loweſt pacity; and that it would highly improper that the hon and reputation of the houſe ſho be committed in the intrigues a divided cabinet.

The defence of the addreſs, i original form, was undertake Mr. Dundaſs, the Lord Advoc for Scotland. He began his ar ment with obſerving, that the of a late great and national mi tune had not arrived unexpect him, but that the impreſſio had left on his mind, had indu him to examine, with the ſcrupulous jealouſy, the ſpe from the throne, fearing to fin it ſome expreſſion, an approba of which might in any ſort pl him to a particular line of duct in that houſe: that, on moſt minute examination, he not found any ſuch expreſſion it; that its language was firm manly, calculated to ſhew

world that no diſaſter, however great, could depreſs the ſpirit, or ſink the courage of the nation; but that ſtill its language was general; that conſequently the addreſs, which, as uſual, was couched in the ſame terms, muſt be general, and could not be underſtood as preclusive of any future vote or parliamentary proceeding whatever. This, he ſaid, was the ſenſe in which thoſe who propoſed and thoſe who voted for the addreſs, underſtood it; and he ridiculed the attempt that was made by others, who pretended that they only could conſtrue it, to force upon them a meaning which they utterly diſavowed. Much of the intricacy, which had involved the preſent queſtion, he conceived had ariſen from the looſe and indefinite uſe of the term, "American war." If by an American war, was meant a continental war in America, conducted on the ſame military principles, on which it had hitherto been carried on, it was with great reaſon the houſe had been cautioned againſt pledging themſelves to the ſupport of it. But he could diſcover no ſuch deſign, either in the ſpeech, or in the addreſs. But if the retention and defence of ſuch places as were ſtill left in our poſſeſſion in America, was to be called an American war, and under that denomination to be reprobated, he did not think the houſe yet ripe for ſuch a deciſion. Theſe, however, were matters totally unconnected with the queſtion before the houſe; and whenever they came to be debated, which in a ſhort time would undoubtedly be the caſe, every member, as well thoſe who voted for as againſt the addreſs, would be at full liberty to deliver their ſentiments upon them.

With reſpect to the diverſity of opinions which, it had been inſinuated, prevailed amongſt the members of the cabinet upon the ſubject of the future conduct of the war, he ſhould declare his opinion with freedom and boldneſs, that the miniſter who, to preſerve his ſituation, could ſubmit to concur in meaſures which he diſapproved, was highly criminal. It would not be admitted as any exculpation of ſuch a miniſter, to ſay, he had been overruled in the cabinet. "That the "king could do no wrong," was a ſacred maxim of the conſtitution, neceſſary for the perſonal ſafety of the ſovereign, and for the free deliberation of parliament; but this maxim implied, that whatever was wrong in the adminiſtration of the ſtate, was to be aſcribed to his miniſters; and that they, jointly and ſeverally, were reſponſible to the public.

In anſwer to the arguments that had been drawn from a ſuppoſed ambiguity in the language of miniſters, it might be aſked, he ſaid, what purpoſe could ſuch a deluſion, if any deluſion is intended, anſwer? The cheat would be ſoon detected; it would ſcarcely laſt a week: a queſtion would neceſſarily ſoon come before parliament, which would oblige miniſters to ſpeak out fully and explicitly. Being called on to explain to what he alluded, he ſaid, that when miniſters called on the houſe to vote a ſubſtitution of forces to replace the 7000 men loſt with Lord Cornwallis, they muſt meet the queſtion fully.

In anſwer to theſe arguments,

it was again urged, that the intention, with which an individual member of parliament might propoſe to confine his own aſſent to a general propoſition, could be no meaſure for the proceedings of the houſe. That the ſenſe and meaning of a written production, aroſe from the words and phraſes in which it was expreſſed. That though the words, "American "war," were ſtudiouſly avoided, yet, from the language of former ſpeeches and addreſſes, and from the whole tenor of the preſent, it was obviouſly the proſecution of that war his majeſty called on them to ſupport. That the learned lord had deſerted the proper ground of debate, when he ſaid ſo much about the *mode* of conducting the war. The *object* and *end* of it were the material conſideration to be ſpoken to. The argument drawn from the ſhortneſs of the time, which the deluſion preſumed could poſſibly operate, drew on the miniſter ſome ſevere and pointed animadverſions from Mr. Burke. Such deluſions, he ſaid, the miniſter dealt in; they were the daily traffic of his invention. A week! he had often held out a deluſion for half that time; for a day only; nay, for a ſingle hour. He had practiſed deluſions upon the houſe, which died away before the debate was ended, only to ſerve the immediate purpoſe for which they had been contrived.

Amongſt the miſcellaneous matter which was introduced into this debate, the ſame gentleman called the attention of the houſe to what he conceived to be the moſt ſhocking and diſgraceful proceeding, that had ever ſtained the Britiſh name; this was the 10th article of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, by which the royaliſts who had joined the Britiſh army, were left to the mercy of the civil power in America. By fire and ſword, he ſaid, we had forced the Americans to join the king's troops; and thoſe very men, who had been fighting with us to quell rebellion, were to ſuffer an ignominious death for having themſelves been rebels. He painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the headlands of the Cheſapeak exhibiting the parched quarters of the king's friends; and aſked, if it was not a glorious ſight to meet the eyes of a prince of the royal blood on his firſt arrival in America! After a moſt eloquent and ſucceſsful application to the feelings of the houſe on this ſubject, he begged leave to mention another circumſtance that had occurred in the ſame buſineſs, in which a ſerious mind, without being extremely addicted to ſuperſtition, might think it was the ſpecial hand of Providence. The Colonel Laurens who had drawn up the articles of capitulation, and in whoſe cuſtody Lord Cornwallis was at that time a priſoner in America, was the ſon of Mr. Laurens, late preſident of congreſs, who had been committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower of London, of which Lord Cornwallis was himſelf the governor, and had thus become a priſoner to the ſon of his own priſoner.

Amongſt the ſpeeches moſt diſtinguiſhed in this debate, that of Mr. Wm. Pitt was received with ſingular marks of applauſe from every ſide of the houſe. At length

e queſtion being put, there ap-
eared for bringing up the report
1, againſt it 54.

Though the mo-
derate and accom-
odating language uſed by the
iniſter in the debate on the ad-
reſs, and the more open declar-
ions which had come from a
arter, known to be intimately
nnected with government, had
me effect in removing the ap-
ehenſions of the houſe with re-
rd to the farther proſecution of
e American war; yet they were
ought by no means ſo ſatisfac-
ry by the members in oppoſi-
on, as to relax their endeavours
obtain ſome more explicit
owal of his intentions. Ac-
rdingly, on the uſual motion
the houſe to go into a com-
ittee of ſupply, Mr. Thomas Pitt
ſe to object to the ſpeaker's
ving the chair. It was not his
ſh, he ſaid, to deprive the crown
the means of carrying on its
vernment in the preſent alarm-
g juncture of affairs; he did not
an to hinder, but to protract
e proceedings of the houſe in
is buſineſs; leſt adminiſtration,
rrying their point with a faci-
y that rendered them callous to
e diſtreſſes of the nation, ſhould
encouraged to perſevere in the
me councils and meaſures, which
d brought the empire to the
rge of irretrievable ruin. Be-
re they looked for any freſh
oof of the confidence of parlia-
nt, it was requiſite they ſhould
ew a due ſenſe of their own miſ-
nduct, and give a ſure pledge
their intentions to change the
ole ſyſtem of their proceedings.
hat that pledge ought to be,
uld be for the houſe to deter-
Nov. 30th.

mine. But to withhold the ſup-
plies till ſome poſitive aſſurance of
their repentance was obtained,
till ſome proof of their contrition
ſtood on record, was not only a
duty the members owed their con-
ſtituents, but would be the moſt
effectual means of ſtrengthening
the hands of government. That
the redreſs of grievances ſhould in-
variably precede the opening of
the public purſe, was a principle
on which ſtood the exiſtence of the
conſtitution. He was therefore
warranted in oppoſing privilege to
prerogative, and in refuſing to
vote a ſhilling to the crown, till
its miniſters had given the people
ſome earneſt of their amendment.

This attempt to obſtruct the
ordinary courſe of buſineſs in the
houſe, was repreſented, on the
ſide of adminiſtration, rather as
the effect of political heat and
paſſion, than of any cool and ſe-
rious deſire of perſuading the houſe
to adopt a meaſure of ſo deſperate
and ruinous a tendency. A vote
of ſupply, it was ſaid, was the
neceſſary conſequence of the ad-
dreſs; to this they were undoubt-
edly pledged; but whenever the
appropriation of the money voted
ſhould be propoſed for the con-
ſideration of parliament, then they
might refuſe their conſent to its
being applied to the ſupport of
the American or any other war,
or to any ſpecific purpoſe what-
ever, if they ſhould ſo think
fit. It was not denied, that the
propoſition of the honourable
member was conſtitutional. The
right of refuſing any ſupply, was
allowed to be inherent in the re-
preſentatives of the people. But
in the exerciſe of that, as of many
other theoretical rights, the expe-

diency of the meaſure was the object to be attended to. In former times it had been the practice of parliament to make the redreſs of grievances go before the grant of ſupplies; but was this at preſent expedient, or even practicable? Before the Revolution, the Kings of England were poſſeſſed of a permanent revenue, and a variety of extenſive reſources, by which they were enabled to ſupport the ordinary, civil and military eſtabliſhments of the kingdom. When, therefore, they called on the people, in particular emergencies, for an extraordinary ſupply, parliament wiſely took advantage of the neceſſities of the prince, to obtain ſuch conceſſions as they judged neceſſary for the ſecurity of the rights of the ſubject. But at the time of the Revolution, the conſtitution in this reſpect underwent a total change, and the former practice had, in conſequence of that change, totally ceaſed. The revenue neceſſary for the defence and ſupport of the kingdom was now annually provided for by parliament; and the exerciſe therefore of the right of refuſal was become extremely difficult, if not entirely impracticable. To enquire into the exiſtence of grievances, to diſcover and adminiſter effectual remedies, would neceſſarily be a work of time; and was it not recollected, that the interval between the commencement of an endeavour to remove the evils complained of, and its ſucceſsful completion, would be filled up by the annihilation of the fleets and armies of the nation? Equal miſchief would enſue, if the mode of carrying on the war, or the operations of the enſuing campaign, were expected to be diſcloſed as the condition of granting the ſupplies. The compliance with ſuch a requiſition would be in the higheſt degree criminal in miniſters.

But a *pledge* of the contrition of government was at leaſt required. Might there not be equal difficulty in bringing the various deſcriptions of men, who were to be found in that houſe, to agree and fix upon ſuch a pledge, as might be deemed ſatisfactory. In the long inveſtigation of the ſubject, nothing reſpecting the nature of this pledge had yet transpired. In the opinion of ſome, there might be a change of miniſters; others might aſk for it in a renunciation of the war againſt America; a third ſet, in the ceſſation of hoſtilities againſt the Dutch; a fourth, in the diminution of the influence of the crown; a fifth, in the reform of repreſentation in the Houſe of Commons.

The ſituation of the country was allowed to be, in an unuſual degree, critical and alarming, and ſome change of meaſures neceſſary. But theſe circumſtances, it was contended, called for the moſt vigorous and united exertions of parliament. The eyes not only of the nation, but of our enemies, were fixed upon them; and much of the ſpirit and exertions, both of the one and the other, would depend on their reſolutions.

In reply to theſe arguments, it was urged, that whilſt miniſters wanted to perſuade the houſe to adopt their addreſs, it was ſaid that it pledged the houſe to

ing. But now it had paſſed, d a ſupply was demanded, they gued that the houſe had bound ſelf by the addreſs to grant it. he ſame cheat was again at- mpted to be played off. The ant of a ſupply, it was ſaid, did ot bind the houſe to any ſpe- ific appropriation of it; and thus e houſe was to be led on by a ain of deluſions to give its ſup- ort to a continuance of thoſe ru- ous meaſures, which even mi- iſters themſelves no longer dared penly to defend.

To allow that parliament poſ- ſed the privilege of withholding e ſupplies, and in the ſame oment to pretend that the ex- rtion of it muſt prove an act of olitical ſuicide, was to leave us othing of the conſtitution, but e name. The king, in virtue f his prerogative, had the power f involving the nation in hoſti- ties at his own diſcretion. An vent of this kind was uſually nnounced to his parliament at e opening of a ſeſſion; and was now contended, that how much ever parliament might diſap- rove of ſuch a meaſure, it was ound to furniſh the neceſſary rants for its ſupport?

If no inſtance had occurred, nce the Revolution, of a refuſal o grant ſupplies, this invariable cquieſcence reſted on a ſuppo- ition, that no circumſtance had ccurred to juſtify a deviation rom the general practice. But id the preſent times afford no uch grounds? Was it not even reſumable from the paſt conduct f miniſters, that, with reſpect to he ſupport and defence of the em- pire, it was a matter of indif- ference whether the ſupplies were granted or not? Could the na- tional misfortunes, which had thickened over the courſe of the preceding year, have poſſibly proved more numerous or more fatal, if no money whatſoever had been granted for the ſervice of that period? Had thoſe grants paid any intereſt to the public, either in victory or honour? Had they not even contributed to the annihilation of our fleets, and to the loſs of our armies, as much at leaſt as a temporary ſuſpenſion of ſupply could do?

In exculpation of the miſcon- duct of one department of govern- ment, it had been ſaid, that all the maritime reſources of this kingdom were unequal to a con- teſt with the naval forces of France, when ſhe choſe to exert them to the utmoſt. For what purpoſe then, except their own baſe and ſelfiſh purpoſes, could they, who held ſuch doctrines, call on parliament to ſupport an eſtabliſhment, confeſſedly, under their management, inadequate to its end? The diſbanding of the land forces would certainly be the conſequence of an abſolute refuſal to raiſe ſupplies: but even if this were the caſe, would the houſe chuſe rather that the third ſecre- tary of ſtate ſhould ſend them acroſs the Atlantic, in order that General Waſhington might re- ceive, at their expence, a third army priſoners of war.

With reſpect to the pledge re- quired, the difficulties that had been ſtated were rather affected than real. If parliament retained a proper ſenſe of its duty, and was zealous and ſincere in the

performance of it, the task proposed would not require an hour's debate.

In opposition to this weight of argument, it was, on the other side, alledged, that the removal of the present ministers, being evidently the chief object proposed by those who wished to negative the motion before the house, there were many other less objectionable methods of obtaining the same end. That in whatever hands his majesty might chuse to trust the administration of affairs, a supply would be absolutely and equally necessary. That the delay proposed would be therefore a fruitless loss of time, as the house might, if they thought fit, adopt other measures equally effectual, and not attended with the same danger or inconvenience to the state. On the division, the motion for going into a committee of supply was carried in the affirmative; there being 172 ayes, and 77 noes.

We have heretofore observed, that the motion made by Mr. Burke, during the course of the last session, for an enquiry into the conduct of the captors of the island of St. Eustatius, was negatived, chiefly on the ground of the absence of the two commanders, who were so deeply interested in the subject. Both these gentlemen being at this time attendant on their duty in parliament, Mr. Burke, pursuant to the previous notice he had given, moved,

Dec. 4th.

"That the house resolve itself "into a committee of the whole "house, in order to enquire into "the confiscation of the effects, "wares and merchandize, be-"longing to his majesty's [illegible] "subjects on the island of [illegible] "Eustatius; and farther, to [illegible] "quire into the sale, distributi[illegible] "and mode of conveyance of [illegible] "great part of the said effect[illegible] "wares and merchandise, to [illegible] "islands belonging to Franc[illegible] "and to other parts of the [illegible] "minions of his majesty's en[illegible] "mies."

He prefaced this motion by o[illegible] serving, that he should not at th[illegible] time enter into a detail of the fa[illegible] he had to produce, nor of t[illegible] evidence by which he meant [illegible] support them, provided he u[illegible] derstood from his majesty's mi[illegible] sters that no opposition would [illegible] made to the institution of fu[illegible] open, and dispassionate enqui[illegible] But the secretary of state for t[illegible] plantations declaring, that [illegible] could not possibly give his vo[illegible] for the motion as it then stood, [illegible] account of the actions that w[illegible] depending in the courts belo[illegible] Mr. Burke was called on by t[illegible] house to enter into the subject [illegible] large.

He began with reprobating t[illegible] narrow, miserable doctrine he h[illegible] just heard, by which a great l[illegible] gislative body, the grand inqu[illegible] of the British empire, was taug[illegible] to lay aside its wisdom, policy i[illegible] justice, and dance attendance, li[illegible] a servile, cringing valet, up[illegible] the petty disputes of the cou[illegible] below. He called on the ho[illegible] to reject, with detestation, cou[illegible] sels so full of infamy and injusti[illegible] and to think they could not rest[illegible] too speedily the reputation of t[illegible] country from the disgraceful im[illegible] putations under which it la[illegible] Abject thefts, atrocious rapi[illegible] and every species of uncivili[illegible] barbari[illegible]

arity, had been charged, in face of all Europe, on British manders. From that houſe Europe would expect the moſt ſtive proofs, that Great Britain ther felt the inclination, nor ſo far forgot her ancient cha-er, as to countenance the com-ion of injuſtice; but was al-s prepared and willing to liſten he complaints of the injured, uniſh the authors of violence, to redreſs the wrongs com-ted in her name.

ut the policy, not leſs than juſtice of the nation, was cerned in promoting the moſt dy and effectual enquiry. In arduous conflict in which we e committed, deſtitute of alli-es, and conſcious of the in-ority of our force to that of enemies combined againſt us, ſhould be cautious to the laſt ree of venturing upon mea-es, which might induce the tful ſtates not barely to regard ſtruggles with indifference, to rejoice in the deſtruction y may think we have ſo juſtly rited. It was a miſtaken opi-n, that ſtates and cabinets re mere machines, moved only intereſt. Compoſed of men, y felt as men; were actuated the ſame ſympathies and paſ-ns, and naturally inclined to up in defence of the weak, en not deterred by the recol-tion of wanton provocations, d the lawleſs uſe of former wer.

Having made theſe obſervations, r. Burke proceeded to ſtate the ts on which he wiſhed the houſe take up the enquiry. After an ſucceſsful attempt upon the and of St. Vincent, againſt ich a weak and inſufficient force had been employed, the Britiſh commanders, in obedience to directions received from England, turned their arms againſt St. Euſtatius. This iſland was known to be in a ſtate totally defenceleſs. A ſingle gun, of which the friendly, courteous uſe, was to ſalute the ſhips of the Engliſh and other European powers, on their arrival at this free port, remained upon the walls of a neglected, mouldering caſtle, in which there was a garriſon of twenty-ſeven ſoldiers, and about thirty other perſons, of various deſcriptions. The armament employed for the reduction of the ſettlement, thus defended, and ignorant even of the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations, conſiſted of fifteen ſail of the line, a proportionate number of frigates, and near 3,000 choſen troops. On this occaſion, ſaid Mr. Burke, the miracle of Jericho was needleſs; for at the firſt ſound of the trumpet, and long before the ramparts could have fallen, the governor ſurrendered the iſland *at diſcretion*.

He next proceeded to inveſtigate, the extent of the power acquired by conquerors over an enemy ſurrendering *at diſcretion*. He proved from the authority of the moſt celebrated writers on the laws of nations, that it by no means warranted the arbitrary exerciſe of any ſpecies of rapine or cruelty. That *diſcretion* was univerſally agreed to be, not *arbitrium cujus libet pravi*; but, *equi bonique viri*. He took a view of the hiſtory of that branch of laws, and of the contemporary concurrent practice of the moſt civilized nations; ſhewing, that the feelings of mankind had at all times gone beyond the theories of juriſprudence, in mitigating

mitigating the calamities of war; and arguing from thence the neceſſity of interpreting the maxims of law, even in the preſent improved ſtate of that code, in the moſt mild and favourable ſenſe. He therefore contended, that from the moment of ſubmiſſion, the vanquiſhed parties were entitled to the ſecurity of ſubjects; that where hoſtilities end, there protection begins; and that though the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius were not abſolutely claimants of a privileged protection, yet they ſhould have found, in the equity and compaſſion of the conquerors, a ſhelter from all violence and depredation.

Having eſtabliſhed and elucidated this general doctrine, Mr. Burke entered into a detail of the enormities charged on the conquerors of St. Euſtatius. As ſoon as they had got poſſeſſion of the ſettlement, a general confiſcation of property took place; every warehouſe was locked up; every inhabitant was compelled to give in an account of his plate, jewels, and ready money; even the neceſſary ſupply of proviſions was ſtopped; and in this general order no diſtinction was made between friends or foes; no rank, ſex, or age was ſpared; and finally, to prevent the poſſibility of diſcriminating their property, and to impede any future attempts for the recovery of its value, the books of all the merchants were ſeized, and their wares and goods thrown into one common maſs.

The next meaſure was a general proſcription of the inhabitants themſelves, by which they were obliged, all without exception, Engliſh, Dutch, Jews, French, and Americans, to quit the iſland. This order was executed with[out] mercy; the miſerable exiles [un]derwent a ſtrict ſearch before [the] departure; and the cloaths [of] ſome of them were ripped op[en] in order to come at a few piéces [of] money which they had conce[al]ed as the only means of preſent ſub[ſ]iſtence.

The confiſcation of proper[ty] being determined on, and [the] inhabitants removed, the ſale [of] their goods followed next in or[-] der. A proclamation was iſſue[d] offering free ingreſs and regreſs [to] every purchaſer; ſecurity that [his] money ſhould not be taken fr[om] him; and full permiſſion to tra[n]ſport to any place he choſe, wh[at]ever merchandiſe he ſhould pu[r]chaſe. Seventeen veſſels, pr[in]cipally French, were accordingly freighted with ſtores, and oth[er] articles, purchaſed fifty per cen[t] under the intrinſic value, for t[he] ſervice of our enemies; and l[eſt] they ſhould become captures [to] the Britiſh privateers, which we[re] hovering round the iſland, a[nd] waiting for the return of the pu[r]chaſers, they ſailed under [the] convoy of an Engliſh ſhip of war.

Three months were ſpent [by] the Britiſh commanders in diſ[-] poſing of and ſecuring the plunder of St. Euſtatius; the conſequences of this conduct, with reſpect [to] the events of the campaign, both in the Weſt-Indies and America were next adverted to by Mr. Burke. The fleet under the com[-] mand of Sir George Rodney, even after the departure of Com[-] modore Hotham, (who had ſailed with a ſmall ſquadron to convoy part of the treaſure found in St. Euſtatius to England) amounted

21 ſail of the line. The whole nch force, previous to the ar- al of Monſ. de Graſſe, con- d only of eight ſhips of the , and one fifty. This favour- e opportunty of recovering e of our former poſſeſſions, or acking thoſe of the enemy, s entirely neglected; the whole et, and near 3,000 choſen ops, being kept upwards of o months in a ſtate of total in- ion, for the important ſervice protecting the ſales of St. Eu- tius. The ſecond misfortune, at had ſprung from the ſame diſ- aceful cauſe, was the weakneſs the detachment ſent under the mmand of Sir Samuel Hood, prevent the junction of the rench fleet in the Weſt-Indies, d that which arrived with De raſſe from Europe. Three ſail the line were detained by the mmanders, for the ſame lauda- le purpoſe of ſecuring the plunder St. Euſtatius; and this ſepa- tion of our naval force, in all uman probability, brought on e whole train of calamitous vents which followed: the junc- ion of the French fleets; the loſs Tobago; and finally, the readful diſaſter in the Cheſa- eak.

Having ſtated theſe charges, Mr. Burke declared himſelf ready o ſupport them by evidence at the ar. He truſted the two honour- able commanders, would feel their onour too deeply concerned, not o wiſh to vindicate their conduct n the fulleſt and moſt open man- ner; that the houſe would feel for the credit and character of the nation, which had ſuffered in the opinion of all Europe; and that as to himſelf, the magnitude and enormity of the charge, the wealth and power of the accuſed, the wretched and deplorable condition of many of the unhappy ſufferers, whoſe cauſe he had undertaken to ſupport, would ſhelter him from that odium which was generally attached to the character of an accuſer.

In anſwer to this weighty and pointed charge, Sir George Rodney, after a virulent invective againſt the Dutch, declared, that their perfidious attachment to the enemies of Great-Britain, had determined him to adopt the line of conduct he had purſued, in the capture of St. Euſtatius; and that, in his opinion, it fully juſtified the entire confiſcation of the property found on the iſland. He could not have been actuated by any mercenary views in this determination, as he had avowedly made the ſeizure for the ſole and excluſive benefit of the crown; and had not received intelligence, till long after the confiſcation, of his majeſty's gracious intentions of relinquiſhing his right in favour of the fleet and army, to whom the iſland had ſurrendered. With reſpect to the outrages that were alledged to have been committed, or any wanton and lawleſs exerciſe of power, he aſſerted, that as far as the accuſation related to himſelf, it was abſolutely groundleſs. He further declared, that if any act of inhumanity had been committed, it had never reached his ears. On the contrary, protection and aſſiſtance were liberally extended to all who ſtood in need of them.

In regard to the charge of having ſuffered ſtores and proviſions to be purchaſed for the ſervice

vice of the enemy, and transported to the islands in their possession, he declared that the very reverse was the truth; that he had given the strictest orders none of them should be sold, but all sent to his majesty's yard at Antigua. So scrupulously exact had he been in this respect, that he had not only examined himself the clearance of every ship that went out of the port, but caused them to anchor under his stern, where they were strictly examined by commissioned officers of the navy.

As to the aspersions thrown on his military character, for remaining three months inactive at St. Eustatius, and detaching an inadequate force to prevent the junction of the French fleets, he remarked, that matters of the utmost importance had made his presence there, for some time, absolutely necessary. That during that period he had planned two expeditions, one against Curaçoa, the other against Surinam; and was on the point of putting them into execution, when he received intelligence of the approach of Monsr. de Grasse. That this intelligence reported the French fleet to consist of no more than 12 sail of the line; and that, consequently, he had thought Sir Samuel Hood a sufficient match for them with 15. That as soon as he heard of the failure of Sir Samuel Hood, he had put to sea with the ships remaining at St. Eustatius, and sailed to join the fleet; that he had put St. Lucia into such a posture of defence, as had preserved that island from the subsequent attack of the French; and that he should doubtless have intercepted M. de Grasse himself, had not his designs been traitorously discovered to the enemy.

The loss of Tobago, and the unfortunate conclusion of the campaign in the Chesapeak, were, he said, laid to his charge with equal injustice. With respect to the former, the transactions relating to it being already in the possession of the public, and no new matter adduced by the admiral, it is unnecessary for us to repeat them; as to the latter, besides the arguments in vindication of his conduct, which have been stated in our last volume*, he assured the house that he had dispatched an account of the designs of the French to the commander in chief at Jamaica, requesting him to lose no time in sending whatever ships he could possibly spare to reinforce the admiral on the coast of America.

This was the sum of the defence set up by Sir George Rodney; he was followed by Major General Vaughan, who went nearly over the same ground, denying in the most solemn manner, his having had any share or concern in the depredation and outrages alledged to have been committed. He refused to account for his conduct as an individual, but declared himself ready to enter into the full investigation of it before the house, if they should think fit to call for it; and in proof of the falsity of one of the charges, read an address he had received from the warden and rulers of the Jews, expressing the full

* Chap. VI. p. 117.

of the obligations they owed
or his protection.
ue being thus joined by the
parties, the motion for a
mittee of Enquiry was ſtrong-
pported by Lord John Ca-
ſh, General Conway, Mr.
Mr. Barré, and Mr. She-
It was oppoſed by Lord
Germaine, the Lord Advo-
of Scotland, the Secretary at
and Lord North. The two
objected principally to that
of the motion, which tended
judicate and affect the claims
r litigation in the courts be-
declaring their readineſs to
nt to the fulleſt inveſtigation
he remaining charges; the
Advocate objected to the
e, for want of a ſpecific ac-
ion, and becauſe, he ſaid,
llegations were too indeter-
ate to be the ground of a par-
entary enquiry.
he motion being at length
nded, ſo as to except "all
ares and merchandiſe claimed
the courts in Weſtminſter-
all," on a diviſion, there ap-
ed for the queſtion, 89;
inſt it, 163.
5th, The Earl of Liſburne having moved, "that
0,000 ſeamen be granted for
e ſervice of the enſuing year,"
amendment was offered by
Huſſey, to ſubſtitute 110,000,
ad of the number propoſed.
s amendment, though evi-
ly calculated to ſtrengthen the
ds of government, yet coming
the oppoſite ſide of the houſe,
ſioned at firſt ſome heſitation
ongſt the members in admi-
ration, and afterwards pro-
d a long and warm debate.
n ſupport of the original mo-
tion, it was urged, that the number therein ſpecified, exceeded by 10,000 the number voted laſt year; and that, owing to the great loſſes we had ſuſtained, the ſhips of the line now in commiſſion were ſix fewer than they were before. That indeed 14 ſail, at leaſt, were expected to be ready in the courſe of the year; but that as 99,845 men had actually been employed laſt year, though 90,000 only were voted; ſo in the preſent caſe, the board of admiralty ſhould not think itſelf bound to limit the ſervice to the number granted, but ſhould doubtleſs make every poſſible exertion to increaſe the naval ſtrength of the empire to the utmoſt.

This alarming account, given by government itſelf, of the decreaſing ſtate of the navy, was received with great indignation by the oppoſite ſide of the houſe. Adminiſtration was accuſed of an improper and dangerous predilection for the army. To this cauſe the feeble condition of the fleet was attributed; and it was therefore urged as one of the moſt powerful arguments to induce parliament to *impound* (as the member who moved the amendment aptly expreſſed himſelf) 520,000 *l.* of the public money, the value of the additional number of ſeamen propoſed, for the ſole and excluſive ſervice of the navy.

In corroboration of this charge, ſeveral members averred from their own knowledge, that the admiralty had not only neglected to employ the public docks in building to the extent of which they were capable, but that they had refuſed the offers of ſeveral private

vate builders. That there were four yards in the river Thames, each capable of building four ſail of the line; and that the outports could furniſh as many more; all of which there could be no doubt might have been engaged for the ſervice of government. The want of money was the only plea that could be alledged in excuſe for this conduct; and if they refuſed the ſupply now offered them, the public would juſtly attribute it to ſome dark and ſiniſter cauſe.

To theſe arguments it was replied, that it being allowed on both ſides, that the amendment propoſed could not add to or take away from the navy a ſingle ſeaman, the queſtion was reduced to a mere point of finance. The committee was called on to vote the firſt branch of the ſupplies, the ſupply of the navy, which had always, and very deſervedly, been the favourite ſervice of the nation. In this caſe, the cuſtom in the laſt war, and the cuſtom in the preſent, had invariably been to vote a ſpecific number of ſeamen; but this number had always been much leſs than the number known to be actually employed. During the laſt war, the vote of ſupply had never exceeded 70,000, and yet the number employed had amounted from 82,000 to 86,000 men. This had been the conſtant practice of parliament; and it was certainly much leſs neceſſary to increaſe the number ſpecified in the preſent vote, ſince, it by ſome thouſands, exceeds the complement requiſite to man the preſent liſt of the navy. Beſides, was it neceſſary or expedient, at this early ſtage of the ſupply, to impound 500,000 *l.*? Other ſervices remained to be provided for, and though (notwithſtanding the inſinuations that had been thrown out) no perſons were more ready to allow, than his majeſty's preſent ſervants, that the navy ought to have the preference, yet gentlemen would conſider, that every other ſervice ſhould not be ſacrificed to the *name* of a navy. The amendment propoſed obviously going no further.

As to the charge of neglect of duty in the board of admiralty, it was either generally denied by the members in the houſe, who belonged to that department, the blame, if any exiſted, thrown on the navy-office; but though the inſtances had been particularly ſpecified, none of them were controverted, except in the caſe of Mr. Wells, whoſe propoſals for building ſhips for the ſervice of government had been rejected, on account of their extravagance. At length the amendment was rejected, on a diviſion; there being ayes, 77; noes, 143.

On the day appointed for voting the army ſupplies, (the queſtion concluded to by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, when, he ſaid, miniſters would be under the neceſſity of coming to ſome explicit declaration, with reſpect to the continuance of the American war) the houſe was early and uncommonly crowded. The difficulty with which it was foreſeen the miniſters would be brought to diſcloſe the intentions of government, and the dexterity he had already ſhewn in evading the queſtions with which he had been preſſed on that ſubject, induced the oppoſition Dec. 11.

ng forward a motion, which, ough it ſhould fail in its in- ded effect, of forcing from him y binding declaration, might at ſt ſerve to diſcover the number thoſe in the houſe, who, with- t reſpect to their general poli- al ſentiments, agreed in opi- on with them upon the proſe- tion of the war.

As the object of this meaſure s to form a coalition from all rties, for the ſole purpoſe of liging the crown to put an end an attempt at once ruinous and practicable, the motion was awn without any criminatory roſpect, in terms the moſt cool d temperate. It was, "to de- clare, that the war carried on in the colonies and plantations of North America, had been ineffectual to the purpoſes for which it had been undertaken, of affording protection to his majeſty's loyal ſubjects there, and of defeating the hoſtile in- tentions of our confederated enemies."—And ſecondly,

"That it was the opinion of the houſe, that all farther at- tempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, would be ineffectual, and injurious to the true intereſts of this country, by weakening her powers to reſiſt her ancient and confederated enemies."

The motion was made by Sir ames Lowther, and ſeconded by Mr. Powis, in a long and eloquent peech, in which the various to- ics that had been urged in the epeated diſcuſſions this matter had ndergone, were placed in many ew and ſtriking points of view. s ſoon as he ſat down, Lord North aroſe, imagining, he ſaid, that the houſe were in immediate expectation of hearing his opi- nion, and ſenſible that the ſooner it was given, they would be able with the greater facility and preciſion to form a proper judgment on the two propoſitions that had been offered to their conſider- ation.

To the motions, he ſaid, he had great and weighty objections, but before he ſtated them to the houſe, he felt himſelf bound, eſpecially after what had paſſed on another occaſion, to ſpeak much more explicitly than what was his uſual cuſtom, and indeed, than was wiſe and politic for a man in a high and reſponſible office to do, concerning the future mode of proſecuting the war. He then declared, that his majeſty's ſer- vants had come to a determination, that the mode of proſecuting hoſtilities internally on the con- tinent of America ſhould no longer be followed; but that the form of the war ſhould undergo a total change. This declaration, he ſaid, he ſhould not have thought himſelf warranted in duty to make, had not the eſtimates of the army, then on the table, declared nearly as much. By thoſe eſtimates the houſe would ſee, that government had not provided itſelf with the means of carrying on the war in the manner it had hitherto been conducted; and therefore, the houſe could not require a ſurer pledge of the future intentions of adminiſtration.

Having made this declaration, his lordſhip ſtated the objections to which he conceived the motion before the houſe was liable. He inſiſted on its impolicy, as it pointed out to the enemy what

was

was to be the future ſyſtem of the war, and conſequently directed them where to prepare for defence, or to plan their attacks, with the greateſt advantage. He objected to the looſe and general terms in which it was expreſſed; a circumſtance, which he thought alone ſufficient to induce the houſe to reject it. It called on them to reſolve againſt *all future attempts* to reduce the Americans by force. Were the motion to paſs, though the American privateers ſhould inſult our coaſts, or cut our merchantmen out of harbour, no Engliſh officer would venture to attack or oppoſe them. Was New-York and its dependencies, was Charles-Town and Halifax to be evacuated? Defended they could not be, if the motion ſhould paſs; at leaſt, added the noble lord, if *I* had brought forward ſuch a motion, and given it a leſs extenſive explanation, I ſhould have been accuſed, without mercy, of ſhufflings, twiſtings, and evaſions, in order to delude the houſe. Was it intended then that we ſhould withdraw our armies and our ſhips, give up to them all our ports, open to them all the ſeas, and ſuffer them to give what aſſiſtance they pleaſed to the ancient enemies of this country? Was it not known they were bound by treaty to aid the French and Spaniards in the conqueſt of the Weſt-India iſlands? And could it be doubted, that this would be the firſt effect of our totally abandoning the war in America? If it was imagined that ſuch a proceeding might facilitate the return of peace, he muſt again beg leave to be of a totally different opinion. He could not conceive, that the moſt effectual way to render an adverſary tractable, and make him reaſonable with regard to terms of peace, would be to declare we would fight him no more.

Theſe were the principal objections made by Lord North, which he was ſupported by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and Lord George Germaine. The latter had declared, that he regarded the motion as amounting to a reſolution to abandon the American war altogether, ſaid, he ſhould make no ſcruple in aſſuring the houſe, that if parliament accede to it, he ſhould immediately retire; for be the conſequences what it might, he would not keep his place on the condition of ſigning any inſtrument tending to eſtabliſh the independence of America. Several of the country gentlemen declared themſelves not ſatisfied with the aſſurances given by miniſters, conſidering them as tantamount to the propoſitions before the houſe, unleſs thoſe propoſitions were deſigned to go at length which they thought neither conſtitutional, prudent, ſafe nor honourable.

In ſupport of the queſtion, it was contended, that the firſt objection ſtated by the noble lord ſcarcely deſerved a ſerious anſwer. That to ſuppoſe a reſolution to abandon the American war, would in any degree diſcover to the enemy againſt what part of the extenſive dominions, vulnerable in a thouſand places, the next blow would be aimed, was abſurd and ridiculous. It would rather tend to produce a contrary effect; for preſent, they were ſure of meeting us, and that to the greateſt ad-

e, on the continent of North erica! whereas the meaſure recommended, by ſetting our s at perfect liberty, would in-ſe the apprehenſions, embar- the councils, and diſtract the rations of the enemy.

The objection drawn from the tude of the terms in which the ion was expreſſed, was ſaid to qually ill-founded. The moſt eral terms had been adopted, rder to prevent the houſe, as h as poſſible, from interfering h the executive branch of go-nment. It was the *object* of the government was called on to nquiſh. It was all further at-pts to reduce the colonies to dience by force, that parlia-t was deſired to reprobate. e general conduct of the war inſt Spain, Holland, and nce, united with America, ſtill left where the conſti-ion had placed it, in the hands the king; and it was only gned to convey to the crown opinion that houſe entertained the fatal effects of continuing proſecute the American conteſt one of the primary objects of war.

As to the effect which the mea-e propoſed would have in acce-ting or retarding an honourable ommodation, it was argued, t the particular ſituation in ich the coloniſts ſtood, made it eſſary for them to avoid, in mon prudence, the danger of iding the jealouſy of their es, by making to Great Britain firſt overtures of reconciliation. at the firſt advances towards it ſt therefore be made by us; that nothing would ſo effec-lly engage America to meet us, as freeing her from all apprehen-ſions for her own ſecurity.

With reſpect to the aſſurances given by miniſters, which appeared to have ſo much weight with ſe-veral members of the houſe, it was aſked to what they amounted, even if they could be depended on, ſuch as they were?—It had been ſaid, that the mode of the war was to be totally changed; that it was not to be conducted on the ſame plan and on the ſame ſcale as before.

A war then it was obvious there was ſtill to be; and Gen. Bur-goyne ſaid he was ready, as a pro-feſſional man, to join iſſue with thoſe, on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe, on this ſingle point, whe-ther the language of the miniſters, coupled with their avowed inten-tion of keeping New-York and other poſts on the continent of America, did not evince an ob-ſtinate adherence in the king's councils to offenſive war. The great, if not the only purpoſe, of keeping places of arms upon an enemy's coaſt, and eſpecially up-on a continent, muſt, he ſaid, be for offenſive operations. But even if the conſequence ſhould not be granted, the maintenance of poſts upon any other principle would prove, not only a moſt improvident and prepoſterous mode of war, but equally ruinous with the preſent.

At two o'clock in the morn-ing, the houſe divided on the queſtion for the order of the day, when there appearing ayes, 220; noes, 179; the original queſtion was conſequently loſt.

The number of thoſe who had uſually ſupported the miniſter, but who voted againſt him on the

preſent occaſion, were ſuppoſed to have amounted nearly to 20. Though this defection was not in itſelf of ſufficient magnitude to be attended with any immediate bad effect to the exiſtence of adminiſtration, yet other ſymptoms appeared, which ſeemed to threaten it with the moſt fatal conſequences. The total want of union and concert in the cabinet, the great diverſity of opinion which prevailed amongſt the ſervants of the crown, and which they were no longer able to conceal, occaſioned, amongſt all deſcriptions of people, a very juſt and univerſal alarm. Thoſe who had hitherto acted with government from a coincidence of opinion, either found themſelves at a loſs where to fix in the general wreck of principle, or choſe rather to riſk a change of ſyſtem, than expoſe the country to the inevitable ruin which muſt have followed the divided and fluctuating ſtate of its councils. Others, who looked only at the fortune of miniſters, foreſaw with great quickneſs the weakneſs theſe diviſions would neceſſarily occaſion, and the dangerous advantage this would give to active and powerful opponents. But what ſeems to have principally contributed to deſtroy that implicit confidence, which the houſe had been in the habit for ſo long a courſe of years of repoſing in the miniſter, was the doubtful and undecided manner in which he was, perhaps, under the neceſſity of expreſſing himſelf, upon the important queſtions now under diſcuſſion. The minds of men being by this means, as it were, ſet afloat, every one was in ſome ſort obliged to think for himſelf; and the great advantage attend[ing] ſtrong and decided meaſures w[as] loſt, which impoſe on the [ge]of mankind, and often gain [a] port and applauſe without [ex]mination.

It was alſo remarked in this [de]bate, that the members who, [on] joined to the great body of [the] Whigs, were ſuppoſed to act [no] immediately in concurrence w[ith] the Earl of Shelburne, expre[ſſed] themſelves upon the ſubject of [the] continuance of the war in Amer[ica] with great caution and refer[ence] The queſtion of Independ[ence] having alſo unavoidably ri[ſen] the courſe of the day, Mr. D[un]ning declared it to be his opin[ion] that the perſon, who ſhould p[ro]poſe an avowal of it in favour America, would be guilty of crime little ſhort of high treaſ[on].

The late hour, to which debate on the twelfth had b[een] protracted, made it neceſſary defer proceeding on the bu[ſi]of the army eſtimates till the lowing Friday, when Dec. 14 the ſubject of the American war underwent, for fourth time ſince the beginni[ng] the ſeſſion, a long and vehe[ment] diſcuſſion. The arguments, had been made uſe of on for[mer] occaſions, were again chiefly curred to; the inſecurity and ſufficiency of the aſſurances gi[ven] by miniſters were urged, not w[ith]out a mixture of perſonal aſper[ity] and invective, on the ground former deluſions, of notorious union in the councils, and con[tra]dictory language amongſt the m[em]bers of adminiſtration: on the of the latter, the debate was weakly ſupported; and the lord of the treaſury, though ca[lled]

on, in a manner not leſs unuſual than unbecoming to the dignity of government, by members poſſeſſing high offices under the crown, to ſtate the differences which ſubſiſted in the cabinet to the houſe, contented himſelf with repeating his former declarations. A diviſion again took place on a motion, that the chairman ſhould quit the chair, and report a progreſs, which was negatived by 166 to 84; after which, the ſeveral motions made by the ſecretary at war were carried without debate.

Dec. 17th. Mr. Burke gave notice of his intentions to move, ſoon after the expiration of the receſs, for leave to bring in a bill to regulate the mode of exchanging priſoners with America. The law as it then ſtood, he ſaid, was not only unjuſt and oppreſſive in its principle, but liable to the moſt enormous abuſes. Its operation, inſtead of being directed by the nature of the offences it was intended to affect, was confined to diſtinctions purely geographical. Thus it depended, not on the imputed criminality of a priſoner, but on the place where he was taken, or the place to which he was conveyed, whether he ſhould be conſidered as a traitor, a pirate, or a priſoner of war.

Amongſt the abuſes, which had ariſen from the exerciſe of the power given to government by the act alluded to, he adverted particularly to the ſituation of Mr. Laurens and Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne. With reſpect to the former, he reprehended with great ſeverity the cruelty, the injuſtice, and the impolicy of the treatment that diſtinguiſhed perſon had met with. He meant at the proper time to contend, that he was entitled to his freedom on parole, as a priſoner of war; but whether the houſe ſhould coincide with him in that opinion or not, the unexampled rigour and ſeverity of his confinement admitted of no excuſe. He had called the attention of the houſe to this very ſerious buſineſs at the beginning of the ſeſſion, and had propoſed that the lieutenant of the Tower ſhould be examined on the ſubject at the bar of the houſe. But from ſome appearance of diſinclination in government to this ſtep, and the fear of injuring, by any haſty proceeding, the perſon whoſe ſituation he wiſhed to relieve, and partly from a perſuaſion that miniſters would themſelves be deſirous of preventing any further diſcuſſion, by redreſſing the grievance complained of; he had declined making any motion on the ſubject.

The caſe of Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne was not leſs cruel and oppreſſive, his exchange having been prevented by a manœuvre, that was likely to doom him to perpetual captivity. A party of the Americans having been cut off by a detachment of Britiſh troops, joined by a large party of Indians, the commander, in order to ſave the lives of his priſoners from the barbarity of his allies, was obliged to connive at their eſcape, having however firſt ſtipulated with one of the American generals, that the men thus ſuffered to eſcape, ſhould be accounted for in the next exchange. This ſtipulation Congreſs had refuſed to ratify; and accordingly, theſe men (who from the name of the poſt where they were taken, were called *Cedar men*)

though generally claimed, had always been tacitly allowed to be ſet aſide in the ſubſequent cartels. But when the American commiſſioners had agreed to accept of 1040 priſoners, in exchange for Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, miniſters had for the firſt time inſiſted on their taking the *Cedar men* as a part of that number; and the Americans being equally determined in refuſing them, his exchange, under ſuch circumſtances, became a matter of abſolute impoſſibility.

As a farther proof of the partial and oppreſſive conduct of government towards the lieutenant-general, Mr. Burke informed the houſe that he had received a letter from Dr. Franklin, incloſing a reſolution of Congreſs, by which he was empowered to treat with the Britiſh miniſtry for the purpoſe of exchanging General Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. This negociation Dr. Franklin had requeſted Mr. Burke to undertake; and he had accordingly made the proper official applications, but hitherto without effect.

In the converſation which afterwards took place on this ſubject, the charge of Mr. Laurens's having been treated with any unuſual rigour was poſitively denied. In proof of this aſſertion, a letter was read from the lieutenant-governor of the Tower, dated Nov. 1780, in which he acquaints one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, that he had waited on Mr. Laurens, for the expreſs purpoſe of ſatisfying himſelf with reſpect to the treatment he received, and that he had learned from his own mouth, that he had met with every civility and kindneſs that he could poſſibly hope for. A member alſo got up and declared, that the lieutenant-governor had again viſited his priſoner, within the laſt three days, and that he had not heard there was the ſmalleſt ground of complaint.

Between theſe contradictory aſſertions, the matter remained ſuſpended till the day of the adjournment of the houſe, when Mr. Burke brought up a *repreſentation and prayer*, addreſſed to the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Laurens himſelf, which was, on a motion, laid on the table. It was remarkable that this petition* was written by Mr. Laurens himſelf, with a black-lead pencil; he having, as is ſuppoſed, refuſed to accept of ſome indulgences that had been lately offered him, and amongſt the reſt, that of pen and ink, the uſe of which had been, during the greateſt part of his confinement, ſtrictly forbidden him.

It may not be improper in this place to add, that the admiſſion of Mr. Laurens to bail, and the exchange of General Burgoyne, which ſoon after took place, together with the ſubſequent alterations in the political government of the country, made it unneceſſary for Mr. Burke to proceed with his intended bill of regulation.

In the Houſe of Lords, the ordinary buſineſs of government was ſuffered to proceed without any oppoſition till the day appointed for paſſing the malt and land-tax bills, which

Dec. 19th.

* Inſerted in our laſt Volume, p. 322.

e Marquis of Rockingham
oved, that the third reading of
e bills ſhould be deferred till the
t Wedneſday after the receſs.
He prefaced this motion by de-
ring, that a recent public ca-
nity, the retreat of the fleet
der Admiral Kempenfelt, had
ought him down that day to the
uſe; that he came without con-
tation with any perſon what-
er, and with the expectation
at he ſhould probably not meet
th a ſingle peer who would
ite in opinion with him; but
at he was neither to be deterred
m the faithful diſcharge of his
ty, by ſuperiority of numbers,
r diſheartened by the thin at-
ndance of his friends.

He then entered into a conciſe
t comprehenſive detail of the
te of the nation, and urged
m thence the neceſſity of com-
g to ſome immediate and de-
ive meaſures, for ſaving what
mained of the empire from the
etrievable ruin, towards which
was rapidly verging. If the
fficulties under which the coun-
y laboured, had ariſen from the
dinary viciſſitudes of fortune,
knew, he ſaid, that the pride,
e ſpirit, the perſeverance, the
conquerable reſolution of Eng-
hmen, would ſtill be able to
rmount them; but whilſt he
aced them to their real cauſe,
the exiſtence of a ruinous ſyſtem
politics, which had blaſted the
gour and energy of the country,
d driven every man of honour
d ability from the ſervice of the
own, and was founded on a
inciple of weakneſs and diſ-
nion for its baſis, he confeſſed
at he felt himſelf overwhelmed
th deſpair.

After a ſpeech of conſiderable length, which was delivered with an unuſual exertion of voice, and a flow of genuine eloquence, he concluded with calling on the noble lords preſent, to join him in delaying for a few days the granting of the propoſed ſupplies, in order that in a fuller aſſembly, and after a more mature deliberation, they might be better able to judge how far it was prudent, to entruſt any longer the expenditure of the public money to perſons, whoſe groſs miſconduct was every day the cauſe of accumulating freſh misfortunes on the country.

The objections made to the propoſition of the Marquis, were founded on the miſchiefs that would ariſe from any delay in granting the current ſupplies of the year, and were nearly the ſame with thoſe that had been urged before on the like occaſion in the other houſe. The queſtion, as amended, being put, was carried in the negative, and the bills paſſed without a diviſion.

On the 20th, as ſoon as the royal aſſent was given to the money bills, and the ſpeaker had returned to the Houſe of Commons, one of the ſecretaries of the treaſury roſe, and moved, that the houſe at its riſing ſhould adjourn to the 22d day of January.

This motion gave riſe to a warm and animated debate, in which the recent inſtance of miſconduct in the firſt lord of the admiralty, was ſtrongly inſiſted on as an additional proof of the neceſſity of proceeding, without delay, into an inveſtigation of the cauſes of the diſgraceful and ruinous

nous events that had attended all our naval operations. The houſe was reminded, that four years before, an adjournment of ſix weeks had coſt the nation thirteen provinces; and they were now cautioned, as they had loſt America by one receſs, not to riſk the loſing of the Weſt Indies by another.

The conduct of the Earl of Sandwich was defended in a long and able ſpeech by Lord Mulgrave; but his doctrines relative to the reſponſibility of official miniſters, was ſtrongly reprobated. He had argued that the noble Earl, againſt whom the members on the other ſide had been ſo liberal in their charges, acted in two diſtinct capacities, that of a cabinet miniſter, and of a firſt lord of the admiralty; and therefore, that it was unfair to make him ſolely reſponſible in his official character for faults, which might have originated in the cabinet council of which he was only one member. Thus, he ſaid, with reſpect to the blame imputed to the noble earl for ſending out Admiral Kempenfelt, with only 12 ſail of the line, the charge ought in juſtice to have conſiſted of two branches: the firſt queſtion ſhould have been, whether the cabinet had acted right in ordering out 12 ſail of the line, to watch the motions of 19; and the ſecond, whether the board had been negligent in equipping and getting this force ready. For the firſt, he contended Lord Sandwich was not more reſponſible than any other lord who ſat at the council; for the ſecond, he was, in conjunction with the reſt of his colleagues at the board, undoubtedly reſponſible.

This doctrine was condemned, as being of a moſt dangerous and novel kind, and totally incompatible with the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. The conſtitution, it was ſaid, knew of no cabinet council; but in whatever department cauſe of complaint ſhould exiſt, the miniſter at the head of that department was ſpecially accountable to the public, whether he acted on his own judgment, or by the direction of others. It was not merely for the equipment of fleets, but for their arrangement and deſtination, and, in ſhort, for every thing that related to the management of the naval forces of the country, that the firſt lord of the admiralty was by the conſtitution reſponſible.

A compromiſe at length took place on the queſtion before the houſe, by which the day of adjournment was altered to the 11th of January, and the call of the houſe, which had been ordered for the 31ſt, altered for the ſame day.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

tion of Mr. Fox, for a committee of the whole house, to enquire into the causes of the want of success of his Majesty's naval forces during the war, and more particularly in the year 1781. Debate on the ordnance estimates. Motions by Mr. Barré and Mr. Burke. Motion for the recommitment of the report negatived. Motion and debate in the House of Lords relative to the execution of Colonel Haynes. Committee on naval affairs. Resolution of censure rejected by a small majority. Motion and debate in the House of Lords on the intended advancement of Lord George Sackville Germaine to the peerage. Motion on the same subject, after his creation. An address to the king, to put an end to the American war, moved by General Conway, and rejected by a majority of one. Committee of the lords, on the loss of the army at York-Town. Resolution against the American war carried in the House of Commons. Address to the king. The king's answer, and address of thanks. Second resolution against the American war. Resolutions of censure on his majesty's ministers moved by Lord John Cavendish, and rejected by a majority of ten. Motion by Sir John Rous, for withdrawing the confidence of parliament from his majesty's minister, lost by a majority of nine. Intimation, by Lord North, to the house, of his majesty's intentions to change his ministers.

n. 23d, 1782. THE first object that engaged the attention of parliament, ter the recess, was the long editated enquiry into the conct of the first lord of the admilty. The lead in this business as taken on the side of opposion, by Mr. Fox, who opened is motion, for a committee of nquiry, in a very long and able peech.

He began with acknowledging he inconsistency of the part he as about to act, with opinions hat he had delivered frequently, nd without reserve, both in that ouse, and elsewhere; namely, hat enquiries of the kind he eant to institute, ought ever to e the *second* (and not the *first*) ep taken by parliament, in their roceeding against a minister, into whose conduct circumstances warranted an enquiry. This opinion arose, he said, from a conviction of the impossibility of procuring a fair and impartial body of evidence, whilst such a minister remained possessed of his employments. An address, therefore, to the throne, for his removal, was, in his judgment, the first step necessary; and this, not only from a regard to public justice, but to the character and reputation of the minister himself, which, he contended, could not, on any other ground, stand honourably acquitted.

Mr. Fox here adverted to a doctrine, which he did not wonder to find zealously propagated by the adherents of the present ministry, that to address the king for the removal of a minister, be-

fore any proof of miſconduct was ſubſtantiated, was to condemn a ſervant of the public unheard, and to proceed to paſs ſentence, without allowing him the liberty of entering on his defence. Againſt ſuch opinions, he begged leave moſt ſolemnly to proteſt. Parliament, he contended, had a right to adviſe the crown to diſmiſs any of the public ſervants, with or without aſſigning a ſpecific charge; with or without intending to proceed to any farther meaſures againſt them. But when great national calamities called for an enquiry into the cauſes that produced them, parliament, which was bound to ſee juſtice done to the public, was neceſſarily competent to take ſuch previous ſteps as ſhould lead to a full and impartial inveſtigation.

The pretended injuſtice of requiring the diſmiſſion of a miniſter, without aſſigning any cauſe, or of removing him, previous to enquiry into his conduct, muſt, he ſaid, be founded on an opinion, as falſe, as it was abſurd and ridiculous; that miniſters held their offices as a ſort of eſtates, or franchiſes, of which they ought not to be diſpoſſeſſed, but by due courſe of law. He knew that no member could venture to avow, in terms, ſuch an opinion; and yet the houſe had ſo long been in the habit of acting upon it, that he found himſelf under the neceſſity of giving way to the prejudice of the times; and, conſequently, of proceeding in a manner totally contrary to his own decided judgment.

He next proceeded to ſtate the difficulties which he would unavoidably have to encounter in the proſecution of the intended enquiry. The influence ariſing from the official ſituation of the firſt lord of the admiralty, was, he ſaid, ſuperior to that of any other miniſter whatever; and beſides this, the noble earl was ſuppoſed to enjoy, in the higheſt degree, the favour and confidence of his ſovereign. From theſe, it was alſo well known, he had acquired a third and no contemptible acceſſion of influence; a predominant and irreſiſtible weight in the direction of the affairs of the Eaſt India Company.

The length and complexity of the inveſtigation, if carried to its full extent, he was apprehenſive would alſo prove a very ſerious difficulty. He knew that the zeal and induſtry of the Houſe of Commons, collectively conſidered, was too feeble to ſuffer him to entertain a hope, that they would attend to the dry detail of official evidence; that they would examine into a variety of tedious documents, and acquire that full knowledge of their contents, which might enable them to pronounce with juſtice on the merits of the queſtion before them.

The ſubject matter of the enquiry, he ſaid, naturally reſolved itſelf into two heads; the firſt, whether the firſt lord of the admiralty had availed himſelf of the means in his power of procuring a navy adequate to the occaſions of the ſtate?—The ſecond, whether he had employed the force, he actually had, to the beſt advantage?

With reſpect to the firſt of theſe queſtions, though he was moſt firmly convinced that the noble earl would be found not leſs cri-

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inal on that ground than on the
tter, yet, for the reaſons he had
eady ſtated, he did not mean
enter, at that time, into the in-
ſtigation of it. It would re-
ire a long detail of parole evi-
nce; all the witneſſes to be ex-
ined would come from under
e noble earl's immediate pa-
onage; the points to be diſ-
ſſed, being many of them mat-
rs of opinion, would afford oc-
ſion for the undue exertion of
at influence, which he was
own to poſſeſs; and laſtly, the
ngth of time it would neceſſarily
quire, left him little room to
pe that gentlemen would give
a proper attention. He ſhould
ntent himſelf with making a few
neral obſervations.

That the navy was inadequate
the occaſions of the ſtate, was
fact allowed and confeſſed on
l ſides. In excuſe of the admi-
lty, it had been aſſerted, that
was ſuperior to that which Lord
awke left, when he went out of
ice. But this, he ſaid, even if
ue, which, nevertheleſs, he
ould undertake to prove was
lſe; could not be admitted as
exculpation of the preſent
oard of admiralty. It was with
e ſtate of the French and Spaniſh
avy, that the compariſon ought
have been made. It was the
uty of the firſt lord to keep the
et in a condition to meet that of
e enemy, whatever it might be;
d when he ſaw the armaments
reparing in the French and Spa-
iſh ports, it was his indiſpen-
ble duty to have taken the alarm,
d to have exerted every nerve
the country, in order to keep
ace with them. Would any man
enture to ſay, that the means had
been denied him? Would any
man venture to ſlander the Houſe
of Commons with the charge of
parſimony? He believed no one
would.

After making ſeveral other pointed obſervations on this ſubject, Mr. Fox proceeded to the ſecond branch of the enquiry. He enumerated in their order, the ſeveral inſtances of miſconduct with which he meant to charge the noble earl in the committee, as the grounds of a ſtring of motions, which he afterwards brought forwards, for the production of the papers and documents neceſſary to ſubſtantiate his criminality. As theſe facts were afterwards urged more at large in the committee, where the advocates of the noble earl alſo made their principal defence, we ſhall, in order to avoid unneceſſary repetition, reſerve both till we come to ſpeak of the debate which then took place. It is only neceſſary, on the preſent occaſion, to add, that the Earl of Mulgrave and Lord North, after having replied to ſeveral of the obſervations made by Mr. Fox, expreſſed their chearful concurrence in the motion he had made, not without ſome ſevere ſtrictures on his having narrowed the ground of his enquiry, and omitted one of its moſt eſſential objects.

Feb. 1ſt. The ordnance eſtimates, for the current year, amounting to the enormous ſum of 1,644,242 *l.* underwent a ſtrict and ſevere examination. The parts principally objected to, were the anticipation of the annual ſupply of ſalt-petre, furniſhed by the Eaſt-India Company; the contract with Mr. Townſon;

Townſon; the tranſport ſervice; and the charges for building fortreſſes and fortifications.

With regard to the firſt and ſecond articles, which were chiefly adverted to in the debate, it appeared, that the East-India Company were bound by their charter, to furniſh the board of ordnance with 500 tons of ſalt-petre annually, in time of peace, at 45 *l. per* ton; in time of war, at 53*l.* But government having had occaſion, during the war, for a larger quantity than the company were bound to ſupply, had, at the end of the year 1781, received 3,100 tons, or ſix years in advance of the annual ſupply. For two of the anticipated years, up to 1783, the board had agreed to pay 73*l.* without intereſt, the prime coſt, to the company; and as their charter would then expire, the company had demanded 118*l.* alſo without intereſt, being their ſale price, for the additional four years advance. The price at the merchants market was at this time about 152*l.* a ton. On a further application to the company, they declared they could not furniſh any more on credit, and demanded the market price. With this the board did not think proper to comply, but contracted with Mr. Townſon, a member of the houſe, and a director of the East-India Company, for 400 tons, at that time lying at Oſtend, for 120*l. per* ton, duty free.

On the ground of theſe facts, the board of ordnance was charged with having ſuffered a debt of 242,000*l.* to the East-India Company, to accrue without the knowledge of parliament; and with having counteracted the wiſdom of parliament in providing an annual ſupply of ſalt-petre, by an improvident anticipation, and thereby left government at the diſcretion of the company. The contract with Mr. Townſon was alſo ſeverely reprobated. It was aſſerted, that the average price of ſalt-petre, at Oſtend, was only 83*l.* and, conſequently, that a profit of 37*l.* a ton, ready money, was ſecured to the contractor. At the time that this enormous advantage was given to a private individual, the propoſals of the East India Company, who had been ſupplying government on credit, and at a conſiderable loſs, were rejected, though the market price, at which it was offered, had then fallen to 110*l.* a ton; ſo that deducting from this 7*l.* 3*s.* the diſcount remitted, and 6*l.* 10*s.* the duty paid, by the company, their price was 23*l.* 13*s.* lower than that of the contractor.

On the part of the board of ordnance, it was urged, in reply to the firſt charge, that they had delivered in a ſtatement of the debt to parliament, as ſoon as ever the payment of it had been demanded; and that as to the improvidence of the anticipation, they thought it more than counterbalanced, by the ſaving it had brought to government. With reſpect to the contract, it was alledged, that the board could not ſafely inform themſelves of the market price at Oſtend, becauſe any report, that the Engliſh government was about to purchaſe, would have immediately raiſed it. It had therefore been neceſſary to make the contract with ſecrecy, and

nd the profits of the contractor ad been regulated by the market rice in England.

These explanations not appearng ſufficiently full and ſatisfactoy, Col. Barré moved (the houſe eing in a committee) "that the chairman leave the chair, and report a progreſs." This moion was rejected, on a diviſion, y a majority of 113 to 60.

Mr. Burke next moved, "that the ſuffering a debt of 242,000*l.* to the Eaſt-India Company, for 3,000 tons of ſalt-petre, to accrue without the knowledge of parliament, in order that it might either prevent the growth of ſuch a debt, or make timely proviſion for it, was a blameable proceeding, and tended to impoſe upon the houſe." To et rid of this motion, thinking, perhaps, it would require an exraordinary exertion of parliamentary complaiſance to negative t, Lord North moved for the orer of the day. But Mr. Burke aſſuring him he would, in that aſe, repeat it on Monday, the oble lord conſented to withdraw is motion, and Mr. Burke's was hen put, and negatived.

Feb. 4th. On bringing up the report of the ordnance eſtimate, no further explanation being given of the articles objected to, it was moved to recommit the report; and the queſtion being put, there appeared for it, 92; againſt it, 122.

The ſame day, the Duke of Richmond brought forward, in the Houſe of Lords, a motion of which he had given previous notice, relative to the execution of Colonel Iſaac Haynes, an officer in the ſervice of Congreſs. The fact, as ſtated by the noble duke, on the authority of letters tranſmitted to him from America, by a perſon to whom he was an entire ſtranger, was as follows:

On the morning of the 26th of July, 1781, Colonel Haynes, at that time a priſoner in Charles-Town, was informed, by letter, from the town-major, "that a "council of general officers would "aſſemble the next day, at ten "o'clock, to try him." In the evening, the ſame day, he received another letter, from the ſame officer, acquainting him, "that inſtead of a council of general "officers, a court of enquiry "would ſit at the hour before-"mentioned, for the purpoſe of "determining under what point "of view he ought to be conſi-"dered." In the ſame letter it was added, "that pen, ink and "paper, would immediately be "allowed him; and that any "perſon he choſe to appoint, "might attend him as council." On Sunday the 29th, a memorandum was delivered to him by the adjutant, informing him, "that in conſequence of the "court of enquiry held the day "before, on his account, Lord "Rawdon, and the commandant, "Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, had "reſolved upon his execution on "the Tueſday following, for "having been found under arms, "and employed in raiſing a re-"giment, to oppoſe the Britiſh "government, though he had "become a ſubject, and had ac-"cepted the protection of that "government, after the reduction "of Charles-Town."

In conſequence of this intimation, Colonel Haynes addreſſed himſelf

himself to the two commanders in a letter, in which he states, that he had been drawn, by surprize, into a procedure tending to judgment, without knowing it to be such; that when he appeared before the court of enquiry, he did not imagine it was for any other purpose than to determine whether he ought to be looked on as a British subject, or an American, in order, on that decision, to ground the future proceedings; that the counsel he had named, had not been found; that he had neglected to summon any witnesses, and, by that means, had been deprived of the ability of making a legal defence, which he could easily have done, founded both in law and fact, if he had imagined the trial he was then upon was to be final. He therefore desires a regular trial; and if that was not granted, he intreats a respite of the sentence of execution. This application, aided by the solicitations of Governor Bull, and other inhabitants of Charles-Town, procured a respite of eight-and-forty hours; but with this condition, that if General Green made any application whatsoever in his favour, he should that moment be led to execution. On the day appointed, Colonel Haynes was executed.

Such was the state of the fact. The illegality, the barbarity, and the impolicy of the proceeding, were strongly and powerfully urged by the Duke of Richmond. He read to the house an extract from a proclamation of General Green's, in which this execution was represented as a cruel and unjustifiable murder, and a severe retaliation threatened on the persons of British officers; and he called on the house to institute an immediate and effectual enquiry, as the only means of securing their own officers from the danger which hung over them, and of rescuing the British nation from the opprobrious charges of cruelty and barbarity under which it was labouring, in the opinion of all the states of Europe.

The Duke concluded with moving an address to his majesty, that directions might be given for laying before the house, the several papers therein specified, relating to the execution of Col. Haynes. This motion was strongly opposed by Lord Walsingham, Lord Stormont, and the Chancellor. It was argued, that his majesty's ministers having declared that they had received no information whatever, relative to the facts alluded to, it was beneath the dignity and gravity of the house, to proceed to a solemn enquiry on such vague and uncertain surmises, as those contained in the letters produced by the noble duke; that it was still less candid and less equitable to attempt, on such slight grounds, to call in question the characters of brave deserving, and absent officers.

But allowing the facts, as stated to be true, and fully authenticated, to the satisfaction of the house, it was contended by the two last mentioned lords; by the former, on the ground of modern practice; and by the latter, on that of ancient authority; that Colonel Haynes, having been taken in arms, after admission to his parole, was liable to be hanged up *instanter*, without any other form of trial than what was ac-

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ary to identify the perſon. e Earl of Huntingdon alſo ac- inted the houſe, that he had iority, from Earl Cornwallis, eclare, that this had been the ctice, in ſeveral inſtances, un- his command, in North-Ame-

This doctrine was denied, on h grounds, with equal confi- ce, by the Earls of Shelburne Effingham. It was aſſerted, the former, from circumſtances hin his own recollection, that practice in the laſt war had n totally different. A great ree of ignominy, perhaps a ter confinement, was the con- uence of ſuch an action: the ſons guilty of it were ſhunned gentlemen, but it had never re entered into the mind of a mander to hang them.

n anſwer to the written au- rity, produced by the learned , it was remarked, by the l of Effingham, that the quot- n he had brought from Gro- , related to ſpies, and not to oners who had broken their ole. That this was the caſe, ld not be diſputed, ſince Gro- could never have heard of a oner on parole; it was a mo- n civility of a very late date, even not yet prevailing in all ntries. In reply to this ob- ation, it was argued by the ncellor, that all the reaſoning by the great author he had ted, in the caſe of ſpies, ap- d *a fortiori*, to that of perſons had broke their parole.

At length, the queſtion being , and the houſe having di- ed, there appeared for the ad- 5, 25; againſt it, 73.

The Houſe of Commons having reſolved itſelf into a committee, to enquire into the miſmanagement of naval affairs, as ſoon as the papers which had been laid before the houſe were read by the clerks, Mr. Fox roſe, to move a reſolution of cenſure, founded on the facts contained in them. This cenſure, he ſaid, he meant to confine, for reaſons he had before ſtated to the houſe, to the conduct of the navy in the year 1781; but he ſhould beg leave to ſtate to the committee a few inſtances of groſs and criminal neglect in the firſt lord of the admiralty, previous to that period, in order to ſtrengthen and advance the great purpoſe of the inveſtigation. Feb. 7th.

In the year 1777, the deſigns of the French, to aid the revolted colonies, became ſo very apparent, as to make a ſpeedy rupture with that court almoſt inevitable. The preparations carrying on in the ports of France were ſufficiently declaratory of their intentions, and ought to have given an immediate alarm to government. But in what manner did the firſt lord of the admiralty prepare to counteract the deſigns of the enemy? In that year, almoſt every frigate we poſſeſſed, was ſent to carry on a predatory war on the coaſts of America; and in conſequence of this meaſure, the two-deckers and line-of-battle ſhips were employed, during the winter, in cruizing in the channel. So pernicious was the reſult of theſe meaſures, that when Mr. Keppel arrived at Portſmouth, the following ſpring, to take the command of the fleet, which he was

aſſured

assured would amount to 26 sail of the line, he found only six ready for service. Before the crippled ships were in a condition to sail, the French had a fleet of 27 sail of the line at sea; and thus an opportunity was lost of crushing the naval power of France, in the infancy of the war.

This plan of cruizing in the winter, and making a vain parade, whilst the enemy were busy in port, equipping for the next campaign, had been the favourite measure of the first lord of the admiralty, and had contributed, more than any thing else, to the lateness of our expeditions, in which we had always been behind hand with the enemy. Our fleets had uniformly been sent after those of France, and to the place of their destination, for the purpose of contending with them there, instead of attempting to intercept or attack them at home.

The intelligence of the equipment of a squadron at Toulon, under M. d'Estaign, and of its destination for North America, had been received at the Admiralty several months before that squadron was ready to sail. Yet no attempt was made to dispute its passage out of the Mediterranean; but Admiral Byron, as usual, was sent out to follow it to the coast of America; and the Admiralty, equally dilatory in instructing their officers abroad, as they were in fitting out ships at home, had not apprized Lord Howe of the danger, to which he might be exposed, till the month of June, though the designs of the enemy had been publicly and notoriously known so early as in February.

The year 1779 presented a petition of the plan and misconduct of 1778. But what distinguished it above the former, was the unaccountable neglect of preventing the junction of the French and Spanish fleets. The instructions given to Sir Charles Hardy, it was true, were not before the house; the Admiralty for political reasons, as they acknowledged, had refused to produce them; but as no attempt was made by that admiral to prevent their junction, he was warranted in concluding that his instructions contained no such orders.

Towards the close of that year a powerful squadron was fitting out at Brest, under the Comte de Guichen, destined, as was generally believed, for the West-Indies. The most alarming consequences to our possessions in that quarter, were to be apprehended from the junction of this force with the fleets under M. d'Estaign and Don Solano, and an universal expectation prevailed, that Sir George Rodney, who was at that time ready to sail, would have been dispatched immediately, either to intercept the Brest squadron, in the Bay, or by proceeding, without delay, to the West-Indies, to prevent its junction with the fleets in that quarter. That this was practicable, has clearly appeared, since the fifteen ships, which sailed at the same time with him, and proceeded directly to the West-Indies, arrived there before M. de Guichen. Instead of adopting either of these measures, Admiral Rodney was ordered to convoy the storeships to Gibraltar in his way; in consequence of which step, he found

rce to contend with, on his arval in the Weſt-Indies, from hich nothing but providence, nd the infatuation of the enemy, ould have ſaved us. The victory ained over the Spaniards, imortant as he acknowledged it to e, he contended was merely acidental, and in which the noble arl could not claim the leaſt erit.

In the year 1780, it appeared, ndeed, that inſtructions had been iven to Admiral Geary, to preent the junction of the French nd Spaniſh fleets; but ſuch were he active efforts of the firſt lord of he admiralty, ſuch his eager viilance, and indefatigable attenion to the intereſts of his counry, that the directions to the Britiſh commander, that he ſhould eep aſunder the naval armaments f France and Spain, did not each him until they were actually oined.

From the ſame criminal neglience, the Chev. de Ternay was ermitted to ſail unmoleſted with is ſquadron to North America, hen he tranſported thither thoſe umerous military forces, which ad ſince captured the army of Lord Cornwallis.

It was at this diſgraceful period, hat Captain Moutray, with the aluable and important convoys or the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, was betrayed (he could not uſe a gentler expreſſion) into the hands of the enemy. At leaſt, if the noble earl had been in the pay of the Houſe of Bourbon, he could not have acted with greater zeal and ability in their ſervice, than he had done in that buſineſs. For at the very moment when he knew that the enemy's fleet was cruizing off the coaſt of Spain, he ordered Capt. Moutray to touch at Madeira; that is, to go in the very track where he was ſure of falling in with them.

To theſe, he ſaid, might be added another inſtance of the moſt aſtoniſhing negligence, a degree of negligence, indeed, that could only be attributed to treachery, or infatuation; that from the commencement of the year 1779, to the cloſe of the month of February, 1781, the board of admiralty did not ſtation, even a ſingle frigate, off Breſt harbour for the purpoſe of watching and giving notice of the motions of the enemy.

Having brought the hiſtory of our naval tranſactions down to 1781, the period to which he ſhould particularly call the attention of the committee, Mr. Fox proceeded to ſtate five diſtinct charges of groſs miſconduct, which he contended were proved and brought home to the board of admiralty, by the papers on the table.

The firſt was the ſuffering M. de Graſſe to ſail for the Weſt-Indies, without making a ſingle effort to intercept him. It appeared, that government had received the minuteſt intelligence of the equipment, ſtrength and deſtination, of the force under that officer; it was equally clear, that they knew almoſt preciſely the time when it was to ſail. Two circumſtances rendered this conduct in the firſt lord of the admiralty criminal in the higheſt degree: one was, that the object of the Comte de Graſſe's expedition was known to be of the moſt dangerous nature to this country: the

ſucceſs of a well concerted plan for deſtroying our empire in the Weſt, and even extirpating the Britiſh name out of that part of the world, in all human probability, ultimately depending on it. The other was, that we had, at the very time, a force at ſea more than equal to the complete deſtruction of M. de Graſſe, and his fleet. That officer ſailed from Breſt on the 22d of March, with 25 ſhips of the line. Admiral Darby had put to ſea on the 13th of the ſame month, with a fleet of 30 ſail of the line, intended for the relief of Gibraltar. Had the Engliſh fleet, therefore, been ordered to proceed immediately in queſt of the enemy, nay, if it had not actually been ſent out of the way, it would have been almoſt impoſſible for the French to have eſcaped. But the noble earl, as if apprehenſive of this event, ordered Admiral Darby to take his ſtation on the coaſt of Ireland, and wait there for the ſtoreſhips that were to join him from Corke. Here he cruized till the 27th of March; that is, till M. de Graſſe was ſafe on his way to America. The circumſtances of this miſconduct, Mr. Fox contended were of ſo palpable and glaring a kind, as to warrant the ſuſpicion of treachery in ſome quarter or other.

The ſecond charge was the loſs of the St. Euſtatius convoy. The papers on the table proved, that the Admiralty had received an account, from Sir George Rodney, of the ſailing of the convoy, on the 25th of March. He had alſo acquainted them, that it was perhaps the richeſt fleet that had ever ſailed for England; he gave them the minuteſt deſcription of the courſe it was to take; and even put them in mind of ſending out ſome force for its protection. At this time, a ſquadron of ſix ſail of the line, under M. de la Motte Piquet, was known to be on the point of ſailing from Breſt. Admiral Darby, as before-mentioned, was, at this time, cruizing off the coaſt of Ireland, with what is called the grand fleet, and there were beſides 12 ſail of the line, fit for ſervice, in our harbours at home. Yet no meaſure whatever was taken for the ſecurity of the expected convoy, except an attempt to advertiſe them of their danger. La Motte Piquet ſailed out of Breſt on the 26th of April, fell in with the convoy on the 2d of May, and captured the greateſt part of it; and on the 10th of the ſame month orders were ſent to Admiral Darby to detach eight ſail, for the protection of this fleet, which orders he received about three weeks after it was taken.

The third was the letter written by order of the board of admiralty to the Mayor of Briſtol. The circumſtances which occaſioned this letter were as follow: Admiral Darby having been informed at ſea, by the maſter of a Swediſh brig, an Engliſhman, that he had fallen in with the combined fleets at the mouth of the channel, and his journal, upon examination, corroborating the relation, returned to Torbay, and ſent an account of this intelligence to the Admiralty. The merchants of Briſtol having heard this report, the Mayor requeſted, by letter to the ſecretary of the Admiralty, to be informed of the truth of it. In anſwer

wer to this letter, Mr. Stens, by order of the board, acints them, that the whole was hout foundation, and that *Adal Darby had put into Torbay, the purpose of taking on board ments.* It was said, that this circumstance, which the board ew to be an absolute falshood, med to have been invented for expres purpose of deceiving Bristol merchants, and incing them to send out their ding ships, a sure prey to the rounding enemy. This transion was compared, by Mr. x, with that of the convoys der Captain Moutray; the ong marks of treachery, which peared on the face of it, were sted on; and, as an additional nfirmation, a letter was read from ord Stormont to the secretary in eland, of the same date with that Mr. Stephens to the Mayor of ristol, in which he acquaints im, that the combined fleets were ndoubtedly in the channel.

The fourth charge related to e measures of the Admiralty in e Dutch war. Mr. Fox, on enring into this article, observed at the conduct of government ad explained to him the meaning f the apology which the noble ord in the blue ribbon had made, another occasion, in excuse for hat war. He had said, "that "we should suffer less from the "Dutch as open enemies than as "insidious friends." As an exmplification of the truth of this ssertion, the Admiralty had dispatched, before the war broke out, and whilst the Dutch were only *insidious friends*, six sail of the line, under Commodore Fielding, to intercept Admiral Byland with one: but now that they were become *open enemies*, we had sent but five ships to fight eight.

He remarked, that if government had really aimed at the destruction of the naval power of Holland, they should have sent, at the commencement of the war, a force sufficient to have entered and kept possession of the Texel. This, he said, was the opinion of every person, who had turned his thoughts for a moment to that subject; at the same time, he could not help considering it as a most fortunate circumstance, that the ministry of Great Britain, though the means were in their hands, had not possessed wisdom and ability sufficient to crush a power, so necessary to the present system of Europe.

He next adverted to the action between the Admirals Parker and Zoutman, and insisted particularly on the criminal neglect of not sending the *Sampson* man of war to the assistance of the former. He closed this article with observing, that a squadron had since been stationed in the Downs for the purpose of defeating the naval enterprizes of the Dutch; and as a proof that this measure was concerted with wisdom equal to the rest, Admiral Byland had just returned home, with his convoy, secure and unmolested.

Mr. Fox now called the attention of the committee to the fifth and last charge; the recent failure of the expedition under Admiral Kempenfelt. It appeared from the papers on the table, that for several weeks before the sailing of the French fleet, the board of Admiralty had been in the course of receiving regular intelligence

of its equipment; and though its force was variously represented, at different times, yet it was evident, that 18 or 20 sail of the line were in readiness to put to sea. The convoy, which consisted chiefly of transports, with troops and military stores, was said to be one of the most valuable and important that had ever left France; and it was therefore natural to suppose, that they would exert their utmost strength for its security.

To intercept this armament was an object, the successful accomplishment of which, undoubtedly, stood the foremost of any that had been attempted since the commencement of the war. Not only the dominion of the sea at home, but the very existence of the fleets and armies of the enemy abroad, depended on it. Mr. Fox, therefore, declared, that he considered the expedition under Admiral Kempenfelt as the only judicious measure that had been adopted during the war; and he should have thought it justifiable, even if he had been obliged to sail with a smaller force; but he had scarcely suffered his mind to entertain a doubt, that the Admiralty had not sent out every ship that could possibly be spared for that service. With what astonishment then and indignation would the committee learn, that at the time when Admiral Kempenfelt sailed with only 12 ships of the line, under circumstances of the greatest probability that he would have to encounter at least 18, above 20 British ships (including the squadron in the Downs, which was kept for the paltry purpose of distressing the Dutch trade) were absolutely unemployed, and yet in every respect fit for the service req... Such conduct, he must agai... peat, bore an air of treachery ... premeditated neglect.

After a few general obser... on the nature of the charges ... had brought forward, and th... refragable evidence by which ... were supported, Mr. Fox c... cluded with moving the foll... ing resolution: "That it is ... "opinion of this committee, ... "there has been gross mis... "nagement in the administra... "of the naval affairs of G... "Britain, during the course ... "the year 1781."

The defence of the Earl ... Sandwich was undertaken ... Lord Mulgrave, who began ... cautioning the committee aga... the effects of hasty prejudices, ... party spirit. The character, ... honour, and perhaps the fort... of an individual, were at sta... an old and faithful servant of ... crown was accused of neglige... incapacity, and even treache... he had, therefore, a right to cl... the impartial judgment of ev... member of the committee, un... ased by any political consider... whatever.

He said, the committee wo... not expect that he should follo... the honourable gentleman thro... the various charges of miscond... imputed to the board of ad... ralty, previous to the year 17... (charges so frequently discuss... that house, and, in his opini... so fully refuted) and the ... especially, as he had volunta... chosen to exempt that period ... the noble earl's administration fr... the vote of censure, which he h... just proposed for their consid... ation: whether this had ari... fro...

om the tender mercy of the nourable gentleman, or his nviction that the charges were eak and groundleſs, he left the mmittee to determine.

Lord Mulgrave then proceeded anſwer the ſeveral charges in e order in which they had been ade, having firſt remarked, that th reſpect to ſtationing frigates Breſt, little or no information any conſequence could be ob-ined by that means. It would neceſſary for the frigates or-red on that ſervice to paſs by ſhant, in which caſe, ſignals ould immediately be made along e coaſt, and ſhips would, conſe-uently, be ſent out to drive them way.

In anſwer to the firſt charge, he bſerved, that the relief of Gibral-r was eagerly looked for by the hole nation, and that it appeared om the papers on the table, to ave been the intention of the paniards to meet and fight us ere. The Spaniſh fleet was eſcribed as amounting from 30 o 36 ſail of the line, excluſive f a great number of frigates, nd 18 fireſhips; and it was herefore neceſſary, either to keep ogether a force ſufficient to re-ſt this formidable armament, or o riſk the loſs of Gibraltar. The chance of intercepting M. e Graſſe, was at beſt very un-ertain; but even if the attempt ad been crowned with all the ucceſs that could have been xpected from it, our fleet would moſt probably have ſuffered ſo much in the action, as might have rendered it unable to effect the relief of Gibraltar. On the one hand, therefore, a great national object muſt, at all events, have been ſacrificed, whilſt the mere probability of falling in with the French fleet was oppoſed to it on the other.

In anſwer to the ſecond charge, the loſs of the St. Euſtatius convoy, Lord Mulgrave obſerved, that it clearly appeared, from the intelligence contained in the papers on the table, that there were ſtronger reaſons for imagining M. de la Motte Piquet was bound for America, than for the cruize, in which he had been but too ſucceſsful. He denied that there were any ſhips fit for ſervice, that could have been ſpared for the protection of the convoy; and to the ridicule that had been thrown on the meaſure of ſending to Admiral Darby, a week after the capture, he deſired the committee to recollect that, in conſequence of this ſtep, the admiral had very nearly recaptured the convoy; a ſhip of each ſquadron having had, one night, a ſharp engagement.

The third article, under which a criminal charge of treachery had been ſo ſtrongly imputed, related to the letter ſent to the Mayor of Briſtol. A plain ſtate of the grounds on which the admiralty proceeded in that buſineſs, would, he truſted, be a full vindication of their conduct. In the firſt place, the intelligence given by the Swediſh veſſel, was directly contradicted by the whole tenor of the information they had received from Spain; this, therefore, was a ſufficient reaſon for their not giving implicit credit to that ſtory. But, in the next place, on a ſuppoſition that the maſter of the brig had not deſigned to impoſe upon Admiral Darby, the admiralty could readily account for the ſhips he had ſeen, without concluding them to be the com-

bined fleet: a large convoy of 100 ſail of tranſports, were about that time to ſail from the Iſle of Rhé, and might, very probably, have been in the latitude, mentioned in the journal of the Swede. With reſpect to a circumſtance mentioned in the letter, that Admiral Darby had put into Torbay, to water, the admiralty, in his opinion, deſerved no blame on that account; becauſe, in the firſt place, he did not think it neceſſary that the Mayor of Briſtol ſhould be made acquainted with the reaſons of our manœuvres at ſea; and ſecondly, becauſe Admiral Darby had ſaid in one of his letters, that he meant to put to ſea again, with the firſt fair wind.

In anſwer to the fourth charge, the reaſon aſſigned, why Admiral Parker was not ſtationed off the Texel, in order to prevent the Dutch from ſtanding out to ſea, was this; that he was obliged to protect two large and valuable convoys, the one outward, and the other homeward bound. With reſpect to the *Sampſon*, the impoſſibility of ſending her inſtantly to join Admiral Parker, without knowing exactly where that officer at the time was cruizing, would, he truſted, be thought a ſufficient anſwer to all the bitter invectives that had been ſo liberally dealt out, on that ſubject, by the honourable gentleman.

With reſpect to the fifth charge, it was urged, that the board of admiralty had the ſtrongeſt reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the French fleet, deſtined for the Weſt-Indies, under the command of M. de Guichen, would not have exceeded 23 ſail of the line; nay, it was highly probable, that this ha actually been the caſe, and t the reſt had been diſpatched a them, in conſequence of inte gence that Admiral Kempen was out at ſea. It was de that we had at this time any o ſhips ready for ſervice, exc thoſe that were under orders ſail with Sir George Rodney; Lord Mulgrave gave it as his cided opinion, that to have tached this ſquadron in purſui the Breſt fleet, would have be a dangerous, and might ha proved a fatal meaſure.

As ſoon as Lord Mulgrave concluded his defence of the boa of admiralty, Lord Howe got and, in a long ſpeech, expre his concurrence in moſt of opinions adopted by the honou able member who had opened debate. He inſiſted ſtrongly the important advantages to derived from having frigates tioned off Breſt; he agreed w Mr. Fox, that the taking poſſe of the Texel, would have pro a maſter-ſtroke, had it been c ried into execution, at the co mencement of hoſtilities; a condemned, in the ſtrongeſt ter the conduct of the admira throughout the whole affair Admiral Kempenfelt's expediti He declared it to be his opini that the early intelligence t had received of the deſigns of enemy, left them without exc for not having prepared a fo ſufficient to counteract them. aſked, why Sir George Rod had not been ſent out along w Admiral Kempenfelt? His ſq dron was allowed to have b fit for ſervice; and he might u doubtedly have ſerved his coun

ffectually off Breſt, as in the
t-Indies. Not only the fate
he Weſt-India iſlands, but,
aps, the whole future fortune
he war might have been de-
d, almoſt without a riſk, in the
of Biſcay.

fter a long debate, which was
eluded by Mr. Fox, in a ſe-
d ſpeech of great length, the
mittee divided, when there
eared for the queſtion, 183;
inſt it, 205.

Whilſt the conduct of the firſt
of the admiralty was under-
g this ſevere ſcrutiny in the
uſe of Commons, a more per-
l attack was made in the Houſe
Lords, upon another of his
eſty's miniſters. A ſtrong re-
had, for ſome days paſt, pre-
ed, that in conſequence, as
generally ſuppoſed, of ſome
erence in opinion with the reſt
the cabinet, relative to the
ge of meaſures, which the
t found itſelf under the ne-
ty of adopting, with reſpect to
American war, the ſecretary
tate for the Plantations, was
reſign his employment, and, as
ark of the royal approbation
his miniſterial conduct, to be
anced to the peerage.

On the ground of this report,
Marquis of Carmarthen, after
hort ſpeech, in which he en-
voured to obviate the ob-
ions, to which he foreſaw his
tion would be liable, from its
earing to trench on the prero-
ve of the crown, and to clear
ſelf from the imputation of
g on any political, or from
perſonal or invidious motive
tever, moved the following
lution:

"That it is derogatory to the
"honour of this houſe, that any
"perſon labouring under the cen-
"ſure of a court-martial, as con-
"tained in the following ſentence,
[Here the ſentence on Lord Geo.
Sackville was recited] "which
"ſentence his Majeſty was pleaſed
"to confirm, and the following
"public orders were given out,
"in conſequence thereof, [Here
the public orders were likewiſe
recited] "ſhould be recommend-
"ed to the crown, to be raiſed to
"the dignity of a peerage."

The debate was neither long
nor intereſting: the motion was
objected to, as a violent encroach-
ment on the rights of the crown,
and, on that ground, the queſtion
of adjournment was put, and car-
ried, by 75 contents, including
14 proxies, againſt 28 not con-
tents, including 2 proxies.

On the 18th, the Lord Viſcount
Sackville having, in the mean
time, taken his ſeat amongſt the
peers, the Marquis of Carmar-
then brought the ſame queſtion
again before the houſe, in a mo-
tion expreſſed nearly in the ſame
words with the former. The miſ-
conſtruction that had been put on
the motion for adjourning on the
former day, was given by miniſters
as the reaſon for their reſolving
to meet the queſtion on its own
proper merits, and giving it a
direct negative. The debate,
notwithſtanding the ſingular de-
licacy of the circumſtances which
attended it, was carried on with
great temper, and yet with no leſs
freedom. The noble perſon, who
was the ſubject of it, ſtood for-
ward the firſt in his own defence.
After calling on the houſe for
their candid and indulgent atten-
tion, he ſaid, he felt himſelf in a

particular manner bound, in duty, to defend the rights of the crown, by which he had obtained the high privilege of a voice in their deliberations, from the unprecedented attack that was made upon them. To beſtow honours was the peculiar and indiſputable prerogative of the crown, where the perſons upon whom thoſe honours were beſtowed, were competent to receive them. Would any noble lord venture to maintain, that the ſentence of a court-martial could amount to a legal diſqualification, from acquiring any civil capacity whatever? This would be to make the ſword ſuperior to the law, and military rule to ſuperſede the civil juriſdiction. But in the inſtance before the houſe, the attempt was not more unconſtitutional than it was oppreſſive and unjuſt. His lordſhip reminded the houſe, that the ſentence referred to in the motion, had paſſed three-and-twenty years ago, under circumſtances not very favourable to the impartiality, or the equity, of the court that ſat upon him. As a proof of the juſt opinion that was entertained of the violence of the proceedings againſt him, he had been brought into office five years afterwards, and called to the privy council. This he conſidered as a virtual repeal of the ſentence of the court-martial. And would their lordſhips, under ſuch circumſtances, at this diſtance of time, and without having the whole of the caſe before them, proceed to annex to the judgment of a military court, the ſevereſt cenſure of a civil court of judicature? Another material objection he had to the motion, was, its joining with the ſentence of the court-martial, the comment which the executive power had taken upon itſelf to ſuperadd, as an additional ground of cenſure. To the ſentence he was bound, by military law, to ſubmit, and he had ſubmitted; but would any man contend that he ought to be judged by an arbitrary comment, which he would venture to ſay, went infinitely beyond the ſentence?

In ſupport of the motion, it was argued, that allowing, in its fulleſt extent, the prerogative of the crown, the houſe was, nevertheleſs, competent to cenſure thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to any exerciſe of it, that was derogatory to their own honour and dignity, or injurious to the commonweal. That the character of the houſe would ſuffer from the admiſſion of a perſon labouring under a cenſure ſo public and notorious, would not admit of a ſerious doubt. Whether the ſentence of the court be juſt or unjuſt was nothing to the queſtion, ſo long as it remained on record unimpeached by any reviſion. The dangerous conſequences of the meaſure to the public, were proved from the miſchievous effects it might produce on the diſcipline of the army; from the impolicy of rewarding, in the preſent conjuncture of affairs, a perſon ſo deeply concerned in the American war; and laſtly, from its tendency to defeat the purpoſe of a great and ſolemn enquiry, in which the conduct of that noble perſon might appear to deſerve the ſevereſt puniſhment.

In reply to the firſt of the arguments, it was ſaid, that the creation of a peerage was not always a queſtion of ſtate; and that

motion, presuming it to be
h, encroached so far on the
rogative of the crown. It was
l known, that some peerages
n existing, had not originally
n created by the advice of any
nisters, but were mere acts of
sovereign. In answer to the
er arguments, it was observed,
t it would be equally dangerous
that house to break through
limits of the constitution, and
transgress the rules of justice
equity, merely to prevent those
sconstructions, which weak or
dispos'd persons might put on
y measure whatever.

On the division, there appeared
nents 28; not contents, 93,
cluding proxies. A protest was
ered the same day, and signed
nine lords, in which the mea-
re, that had been the subject of
debate, was reprobated in the
ongest and most pointed terms.

Feb. 20th. Mr. Fox now brought the same question be-
re the house, which he had
eady moved in a committee, re-
ive to the administration of na-
l affairs. This step, he said,
had been induced to take,
rtly for the purpose of placing
the journals of the house, the
tempt that had been made to
scue the nation from the fatal
uncils of a negligent and inca-
ble minister, and the great and
spectable minority by which it
d been supported; and partly
y the strong hopes of better suc-
ss, which he could not avoid
ntertaining, from the more nu-
erous attendance he saw that
ay in the house. He then sig-
fied his intentions, in case the
otion should pass, of following
by another, for an address to
the king, to remove the Earl of Sandwich from his councils for ever.

The debate was protracted to a late hour; most of the old ground being fought over again by the members who had not had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments on the former day. Sir William Dolben, who had supported Mr. Fox in the committee, and was supposed to have weight with those members, who were called *country gentlemen*, declared his resolution of voting against him, on the present occasion, on account of the intimation he had given of his design to move an address for the dismission of the first lord of the admiralty. This he thought by far too hasty and precipitate a proceeding. Lord Howe also declared, that though he could not, in honour, avoid voting for the resolution before the house, yet he should certainly be against the next step proposed. He asked, if gentlemen were provided with a proper successor, who would act with the present servants of the crown? The plan of the ensuing campaign was also, he said, certainly arranged, and he doubted whether at such a moment it would be safe to overturn the actual administration of the marine. On the division, the numbers for the motion were 217; against it 236.

Feb. 22d. The appointment of Mr. Welbore Ellis to the office of secretary of state for the plantation department, vacant by the resignation of Lord Viscount Sackville, and of Lieutenant General Sir Guy Carleton, to succeed the Commander in Chief of the Forces in

North America, having occaſioned a general alarm amongſt thoſe, who were perſuaded that there ſtill exiſted a ſecret and obſtinate attachment in the court to the proſecution of the war againſt the colonies, it was reſolved to make another attempt in the Houſe of Commons, to bind up the hands of the executive government by a ſtrong and explicit declaration of the opinion of parliament. With this view, General Conway moved, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to implore his majeſty to liſten to the advice of his commons, that the war in America might no longer be purſued, for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience, by force; and to expreſs their hopes, that his majeſty's deſire to reſtore the public tranquillity might be forwarded, and made effectual, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies.

The debate on this motion, laſted till two o'clock in the morning. All the arguments uſed on former occaſions, were recurred to on both ſides the houſe; the miniſters continued to hold the ſame vague and undetermined language as before; and, on the diviſion, there appeared for the addreſs, 193; againſt it, 194.

The event of this diviſion was conſidered, by oppoſition, as a complete victory over the miniſter, on the ſubject of the American war; and as a majority of the abſent members were ſuppoſed to coincide in opinion with the former, it was reſolved to bring the queſtion before the houſe again, the firſt opportunity. Accordingly, on the 27th, Feb. 27 General Conway moved a reſolution, the ſame in ſubſtance with that which had been loſt before the holidays, and only altered in the mode of expreſſion in compliance with the orders of the houſe.

He introduced his motion by a moſt eloquent and animated ſpeech, in which he combated all the objections, that had been urged on former occaſions, by the oppoſite ſide of the houſe.

It had been aſſerted, that it was unconſtitutional for that houſe to interfere with its advice in matters which ſpecially belong to the executive branch of government. This poſition he poſitively condemned both as repugnant to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and totally unſupported by fact. He proved, from a regular ſeries of precedents, down from the reign of Edward the Third, to the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, that parliament had always been in the practice of interpoſing, with its advice, in matters of peace and war, of treaties and alliances, and even in the marriages of the royal family. Such interference had, indeed, ſometimes been reprehended from the throne, as an improper intermeddling in ſtate affairs; but parliament, and particularly that houſe, had generally made its voice to be heard with authority and effect.

Another objection that had been made to the motion, was its being vague, and obſcurely worded. That it nearly concerned the dignity of the houſe, that its orders ſhould be ſtrictly and punctually obeyed; and therefore, it was re-

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ifite they ſhould be expreſſed in moſt clear and intelligible nner. It had likewiſe been erted, that it could not yet be idedly collected, from any of propoſitions that had been mitted to the houſe, whether hoſtilities, in America, on r ſide, were to ceaſe; or if was ſtill to exiſt, what kind military operations were in-ded to be allowed.

In anſwer to theſe remarks, eneral Conway obſerved, that words he had adopted in the eſent motion, "offenſive war," ere, to military perſons, at aſt, ſufficiently deſcriptive of ſpecies of hoſtilities, to which motion was deſigned to put an d. The war was to be ſtrictly fenſive, and none other; ſuch war as General Elliot was then aging in Gibraltar; ſuch a war General Murray had lately car-ed on in Fort St. Philip. The ceſſity of tying up the hands of overnment thus cloſely, was evi-ent, from the ingenuity they had hewn in eluding every attempt hat had been made to bind them, y ſome explicit declaration of heir own. As ſoon as it was per-ceived that the war was in bad dour in the houſe, and that it as neceſſary to quiet the alarm hich the ſpeech from the throne ad excited, they were brought, ith ſome difficulty, to intimate, hat hoſtilities ſhould not be car-ied on to the *ſame extent* as for-nerly. This not being deemed atisfactory, it was declared, that here ſhould be no *internal, conti-ental war*. The apprehenſions f the public being rather in-reaſed than diminiſhed, by theſe gtorted and ambiguous declara-ions, recourſe was next had to a *war of poſts*: it is allowed, on a hands, ſay they, that we ſhould keep what we ſtill poſſeſs; and, certainly, no one would object to the changing of our ſituation, if another ſhould be thought more advantageous, or more tenable. When it was urged, that a war of this kind would ſubject us to all the expence, and all the riſk of offenſive operations, a new and curious device was recurred to, that of a *French war in America*; the invention, as it ſeemed, of the newly appointed ſecretary of ſtate. The Americans, that gentleman had ſaid, with a ſort of triumph, are fed, cloathed, and paid by France; they are led on by French officers; the French and the American armies are incorporated in one; it was not mere locality that ſhould give a name to a war. France had formerly been fought, with ſucceſs, in Germany, and he ſaw no ſolid objection to fighting her now in America. The folly and madneſs of ſuch an attempt, General Conway argued, would inſtantly appear, from what had already happened. France, with 5000 troops, which did not coſt her more than 40l. a man, a year, was carrying on the war againſt us, and even with ſucceſs, who paid for 73,000, at 100l. a man expence in the year.

There was, he ſaid, a fifth kind of war, which rumour had bruited to be in the contemplation of government, a war, at the very mention of which nature ſhuddered; he meant an *Indian war*. A new officer, under the title of Inſpector of Indian affairs, had, he was aſſured, been lately appointed; he could not acquaint the houſe for what purpoſe, but

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in times like the preſent, he could hardly think it was meant as a ſinecure. This circumſtance, added to a declaration he had heard from one of his majeſty's ſervants, in the former debate, "that we muſt make the Americans feel the calamities of war, "in order to make them wiſh for "peace," had, he muſt confeſs, given him the moſt ſerious and dreadful apprehenſions.

He, laſtly, cautioned the houſe againſt the fallacy of an argument that had been urged, with great confidence, from the other ſide: Look, ſay they, at the army eſtimates, and you will find unqueſtionable ſecurity, that government does not mean to carry on offenſive war in America. General Conway reminded the houſe, that though 73,000 men were voted and paid for, we had never above half that number in actual ſervice. Government had, therefore, only to complete the regiments, and they would have more men in America than ever they had before.

The motion was ſeconded by Lord Viſcount Althorpe, and oppoſed by Lord North, in a long and able reply. He objected to it as unneceſſary, after the aſſurances that had been given by government; as dangerous, on account of the information it conveyed to our enemies; as impolitic, becauſe it entirely took away from the executive government the uſe of its diſcretion; as tending to retard rather than to advance the attainment of peace, the great object in view by both ſides of the houſe. He therefore, could only conſider the motion as a party meaſure, and, in that light, he thought it not leſs exceptionable. If, ſaid he, the houſe ſuſpects the ſincerity of the ſervants of the crown, if they have any doubts of their ability or integrity, it is not by ſuch a motion as the preſent that they ought to expreſs their ſentiments; they ought to addreſs the crown to remove thoſe miniſters in whom they could not place confidence, and to appoint others in whom they could confide. A miniſter, he ſaid, ought no longer to continue a miniſter, after he was ſuſpected by that houſe. He ſhould be like Cæſar's wife, not only free from guilt, but even from ſuſpicion. If, indeed, the houſe ſhould ſhew that they had withdrawn their confidence from him, it would be his duty, without waiting for an addreſs for his removal, to wait upon his ſovereign, and, delivering up the ſeals of his office, ſay to him, "Sir, I have long ſerved you "with diligence, with zeal, and "with fidelity, but ſucceſs has "not crowned my endeavours; "your parliament have with-"drawn from me their confi-"dence; all my declarations to "them are ſuſpected; therefore, "Sir, let me reſign to you thoſe "employments, which I ought "not to keep longer than I can "be ſerviceable to your Majeſty, "and your ſubjects."

Lord North was followed by the Attorney-General, who obſerved, that there were many more obſtacles to be removed, in order to treat of peace with the Americans, than the houſe ſeemed to be aware of. At that moment, ſeveral acts of parliament were in exiſtence, which would prove inſuperable bars to ſuch an attempt. He therefore ſhould recommend, as

the first necessary step, a truce; ring the continuance of which, enmity, occasioned by the vio- ce of the contest, might sub- e; and each party, being at sure to consult their real in- ests, might accede to terms of ace, which, having undergone slow and temperate discussion, ght prove more honourable and vantageous, as well as more ely to secure a permanent uni- , than those resulting from sud- overtures, and sudden acquies- nce. He declared his inten- ons of bringing in a bill, with e permission of the house, for ese purposes, and he should erefore move, "that the pre- sent debate be adjourned, until Wednesday, the thirteenth of the ensuing month of March."

Several other members took a art in the debate, which again ontinued till near two o'clock, hen, though the proposition of e Attorney was supposed to have rought over a few irresolute votes o the side of the minister, there ppeared, for the adjournment, nly 215; against it, 234; ex- lusive of the two tellers on each de. The number of those who ere present at the beginning of he debate, but had paired off in he course of the evening, were aid to have amounted to 14. The original question, and an ddress to the king, formed upon he resolution, were then carried ithout a division, and the address was ordered to be presented by the whole house.

On the Monday following, his majesty's answer was reported to the house; in which he assures them, "that in pursuance of their advice, he should take such "measures as should appear to "him to be most conducive to "the restoration of harmony, "between Great-Britain and the "revolted colonies; and that his "efforts should be directed, in the "most effectual manner, against "our European enemies, till such "a peace could be obtained, as "should consist with the interest "and permanent welfare of his "kingdoms."

The thanks of the house being unanimously voted to the king, for his gracious answer, General Conway rose again, and, after expressing his concern at having been reduced to the necessity of trespassing so frequently, of late, on the patience of the house, moved another resolution, to the following effect; "that the house "would consider as enemies to "his majesty, and the country, "all those who should advise, or "by any means attempt, the fur- "ther prosecution of offensive "war, on the continent of North "America, for the purpose of "reducing the revolted colonies "to obedience by force."

The necessity of this measure, in order to secure and render permanent to the nation, the beneficial consequences of their former resolution, had arisen, he said, from two circumstances. The first was, that ministers had declared, that though they should think themselves bound to comply with the sense of the majority of that house, yet they still retained their former sentiments, respecting the want of wisdom and policy in the measures recommended. The unwilling obedience of persons, who could bring themselves to act in direct opposition to their

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own judgment, he thought could not be too ſtrongly ſecured. The anſwer they had adviſed his majeſty to return to the addreſs of that houſe, was another circumſtance, affording juſt ground of jealouſy and diſtruſt. In that anſwer, all reference to the proſecution of offenſive war was cautiouſly avoided; the houſe was informed, in general terms, that he ſhould take ſuch meaſures, as might appear to him moſt conducive to the reſtoration of peace; but the houſe had no reaſon to ſuppoſe, but that a more vigorous proſecution of the war might be deemed one of theſe conducive meaſures. The motion, after a feeble oppoſition from government, was at length ſuffered to paſs, without a diviſion.

Theſe reſolutions were received by the public with general demonſtrations of joy; in the midſt of which, the rare fortune of the right honourable gentleman, who took the lead in this buſineſs, was much envied and admired, in having thus, a ſecond time, given peace to America, and happily put a ſtop to the alarming progreſs of thoſe dreadful calamities, which he had before, but unfortunately in vain, ſhewn the way to prevent.

March 6th. Whilſt theſe great and important queſtions were agitating in the Commons Houſe, the conduct of government, with reſpect to the late campaign in North-America, underwent a ſtrict and ſevere ſcrutiny, in a committee of the lords. After ſeveral intermediate debates, which chiefly turned on the propriety of producing certain papers and documents from the public offices, the buſineſs was, at length, brought to a concluſion on a motion by the Duke of Chandos, "that it was the opinion of "the committee, that the immediate cauſe of the capture of the "army under Earl Cornwallis, in "Virginia, appeared to be the "want of a ſufficient naval force "to cover and protect the ſame." This motion was negatived, by a majority of 72 to 37.

The manly and public-ſpirited language held by the miniſter in the debate of the 27th of February, had raiſed a general expectation, that the loſs of the queſtion on that day, and the ſubſequent meaſures of the 4th of March, would have been followed by his immediate reſignation. It can ſcarcely be doubted, from the daily mortifications to which his continuance in office expoſed him, and the extreme improbability of his being able to regain the ground he had loſt, but that this would have been the caſe, had he not been induced, by other cauſes, to act contrary both to his principle and inclination. The criſis was doubtleſs, in the utmoſt degree, alarming to the court. Had a mere perſonal change of miniſters been the point at iſſue, it is probable, that little ceremony would have been uſed in gratifying the wiſhes of parliament. But it was well underſtood, that a complete revolution in the internal policy of government, would be the inevitable conſequence of their removal; a revolution not leſs important in its effects, nor leſs dreaded by the court, than any other which the nation had before experienced.

It was therefore very generally ſuppoſed,

ppoſed, that the noble lord at e head of the Treaſury was pre-iled on to continue in a ſitua-on, that was neither honourable himſelf, nor without injury to e country, till every means were ed, of averting what was con-ered as the moſt dreadful of ils. The obſcure language hich he held, when preſſed on at ground in the Houſe of ommons, afforded a ſtrong pre-mption of the truth of this ſup-ſition. He declared, at dif-rent times, that he kept his poſt om a principle of gratitude, and ot from inclination; that he re-ained in his employment to pre-nt confuſion; that he ſhould uit it as ſoon as he could retire ith honour; but that particular rcumſtances ſtood in the way at reſent, which he could not far-her explain. It was to no pur-oſe, that the indecency of his inging to office, under the cir-umſtances in which he then ſtood, nd after the declaration he had imſelf made, was, day after day, rged by oppoſition with an un-ſual degree of acrimony; he con-ented himſelf with retorting on is adverſaries their indecent im-atience to get poſſeſſion of his mployments; and with defending imſelf on the latter part of the harge, by ſaying, that though arliament had interfered by its dvice, and had taken a ſtronger neaſure, than he thought neceſ-ary, for ſecuring obedience to it, et it did not appear, from any ote or reſolution they had yet paſſed, that the houſe had totally withdrawn its confidence from the preſent adminiſtration.

March 8th. To bring the matter to this iſſue, the following reſolutions were moved by Lord John Cavendiſh, and ſeconded by Mr. Powys.

"That it appears to this "houſe, that ſince the year 1775, "upwards of one hundred mil-"lions of money have been ex-"pended, on the army and na-"vy, in a fruitleſs war.

"That it appears to this "houſe, that during the above "period, we have loſt the thir-"teen colonies of America, "which anciently belonged to "the crown of Great-Britain, "(except the poſts of New-York, "Charles-Town, and Savannah) "the newly acquired colony of "Florida, many of our valuable "Weſt-India and other iſlands, "and thoſe that remain are in "the moſt imminent danger.

"That it appears to this "houſe, that Great-Britain is at "preſent engaged in an expen-"ſive war with America, France, "Spain, and Holland, without "a ſingle ally.

"That it appears to this "houſe, that the chief cauſe of "all theſe misfortunes, has been "the want of foreſight and abi-"lity in his majeſty's miniſters."

The debate, as far as related to the merits of the queſtion, lay within a ſmall compaſs. In ſupport of the concluſion drawn in the laſt reſolution, (for the facts contained in the three firſt, were admitted on all ſides) it was argued, in the firſt place, that a long and uninterrupted ſeries of misfortune and diſgrace was in itſelf a ſufficient proof of miſconduct; and ſecondly, that the ſeparate meaſures of adminiſtration were ſo ſtrongly marked with weakneſs and folly, as to carry their own condemnation on the face of them. On the other ſide,

it was contended, that misfortune could not be allowed to infer misconduct; and that even granting this, those who planned measures were not solely responsible for them. The fault might be in the execution; and therefore, it would ill become the justice of the house to proceed to a partial censure, without any previous hearing, or enquiry.

This ground, however, appeared so weak, even to the friends of administration, that it was almost entirely deserted, except by the ministers themselves, and the question was taken up with great art and ingenuity on other topics. It was said, that the motion being intended to operate as a vote for the removal of the present ministry, the house would do well, before it adopted so serious a measure, to take a view of the principles and opinions of those, who most probably would be their successors. It was asked, if the house was ready to vote the Independence of America? If it was prepared to new-model the constitution; to alter the duration of parliaments, and the rights of election? Would it be willing to give up its exclusive privilege of framing money-bills; or was it curious to see the effects of those latent powers, which a noble earl had, in the course of his reading, discovered to exist in the House of Peers? Would it consent to a violation of the national faith with the crown, by adopting a celebrated bill of reform in the civil list expenditure?

It was then demanded, whether that harmony and concord subsisted amongst the new candidates for power, the want of which had been so often and so vehemently urged against the present administration? How would the inflexible spirit of a noble earl, who had pledged his word in the other house, that he would under no circumstances consent to the independence of the colonies, be brought to bend to the opinions of those who seemed so ready to acknowledge it? The same noble person had declared, that he should always wish to see the king his own minister; a doctrine of no trifling political importance, and yet, which would sound very heretical in the ears of most of his friends, on the opposite side of the house. With respect to the different sects of political reformers, they were equally numerous and more at variance with each other, than those of religion.

These topics were urged with great eloquence and ability, by Mr. Adam and the Lord Advocate of Scotland; the latter of whom called particularly on the member for Westminster to declare, whether, in case he should find himself, when minister, in a minority, he would pay that deference to the opinion of the house, which he had so loudly called for from the noble lord; or whether he would not appeal to his other parliament out of doors, and tell them they were betrayed by their representatives. It nearly concerned the house, he said, to have the various matters well and thoroughly understood, before they proceeded to discharge the present ministers from their offices and throw the whole government of the country into the hands of their opponents.

In defence of his principles and conduct

nduct againſt this perſonal at-
ck, Mr. Fox obſerved, that
here was a material difference
etween a private member appeal-
g to his conſtituents, or to the
ation at large, whoſe agent he
as in parliament, and a ſervant
f the crown, holding an office at
he will of the king, attempting
o appeal to them, in that capa-
ity, againſt parliament. The
rmer he ſhould ſtill contend was
the true ſpirit of the conſti-
ution; the latter, he ſhould as
xplicitly condemn as ſubverſive
f the whole order of it,

The debate laſted till paſt two
'clock in the morning, when the
ouſe divided on the order of the
ay, which had been moved by
he ſecretary at war, and which
as carried by a majority of 10.

March 15th. The interval be-
tween the eighth
nd the fifteenth was generally
ppoſed to have been employed
various unſucceſsful attempts
o divide the party in oppoſition.
On the latter day, a motion was
ade by Sir John Rous, and ſe-
onded by the younger Lord Geo.
avendiſh, in which, after re-
iting the facts contained in the
eſolutions moved on the eighth,
was propoſed to reſolve, that,
n conſideration thereof, the houſe
ould have no farther confidence
n the miniſters, who had the di-
ection of public affairs.

In the debate, the neceſſity of
ome new arrangement in the ad-
miniſtration of public affairs was
o longer denied; but the im-
olicy, and even the danger of
hrowing the country entirely into
he hands of any party, was ſtill
trongly contended. A coalition
as loudly called for by many mo-
derate and independent members, and the propriety of leaving the noble lord at the head of the treaſury, in poſſeſſion of his office, till ſuch a meaſure could be accompliſhed, was much inſiſted on. The noble lord himſelf was obſerved to ſpeak with conſiderable emotion and embarraſſment, to which the peculiarity of his ſituation, and the violent perſonal attacks to which it expoſed him, muſt, doubtleſs, have much contributed. He entered into a long and able defence of his own conduct, after which, he ſolemnly declared to the houſe, "that he "neither was, nor would be any "obſtacle to a coalition of par-"ties, or to the formation of any "new adminiſtration, from which "he might be totally excluded."

On the other ſide, it was urged, that the bait of a coalition had been thrown out by the court merely for the purpoſe of delay, and giving room for intrigue and cabal; and that, in order to ſecure to the nation the advantages, which it was now univerſally admitted, would ariſe from a total change in the public councils, it was neceſſary not to relax, for a moment, the vigorous purſuit of ſuch meaſures, as could not fail of being ſpeedily crowned with ſucceſs.

On this occaſion, the whole ſtrength of both parties was muſtered. Near four hundred and eighty members were ſaid to have been preſent in the houſe; and on the diviſion, the queſtion was negatived by a majority of only 9.

After the diviſion, notice was given, that a motion, to the ſame effect, would be made, on the Wedneſday following.

March 20th. On that day, the house being again uncommonly crowded, the Earl of Surrey got up to make the promised motion; but Lord North rising, at the same time, for the purpose of communicating to the house some information, which, he said, might make any farther proceeding in the intended business unnecessary, and would require an adjournment, great disorder and confusion ensued, the members in opposition calling out violently for "Lord Surrey," and "No adjournment." As soon as the house was reduced to order, it was moved, "that the Earl of "Surrey be now heard," when Lord North, having now obtained a right to speak to the question, observed, that had he been suffered to proceed before, he believed much unnecessary heat and disorder would have been prevented. He meant no disrespect to the noble earl; but as notice had been given, that the object of the intended motion was the removal of his majesty's ministers, he meant to have acquainted the house, that such a motion was become unnecessary. He could assure the house, with authority, that *the present administration was no more*, and that his majesty had come to a full determination of changing his ministers; and it was for the purpose of giving the ne cessary time for new arrang ments, that he meant to ha moved for an adjournment.

The noble lord then took leave of the house as minister, thanking them for the honour support they had given him, d ing so long a course of years, in so many trying situations. expressed his grateful sense of th great partiality towards him all, and their forbearance on ma occasions. A successor of grea abilities, of better judgment, more qualified for his situati he said, was easy to be foun a successor more zealously attach to the interests of his count more anxious to promote the more loyal to his sovereign, a more desirous of preserving t constitution whole and entire, might be allowed to say, co not so easily be found. He co cluded his speech, after declar that he did not mean to shri from trial, that he should alw be prepared to meet it, that even demanded it from his adv saries, with moving the questi of adjournment.

After a little hesitation on t part of opposition, it was agre to withdraw the first motion, a to adjourn to the Monday f lowing.

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CHAP. VIII.

Administration formed under the Marquis of Rockingham. Public measures ſtipulated for. Receſs of parliament during the Eaſter holidays. Debate on the affairs of Ireland. Meſſage from the king, and addreſs. Addreſs from the Parliament of Ireland. Repeal of the act of the 6th of Geo. I. Addreſs of thanks from the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, and vote of Cannen. Reward voted for Mr. Grattan. Farther proceedings in the Engliſh parliament. Revenue Officers and Contractors Bills paſs both houſes. Bill of reform in the civil liſt expenditure. Bill for regulating the office of Paymaſter-General of the Forces. Motion for reſcinding the reſolution relative to the Middleſex election carried. Motion by Mr. William Pitt, for a committee to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation of parliament, rejected, upon a diviſion. Reſolutions reſpecting Exchequer, and other offices. Death of the Marquis of Rockingham. Changes in the miniſtry. Debates on the ſubject, in both houſes. Short ſtate of the proceedings on the Reports of the India Committee. King's ſpeech.

DURING the adjournment of the Houſe of Commons, a new adminiſtration was formed under the auſpices of the Marquis of Rockingham; on whoſe public principles, and private honour and virtue, the nation ſeemed to repoſe, after the violent ſtruggle by which it had been agitated, with the ſecureſt and moſt implicit confidence. The cabinet, including himſelf, as firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, was compoſed of the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, who were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; Lord Camden, preſident of the council; Duke of Grafton, lord privy-ſeal; Lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Keppel, who was alſo created a Viſcount, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; General Conway, commander in chief of the forces; Duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance; Lord Thurlow, who was continued in the office of lord high chancellor; and Mr. Dunning, created Baron Aſhburton, and made chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter.

The public meaſures, for which the new miniſter was ſaid to have ſtipulated with the court, before he would conſent to enter into any negociation for office, were theſe; 1. Peace with the Americans, and the acknowledgment of their independence not to be a bar to the attainment of that object;—2. A ſubſtantial reform in the ſeveral branches of the civil liſt expenditure, on the plan propoſed by Mr. Burke;—3. The diminution of the influence of the crown, under which article the bills for excluding contractors from ſeats in parliament, and diſqualifying the revenue officers from voting in the election of members, were included.

The new arrangement having been announced to the houſe, and the writs moved for ſuch gentlemen March 28th.

as had vacated their ſeats, by accepting offices, the houſe adjourned, on account of the enſuing holidays, without proceeding to any other buſineſs.

April 8th. On the firſt day of the meeting of parliament, after the receſs, as ſoon as the re-elected members were ſworn in, the affairs of Ireland were unexpectedly brought before the houſe, by Mr. Eden, who, having been ſecretary to the Earl of Carliſle, Lord-Lieutenant of that country, was juſt arrived from thence, with his reſignation of the Vice-royalty. This gentleman, after taking a view of the political hiſtory of Ireland, during the two laſt years, acquainted the houſe with the meaſures (which he ſaid) were then forming, for rendering it totally independent of the Britiſh legiſlature; and concluded, with moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal ſo much of the act of the 6th of Geo. I. as aſſerted a right in the king and parliament of Great-Britain, to make laws to bind the kingdom of Ireland.

The precipitation with which a buſineſs of ſuch magnitude and importance was thus attempted to be forced on the houſe, without previous communication with any of his majeſty's miniſters, or knowledge of their intentions, was ſeverely cenſured, and the more eſpecially, as it appeared that the right honourable gentleman had refuſed to give any official information to government, relative to the ſtate of the country he had juſt left. Mr. Eden, though loudly called on to withdraw his motion, perſiſted in urging its neceſſity, and, in vindication of his own conduct, ſtated, that reaſon of his refuſing to have communication with his maj preſent ſervants, was the want of attention to the E Carliſle, which they had ſhe the mode of appointing hi ceſſor, and in his removal the lord-lieutenancy of the riding of Yorkſhire. This logy ſerved rather to increaſe diſpleaſure of the houſe; a tion of cenſure on his conduct threatened, and it was with difficulty he was at laſt brou comply with the general w the houſe, in withdrawing motion.

Mr. Fox informed the h in the courſe of this debate, the miniſters of the crown, d the ſhort time they had be office, had actually held th four councils, ſolely on the a of Ireland, and that he very ſoon, perhaps within next four-and-twenty hours lay ſome preparatory meaſur fore them.—Accordingly, o next day, he brought April a meſſage from his majeſty, to inform the h "that being concerned to "diſcontents and jealouſie "vailing amongſt his loyal "jects in Ireland, on matte "great weight and import "he earneſtly recommend "the houſe to take the ſame "their moſt ſerious conſider "in order to ſuch a final ſe "ment, as might give "ſatisfaction to both kingd A meſſage, to the ſame was delivered to the lords, firſt day of their meeting, addreſſes were unanimouſly by both houſes.

It being the declared intention
f adminiſtration to proceed in
his arduous buſineſs, in concert
ith the parliament of Ireland, a
eſſage, conceived in the ſame
rms with thoſe preſented to the
ngliſh houſes, was ſent by the
uke of Portland (who was ap-
inted to ſuceeed Lord Carliſle)
the commons of that kingdom,
mediately after his arrival to
ke upon him the government.

The addreſs to the King, in
nſequence of this meſſage from
e lord-lieutenant, was moved
Mr. Grattan, the great and
oquent leader of the popular
rty. This addreſs, after a full
d explicit aſſertion of the inde-
ndent rights of the kingdom
Ireland, proceeded to ſtate the
uſes of thoſe jealouſies and diſ-
ntents which had ariſen in that
untry; viz. the act of the ſixth
George the Firſt; the power of
ppreſſing or altering bills in the
ivy council; and the perpetual
utiny bill. It concluded with
preſſing their moſt ſanguine ex-
ctations from his majeſty's vir-
ous choice of a chief governor,
d their great confidence in the
iſe, auſpicious and conſtitutional
unſels which they had the ſa-
faction to ſee his majeſty had
opted.

On the ground of this addreſs,
e repeal of the act complained
, was moved by the two ſecre-
ries of ſtate, on the ſame day,
May the 17th) in both houſes of
e Britiſh parliament. The other
o points lying between the par-
ment of Ireland and the king,
was only reſolved, in the Houſe
Commons, "that it was eſſen-
tially neceſſary to the mutual
happineſs of the two countries,
"that a firm and ſolid connection
"ſhould be forthwith eſtabliſhed,
"by the conſent of both, and
"that his majeſty ſhould be re-
"queſted to give the proper direc-
"tions for promoting the ſame."

Theſe motions paſſed, after a
ſhort converſation, without any
oppoſition; and, on the 27th of
the ſame month, the Duke of
Portland went in ſtate to the Iriſh
Houſe of Peers, and, in a ſpeech
to both houſes of parliament, ac-
quainted them with the ſteps that
had been taken by the Britiſh le-
giſlature, in compliance with their
demands, and with his majeſty's
gracious intentions to give his
aſſent to acts for preventing the
ſuppreſſion or alteration of bills
in the privy council, and for li-
miting the duration of the mu-
tiny act to the term of two years.
In anſwer to this ſpeech, a ſecond
addreſs to the king was agreed on,
by both houſes, expreſſing their
perfect ſatisfaction in the mea-
ſures propoſed, and their aſſur-
ances, that as ſoon as they ſhould
be carried into effect, no conſti-
tutional queſtion between the two
countries would any longer exiſt.

In return for this liberal pro-
cedure of the Britiſh government,
in relinquiſhing its claims without
any ſtipulation or condition what-
ever, the parliament of Ireland
immediately voted 100,000l. for
the purpoſe of raiſing 20,000 Iriſh
ſeamen, for the ſervice of his
majeſty's navy. The ſum of
50,000l. was alſo voted, "for
"purchaſing an eſtate, and erect-
"ing a manſion thereon, to be
"ſettled on Henry Grattan, Eſq;
"and the heirs of his body, as a
"teſtimony of their gratitude,
"for the unequalled benefits con-

"ferred by him on that king-
"dom."

Whilſt meaſures were thus happily purſuing, for reſtoring order and tranquillity in the ſiſter kingdom, adminiſtration was not leſs anxiouſly intent on maturing and bringing forward thoſe plans of œconomy and reformation at home, for the execution of which they ſtood pledged to the public. The bills for diſqualifying revenue officers from voting in the election of members of parliament, and for rendering contractors incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons, paſſed the lower houſe, after a feeble oppoſition. In the Houſe of Lords, they were more ſtrenuouſly combated by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Mansfield, and other lords; but at length were carried by very large majorities, and received the royal aſſent.

At the ſame time that theſe bills were in their progreſs, the great plan of reform in the civil liſt expenditure was again brought forwards by Mr. Burke, who, upon the recent change of adminiſtration, had been appointed Pay-Maſter-general of the Forces. This important object, in which the principles of future œconomy were combined, with the abolition of an enormous weight of influence, in both houſes of parliament, was introduced by a meſ-
April 15th. ſage from the king, in which he recommends to the houſe, "the conſideration of an "effectual plan of œconomy, "through all the branches of the "public expenditure; and ac-"quaints them, that he had taken "into his actual conſideration, a "reform and regulation in his "civil eſtabliſhment, which "would ſhortly cauſe to be "before the houſe, and deſir-"their aſſiſtance towards car-"ing the ſame more fully in-"execution. He declares he "no reſerve with his people, "whoſe affections he reſts with "ſure reliance, as the beſt ſu-"port of the true honour a-"dignity of his crown and g-"vernment."

The addreſs was moved by Mr. Burke, and ſeconded by Mr. Powys, who both ſpoke with ſigns of great emotion, declari themſelves unable to give u terance to the feelings, which happy and glorious an event h excited. The papers mentione in the meſſage, were not laid be fore the houſe until the beginnin of May, when Mr. Burke w called to the chair of the com mittee, appointed to take the into conſideration, and was di rected to move the houſe for lea to bring in a bill, to enable hi majeſty to pay off the debt on hi civil liſt, to prevent the like i future, and to carry into a law th retrenchments which his majeſt had graciouſly propoſed to mak in his houſehold.

This bill being a part of the large and comprehenſive plan o regulation, which had been ſub mitted to parliament, by Mr Burke, two years before, it i unneceſſary to enter into a deta of it, on the preſent occaſion It ſhall ſuffice to remark, that number of offices, uſually held b members of parliament, were no aboliſhed; and that the annua ſaving ariſing from this retrench ment, and which would be yearl increaſing, amounted to 72,368l.

t being made a ſubject of com-
int by ſome members, but eſpe-
lly by thoſe who had formerly
poſed the bill *in toto*, that it
s not ſo extenſive as it had been
ginally framed, Mr. Burke en-
ed into the grounds of thoſe
iſſions, which had been made
her from a compliance with
e opinions of others, or from a
ler conſideration of the parti-
lar caſes. At the ſame time he
dged himſelf, that he ſhould
all times be ready to obey their
l, whenever it appeared to be
e general ſenſe of the houſe,
d of the people, to undertake,
d go through with, a more
mplete ſyſtem of reform.

This bill was followed by ano-
r, for the regulation of his
n office. The principal object
the latter act, was to prevent
e poſſibility of any balance ac-
mulating in the hands of the
ymaſter-general. Theſe, he
d, had ſometimes amounted to
e enormous ſum of 1,000,000 l.
e intereſt of which would be
nually ſaved to the public. He
o ſtated, that as Treaſurer of
helſea Hoſpital, he enjoyed the
ofits ariſing from the cloathing
the penſioners. The profit of
is contract had uſually amounted
700l. a year; but by the bar-
in he had made with a con-
actor, who was not a member
parliament, it would amount
600l. more. This ſum of 1300 l.
year, he meant to reſign his
aim to, and to appropriate it to
me public ſervice.

ay 3d. A motion was made by Mr. Wilkes, for ex-
unging from the journals of the
ouſe, the famous reſolution of
e 17th of Feb. 1769, relative to the Middleſex election. Mr. Wilkes, after ſo long a ſucceſſion of annual defeats, now triumphed at laſt; there being, on the diviſion, ayes 115; noes 47. Both Mr. Fox and Lord North ſpoke and voted againſt the queſtion.

On the ſeventh, Mr. William Pitt brought May 7th. the ſubject of a reform in the conſtitution of parliament again before the houſe. The inſuperable difficulties that had occurred in bringing the friends of ſuch reformation to agree in any ſpecific propoſition, induced him on the preſent occaſion to vary the mode of proceeding, and to move, "that a committee be appointed "to inquire into the ſtate of the "repreſentation in parliament, "and to report to the houſe their "ſentiments thereon." The debate was long, and ably ſupported, by the mover, Mr. Sawbridge, Sir George Saville, Mr. Fox, and others, on the ſide of a reform; by Mr. Powys, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and the Lord-Advocate of Scotland, againſt it. On a diviſion, the motion was rejected by a majority of 161 to 141.

The lateneſs of the ſeaſon not affording June 18th. time for the completion and perfection of all the plans of reform and regulation, which were in the contemplation of the new miniſtry, in order to prevent their being neglected or forgotten in any ſubſequent change of circumſtances, Lord John Cavendiſh moved, in a committee of the whole houſe, ten reſolutions, the grounds of which, as well as the intention with which he acted, will beſt appear from the following, by which they were cloſed. "That

"it appears to this committee, "that it is too late in the preſent "ſeſſion of parliament, to carry "into effect a well conſidered and "permanent regulation in the "ſeveral offices mentioned in the "foregoing reſolutions; but that "it will be highly neceſſary, for "the advantage of the public, "for the increaſe of the revenue, "and for the honour of this "houſe, that early in the next "ſeſſion of parliament, this houſe "ſhould enter upon the conſider-"ation of thoſe ſubjects, and "ſhould adopt ſuch meaſures in "the reduction or regulation of "uſeleſs or expenſive offices, as "ſhall appear moſt conſiſtent with "that plan of œconomy recom-"mended to this houſe by his "majeſty, in his meſſage of the "15th of April laſt, and which "has been ſo graciouſly adopted "by his majeſty, in the reform "and regulation of his civil "eſtabliſhment."

The firſt of theſe reſolutions related to the collection of the land, houſe, and window taxes. The ſecond, to the conſolidation of various tax offices. The four following, to the offices of the pay-maſter-general, and the treaſurer of the navy. The ſeventh and eighth, to the regulation or aboliſhing of ſundry offices in the Exchequer. The laſt, was a ſelf-denying reſolution, by which the miniſter bound himſelf, in caſe of a vacancy in any of the afore recited offices, during the enſuing prorogation of parliament, not to diſpoſe of the ſame, without ſubjecting them to the future regulations of that houſe.

Whilſt parliament was thus ſucceſsfully engaged in proſecuting the moſt effectual meaſures, for the ſecurity of its own independence, for healing the breaches of the conſtitution, and relieving the burdens of the people, an heavy calamity was approaching, which again darkened the proſpect, that had ſo happily opened to the nation. This was the loſs of the Marquis of Rockingham; whoſe health had been for ſome time gradually declining, and, at length, ſunk under the increaſing weight of public cares and buſineſs.

The firſt ſtep taken by the Court, after his death, which happened on the 1ſt of July, was the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to be his ſucceſſor in the Treaſury: Lord John Cavendiſh and Mr. Fox ſoon afterwards reſigned their offices, and were followed by the Duke of Portland, by Mr. Montagu and Lord Althorpe, from the Board of Treaſury; by Lord Duncannon and Mr. J. Townſhend, from the Admiralty; by Mr. Burke, and by Mr. Lee the Solicitor-General. Mr. William Pitt was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. T. Townſhend and Lord Grantham, Secretaries of State; Mr. Pepper Arden ſucceeded Mr. Lee; the Lord Advocate of Scotland ſucceeded Mr. Barré, who was removed to the Pay-office; and the Earl of Temple was appointed to the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland.

The ſeceſſion of ſuch a weight of talents and integrity from the ſervice of government, could not be regarded with indifference. The motives, which were ſuppoſed to have actuated them, were variouſly repreſented; and ſome inſinuations being thrown out, highly

hly injurious to the public
aracter of the perſons concerned,
firſt opportunity was taken of
inging the ſubject to an open
cuſſion in the Houſe of Com-
ons.

Accordingly, a debate
ly 9th. having ariſen on a mo-
on relative to the penſion granted
Mr. Barré, the diviſions that
d prevailed amongſt his ma-
ſty's ſervants were ſtrongly re-
rted on thoſe who had formed
e laſt, by a member of the old
miniſtration, and this diſcord
as alledged to be the more cul-
able at preſent, on account of the
ry critical and alarming ſituation
the country. On this occaſion,
r. Fox ſaid, that he had un-
oubtedly been amongſt thoſe,
ho condemned, in the ſtrongeſt
rms, the want of unanimity and
utual confidence amongſt the
embers of that cabinet. But,
was not their having entertained
ifferent opinions from each other,
hat he blamed them. He had con-
emned the noble lord in the blue
ibbon, for remaining in place,
hen he found himſelf at the
ead of diſtracted councils, and
or becoming reſponſible for mea-
ures, of which he did not ap-
prove.

After having thus cenſured that
miniſter for continuing in office,
nder ſuch circumſtances; after
having ſo often, he ſaid, charged
him with the baſeneſs and crimi-
nality of his conduct, he aſked,
what remained for him to do, when
he found himſelf in a ſimilar ſitua-
tion? He could not, for obvious
reaſons, enter into a detail of the
matters, on which a difference of
opinion had ariſen between himſelf
and others, who had retired from,
and thoſe who remained in the
king's councils. He could only ſay,
that they were points of the firſt
and moſt eſſential importance; and
that he ſhould conſider himſelf as
guilty of the moſt direct treachery
to his country, if he had lent his
name and ſupport to an admi-
niſtration, that had abandoned the
principles on which it was formed.

Mr. Fox was followed by Gen.
Conway, who, after lamenting
the fatal event that had deprived
the country of the benefit of the
ſplendid abilities of his right hon-
ourable friend, at a time when
their value and conſequence were
beginning to be felt, obſerved,
that he could not, however, con-
cur in opinion with him; that
there was ſuch a diſagreement in
the cabinet, as to juſtify him in
withdrawing himſelf from it.
When eleven miniſters were aſ-
ſembled in council, it was im-
poſſible but that ſome *ſhades of
difference* in opinion ſhould exiſt;
but he denied that any of the
fundamental principles, upon
which that adminiſtration had
been formed, by the virtuous and
incomparable perſon, now no
more, had been in any degree de-
parted from. After enumerating
theſe principles, and averring that
he ſhould reſt ſatisfied, to be pro-
nounced the moſt infamous of
mankind, if he ſhould continue to
act a moment with a miniſter, who
ſhould depart from any one of
them; he concluded with re-
marking, that, for his part, he
looked at *meaſures* only, and not
men; and that he would never
take a part in, or ſcramble or
quarrel for, places, or for power.

This called up Mr. Fox again,
who begged the houſe would ex-

cuſe him for riſing a ſecond time, to exculpate himſelf, not only from the heavy charge of having quitted the ſervice of the public, without cauſe, but againſt an inſinuation of having done it upon pique, and from diſappointment in a conteſt for place and power. He ſaid, he was happy in being able to anſwer the latter charge effectually, and to appeal to the right honourable general himſelf, for the truth of his aſſertions. He then declared, that before the death of the noble marquis, and at a time when his recovery was hoped for with great confidence, he had in a full cabinet declared his intention of reſigning, if certain meaſures were not adopted. He was out-voted in that council; different meaſures were adopted; and as he looked upon thoſe meaſures to be to the laſt degree dangerous, he owed it to himſelf and to his country, not to remain any longer in a ſituation, in which he could not act, without renouncing his principles, or betraying his truſt with the public.

With reſpect to the principles which his right honourable friend had enumerated, as the political creed of the preſent cabinet, he could only ſay, that was the firſt time of his having ever heard that the Earl of Shelburne had ſubſcribed to thoſe articles of faith. On the contrary, the firſt had been the very point, on which the difference of opinion alluded to, ſubſiſted. If the noble earl and the cabinet had ſince that time been induced to adopt a different ſyſtem of meaſures, he was happy to find that he had much more weight in the cabinet when out of office, than he ever had in it.

He was alſo unhappy to ſay, that there were other moſt material points on which he and his friends differed with the Earl of Shelburne. That noble perſon was inclined to ſkreen from juſtice and puniſhment thoſe delinquents, who had deſtroyed our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, and who had involved us in thoſe calamities, which that houſe was labouring ſo earneſtly to remedy. He had been deſcribed as a friend to the reduction of the influence of the crown; but had he not at the ſame time threatened parliament with the exerciſe of the prerogative of its negative. With reſpect to the objects of Mr. Burke's bill, who that had heard the noble perſon's loud ſpeeches, did not know, that he profeſſed to treat that bill with the utmoſt contempt, and called it trifling and inſignificant? It was indeed an infant, a pigmy, in compariſon of the promiſes of that noble earl; but he was convinced it would be a giant in compariſon of his performances.

This brought him to ſtate another reaſon for his retiring, which, he ſaid, he ſhould not diſguiſe; and that was the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne to the office of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury. It was naturally to have been expected, in an adminiſtration formed on the principles, on which that great body of Whigs, who had attached themſelves to the Marquis of Rockingham, had uniformly acted, that on the deceaſe of that great perſon, whoſe virtues had kept them ſo long bound together, the man would be ſought and appointed to ſucceed him, who moſt reſembled him in character, in influence, in popularity; ſuch at

leaſt

aſt were his ideas; and the eyes, believed, of all men, were naturally turned to the Duke of Portnd. Inſtead of this noble perin, the Earl of Shelburne was ſeected, of whom he could not truly that he bore any reſemblance his predeceſſor; perhaps the exreverſe might come near the ſture. He did not mean to diſte the right of the King to nonate his own miniſter; but he ntended that thoſe who went into ice on public principles, not ly had a right, but that it was eir duty, to be ſatisfied, that ne were introduced into the canet who were hoſtile to thoſe inciples. If the court choſe to vert to other principles, it was rtainly competent ſo to do: but could not be expected that thoſe rſons ſhould ſuffer themſelves to made acceſſaries in reviving a ſtem, which it had been the laur of their whole lives to deoy.

It would naturally be aſked, why en, thinking as he did of the rl of Shelburne, he had ever me with him into office at all? o this he ſhould anſwer, that he d ſtrongly objected to it; that had made the ſame objection to other noble perſon, (the Lord ancellor); that he had been inced to ſubmit by the general cry at prevailed of forming the adniſtration on as broad a baſis as ſible; but at the ſame time, he d a ſatisfactory pledge for the egrity of that adminiſtration in e noble marquiſs at the head of The right honourable gentlen might, but he could not, rerd with indifference, who took e lead in his Majeſty's councils. e deemed it a great and national object, of infinite moment to every individual, but much more to thoſe who were in the ſervice of the crown, and ſtill more ſo to one of his Majeſty's cabinet miniſters. The perſon now preſiding at the treaſury board was not of a deſcription to demand that confidence from his colleagues, which in ſuch a ſituation was indiſpenſable.

Theſe, and a variety of other arguments of a ſimilar kind, were ſtrongly urged by Mr. Fox in juſtification of the part he had acted. He concluded with obſerving, that in the particular ſituation in which he ſtood, ſeveral circumſtances oppoſed themſelves to a full vindication of his conduct. It was none of the leaſt, that he did not think himſelf at liberty to ſpeak ſo freely and fully as he had accuſtomed himſelf to do on other occaſions. Details would in this caſe be improper; and yet, without a very circumſtantial detail of facts, ſuch as he did not think it became him at that time to give, he was ſenſible his defence would not be ſo ſtrong and complete, as otherwiſe it was eaſy to have made it.

After Mr. Fox, Lord John Cavendiſh got up and contented himſelf with declaring in general terms, that finding a different ſyſtem was meant to be purſued from that on which the late adminiſtration had been formed, and finding it impoſſible by his preſence to prevent it, he had determined to withdraw, that he might not divide the cabinet, and render it the ſcene of confuſion it had been in the time of their predeceſſors.

Mr. William Pitt arraigned the conduct of the late ſecretary of ſtate in the ſevereſt terms. It was evident,

dent, he ſaid, from the whole tenour of the right honourable gentleman's ſpeeches, that he was more at variance with men than their meaſures. He denied that he had adduced any public ground on which his reſignation was juſtifiable. He deprecated the fatal conſequences of diſſention. He conjured the people to give the miniſters their confidence till they had ſhewn they did not deſerve it; and he pledged himſelf, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that, whenever he ſaw things going wrong, he ſhould firſt endeavour to ſet them right; but failing in that effort, he ſhould be the firſt to relinquiſh his preſent political connections.

This converſation, which continued to a late hour in the night, was cloſed by Mr. Lee. He ſaid, he held it to be the duty of every honeſt man to reſign his office the moment he found public meaſures were carrying on of which he could not approve. The appointment of a miniſter unqualified for his ſituation was undoubtedly a meaſure of that kind. He had heard much of diſſention, but he had not ſeen one perſon ſtep forward to ſay the Earl of Shelburne was a fit and proper perſon for the high office he held. If there was any ſuch perſon, he wiſhed to hear him.

The noble earl to be ſure poſſeſſed ſplendid talents, had ſome friends, and was now in a way to make more. But the miniſter of this country ſhould have other endowments. He ſhould join to a ſound head, a purity of mind, a ſteadineſs of principle, and an unſuſpected integrity. Were theſe, he demanded, the reputed characteriſticks of the nobleman juſt exalted to the principal departments of the ſtate. To put him at the head of affairs in this plain and open hearted country, was to put him out of his element. The people of England were incapable of fineſſe, and not fond of ſubmitting to the government of those who practiſed it. The treaſury too required a ſober, honeſt, induſtrious, ſteady commiſſioner at its head. It was not an oſtentatious affectation of uniting the man of ſcience and the fine gentleman; the technical jargon of arts, and the gibberiſh of courts, the pedantry of ſcholaſtick nostrums, and the abſtruſe theorems of mechaniſm, that would create reſpect and conſequence in this high office. Who knows not, ſays he, how eaſily a head filled with ſuch materials may be turned upſide down? He concluded with ſome obſervations on the youth and inexperience of the new chancellor of the exchequer, to whoſe extraordinary abilities he, nevertheleſs, paid the higheſt compliments. He ſaid, there was an obvious intention of trifling with the people by bringing forward one of their favourites as a compenſation for inſulting another; but though the honourable gentleman would adorn any ſcene in which his part was properly caſt, yet he did not think the confidence of the people would be much increaſed, by putting the complicated buſineſs of our finances into the hands of a boy.

Next day, the ſame intereſting ſubject was diſcuſſed in the Houſe of Lords. The Duke of Richmond followed General Conway in declaring, that ſo long as the great principles of

hich the late adminiſtration had en formed was adhered to, (and had no reaſon to imagine they ould be abandoned) he ſhould ntinue to act with and ſupport e noble earl.

The Earl of Shelburne roſe next, d made a copious defence of mſelf and the late proceedings. e declared, that his being placed the high office he then held, d not been the conſequence of rſonal ambition or the love of wer; on the contrary, he affirmed at three months ago, the ſame uation was moſt certainly within reach, but that he had exert- his utmoſt efforts to place the ble marquis there. To the prin- ples on which that adminiſtration s formed, he ſolemnly profeſſed e moſt inviolable attachment. It s true, he ſaid, that he differed opinion on other points with me of his then colleagues; but would not be expected that he ould lightly give up all thoſe con- tutional ideas, which for ſeven- en years he had imbibed from his after in politicks, the late Earl Chatham. That earl had al- ys declared, that this country ght not to be governed by a rty or faction. If the power hich others wiſhed to aſſume, of ling in the cabinet the right of ppointing to all places, and filling all vacancies, ſhould once be ablished, the King muſt then ſemble the King of the Marrat- s, who had nothing of ſovereign- but the name.

He lamented the loſs of the two ſpectable characters, that had ithdrawn themſelves from the abinet, but imputed their conduct very different motives. One- them, he ſaid, a noble lord diſtinguiſhed for the purity and chaſtity of his mind, and for his unimpeached integrity, had at firſt been brought with difficulty into the public ſervice. His love of retirement rendered him extreme- ly averſe from office, and on the death of his lamented friend, he could no longer endure to remain in an active ſcene. With reſpect to the other right honourable gen- tleman, he declared, that in his opinion there was no other reaſon for his ſeceſſion, than his Majeſty's having been pleaſed to appoint him (the Earl of Shelburne) firſt lord of the treaſury.

On the ſubject of the indepen- dence of America, his opinions were ſtill the ſame; but circum- ſtances had changed; and he now ſaw it was become a neceſſary evil, to which this country muſt ſubmit, to avoid a greater.

With reſpect to the penſion granted to Mr. Barré, he could only ſay that it originated with the noble marquis, now no more, and that it had been beſtowed on his right honourable friend as a com- penſation for giving up his pre- tenſions to the pay-office. As a proof of this, he had a letter in his poſſeſſion from that noble per- ſon, in which the propoſal was contained.

The day following, before his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Lords, the Earl of Derby got up, and ſaid, that in conſequence of what had fallen from a noble earl the day before, reſpecting the reſignation of one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, he had been authoriſed by the right ho- nourable gentleman to declare, that the aſſertion then made was not founded in fact, but on the contrary July 11th.

contrary was a direct deviation from the truth.

Having called on the other members of the cabinet to confirm or contradict these assertions, the D. of Richmond and Lord Keppel, declared, that the right honourable gentleman alluded to, had undoubtedly differed in opinion from other members of his Majesty's council, on subjects of the utmost importance; and that finding himself in a minority, he had openly avowed his intention to resign on that account, at a time when the health of the Marquis of Rockingham was in so flattering a state, as to make the event, which was supposed to have given rise to the contest for power, not at all to be apprehended.

The same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Burke and Lord John Cavendish denied, in the most direct terms, the truth of the circumstances relative to the grant of Mr. Barré's pension, as well as their belief of the existence of the letter alluded to.

The limits within which it is necessary to confine this volume, have not permitted us to enter into a detail of the proceedings of the House of Commons relative to the affairs of the East-India Company. The two committees continued to sit during the whole session with unremitted diligence and application. Their reports were voluminous beyond example, and universally allowed to be drawn up with the greatest ability and judgment.

On the ground of the reports brought up from the secret committee, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, their chairman, moved 111 resolutions. These were divided into classes, each of which consisted of three distinct heads; the two first, of a public and general nature; the third, of personal culpability. The first class regarded the general system of our government in the East, and concluded with a severe censure on the conduct of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornby, and a declaration that it was the duty of the directors to take the necessary legal steps for recalling them. The second and third classes related to the affairs of the Carnatic, and on these a bill of pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, J. Whitehill, and P. Perring, Esqrs. was brought in.

The reports of the select committee had not advanced to the same state of forwardness. The resolutions moved by their chairman, General Smith, were only ten in number. The three first were to censure the conduct of Mr. Sullivan the chairman of the court of directors, by whose neglect of duty in delaying to transmit the act for the regulation of the company, to their servants in India, the good purposes of the said act for regulating the judicature, and relieving the three unhappy native judges confined in prison at Calcutta, might be frustrated. The two following were censures on the same Mr. Sullivan, for administring an oath of secrecy to one of the secretaries of the company, restraining him from giving information to the committee. The next three related to the appointment of Sir Elijah Impey, by Mr. Hastings, to an office held at the will of the governor-general, contrary to the intent of the act of the 13th of his present Majesty, for the regulation of the East-India Company.

mpany. On these resolutions, addres to his Majesty was reed to by the house, to recall e said Sir Elijah Impey. The o last were for the purpose of nging in a new act to ascertain e power of the governor-general d council of Bengall; and to duce into one act the several acts made for the regulation of the company, and to amend and explain the same.

The King's speech, at the prorogation which took place on the 11th of July, turned on the usual topicks, and kept intirely free from any allusion to the politicks of the time.

CHAP. IX.

trospective view of affairs in North America and the West-Indies, in the year 1781. *South Carolina. Battle at the Eutaw Springs. Col. Stuart, with the British forces, retires to Charles Town. Island of St. Eustatius surprized and taken by the Marquis de Bouille. Dutch settlements of Demerary and Essequibo recovered by France. Marquis de Bouille invades the Island of St. Christopher's, with* 8,000 *men, in the beginning of the year* 1782, *and is supported by the Count de Grasse, with a great fleet. Gen. Fraser and the Governor, with the few troops in the island, retire to Brimstone Hill. Gallant attempt made by Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, with a very inferior force, to save the island: draws the enemy out to sea, and then seizes the anchorage ground in Basseterre Road, which they had just quitted. French fleet repeatedly attack the English squadron, and are repulsed with loss. Works on Brimstone Hill, in no degree answerable to the strength of the situation. Gallant defence made by the garrison. All the attempts made by the Admiral, and by Gen. Prescot, for the relief of the place, prove ineffectual. The works and buildings on the top of the hill being almost entirely destroyed, Gen. Fraser and Gov. Shirley are obliged to capitulate, and obtain conditions highly honourable to the garrison, and advantageous to the island. English squadron slip their cables, and return to Barbadoes. Nevis and Montserrat follow the fortune of St. Christopher's. Formidable preparations by France and Spain for the invasion of Jamaica. Admiral Sir George Rodney arrives with a strong reinforcement from England, and takes the command of the fleet. Fails in his design of intercepting the French convoy from Brest. Puts into St. Lucia to refit, and to watch the motions of the enemy. Objects, and respective force, of the commanders on both sides. Perilous state of the English affairs in the West-Indies. M. de Grasse proceeds with his fleet and a great convoy from Fort-Royal, in order to form a junction with the French and Spanish forces at Hispaniola. Is immediately pursued by Sir George Rodney. Partial engagement between the French fleet and the van of the English, on the 9th of April. Great sea-fight on the* 12th, *which lasts from sun-rise to sun-set. Gallantry displayed on both sides. French fleet entirely routed. The Count de Grasse taken in the Ville de Paris. Four other ships of the line taken, and one sunk. Various particulars of the*

action.

action. Ceſar, one of the French prizes, blown up on the night of the battle. Admiral Sir Samuel Hood detached with a ſquadron, in purſuit of the enemy. Takes two French ſhips of the line, and two frigates in the Mona paſſage. Sir George Rodney proceeds with the Count de Graſſe and the prizes to Jamaica. Conſequences of the late victory. Honours to the ſucceſsful commanders. Lord Rodney returns to England, and is ſucceeded by Admiral Pigot. Inactivity of the oppoſite armies in North America, confirmed by the reſolutions of Parliament, and by the ſubſequent negociations for peace.

THE natural boundaries which ſerved in ſome degree to reſtrain hoſtility, and to throw South Carolina into two great allotments, which were reſpectively held by the Royal and the American forces, could no longer produce their effect, than while equal ſtrength or mutual weakneſs prevented the operation of either party. The calm which attended and ſucceeded the new partition arrangement made by Lord Rawdon a little before his departure from that province, accordingly laſted no longer, than until Gen. Greene had received ſuch reinforcements from without, and had uſed ſuch internal means in forming and diſciplining the ſtate troops and militia of the two Carolinas, as he ſuppoſed would enable him to act with effect. As ſoon as theſe ends were attained, he marched with his forces from the high hills of Santee, in order to paſs the Congaree River, and to attack Col. Stewart, who commanded the Britiſh forces then in the field.

That officer was poſted at a Col. Thompſon's, near M'Cord's Ferry, on the Congaree; his troops were ſickly, bread was ſcarce, and a ſupply of proviſion was then on its way to join him. Upon this movement of the enemy he judged it neceſſary, for the ſecurity of his convoy, and probably other reaſons, to fall back about 40 miles, to a place called the Eutaw Springs, which lies about 60 miles north of Charles Town. Greene, however, ſtill purſued his deſign of attacking him, to which he was now farther ſtimulated, by underſtanding that Col. Stewart intended to eſtabliſh a ſtrong and permanent poſt at the Eutaws, (for which the place was admirably qualified) to ſerve as a rampart on that ſide, to the new and more contracted line of frontier. The former had paſſed the river at Howel's Ferry; and upon coming to this determination, he ſent back his baggage and ſtores to that place, and purſuing his march until he arrived within ſeven miles of the Eutaws, encamped in the evening at a plantation called Bardwell's, from whence he proceeded early the next morning to attack the royal forces.

Gen. Greene's order of battle ſeems to have been rather peculiar; an obſervation by no means intended to arraign his judgment. His firſt line conſiſted only of two battalions of South Carolina, and two battalions of North Carolina militia; whilſt his great ſtrength was placed in the ſecond, which was compoſed of three brigades of Continental troops, including two battalions

attalions of Virginians, two of Marylanders, and three of North Carolinians. Col. Lee, with his legion, covered one flank, and Henderson, with the ſtate troops of South Carolina, the other. Col. Waſhington, with his cavalry, and the ſtate troops of Delaware, under a captain, formed a corps de reſerve. Brig. Gen. Marion commanded the firſt line; and Sumner the North Carolina troops. No certain eſtimate can be formed of the amount of the American forces. The Engliſh accounts ſtate them at about 4,000. Greene himſelf gives no clue; but looſely obſerves, that they were much inferior to the enemy in number; and in his publiſhed letter, ſeems ſtudiouſly to repreſent the battalions in general as being "very ſmall." The firſt line advanced with two three-pounders, and the ſecond with two ſix-pounders.

Sept. 8th. 1781. In the morning march, Col. Waſhington, with the troops that covered the flanks, formed an advanced guard, and about four miles from the Eutaws, fell in with Major Coffin, with a detached party of horſe and light infantry, who, after ſome firing, fell back to the Britiſh main body; which, by the American accounts, was drawn up to receive them, between two and three miles in the front of their camp. The action commenced at nine in the morning, and laſted four hours, without intermiſſion. As the battle was fought in the woods, and the conflict obſtinately maintained on both ſides, it was ſubject to much viciſſitude; ſo that different wings and parties on each, were victors and vanquiſhed by turns; chance, and accidental conjunction, frequently varying the fortune of the fight. It is impoſſible to reconcile the Engliſh and American accounts, they differ ſo totally in, almoſt, every part of the relation. Both ſides claimed the victory, and both had ſome ground for the claim; both ſides held out the higheſt praiſes to their officers and men, for the eminent ſervices which they performed, and the extraordinary valour they diſplayed; and the praiſe was undoubtedly, in the higheſt degree, merited on both. The contradictions which appear in the oppoſite accounts, are not to be entirely attributed to deſigned miſrepreſentation on either ſide. The nature of the ground, contracted the ſphere of obſervation within a very narrow compaſs: and report is ſeldom to be relied on as the baſis of truth. The conſequences muſt therefore be conſidered as the beſt explanation of the action.

It admits of no doubt, that the conflict was exceedingly ſevere, and abounded with inſtances of the higheſt gallantry on both ſides. The Americans were now inured to arms and danger; and the provincial militia, who alone led on the attack in the firſt line, not only fought with all the ſpirit, but with all the perſeverance of old and well tried ſoldiers. The bayonet, which had ſo long been dreadful to the Americans, ſeems now to have become their favourite weapon. Gen. Greene particularly attributes the victory (which he claims as indiſputable) to the fierce and irreſiſtible attack of the Virginia and Maryland troops,

troops, who, he ſays, ruſhed on through a hot cannonade and a ſhower of bullets to charge the enemy with the bayonet.

It would ſeem upon the whole, though not acknowledged on our ſide, that the royal troops were driven back, through a continued ſeries of hard fighting, and with the loſs of two pieces of cannon, as far as their camp. That there, as brave and experienced ſoldiers, ſtill poſſeſſing their judgment and faculties, in the height of tumult, and the extremity of danger, they at once perceived, and as inſtantly ſeized, the advantages, which the ſtrong ground they were then on afforded. A large and ſtrong brick houſe, of three ſtories, with its adjoining offices and incloſures, was immediately occupied by a large party; another lodged themſelves in an almoſt impenetrable coppice of rugged underwood, called in that country Black Jack; while a third took poſſeſſion of a palliſadoed garden. Thus covered in front, their flanks were well ſecured by a deep ravine, and other difficulties of ground.

Here then the engagement was renewed, with freſh vigour, and with greater ſeverity than before. The Americans brought up the two pieces of cannon they had taken, along with their own ſix-pounders, to attack the Brick Houſe; while Col. Waſhington, with the greateſt gallantry, made repeated attempts to ſtorm the coppice. All their efforts on both ſides were ineffectual. The fire from the one was too ſevere to be long endured; and Waſhington was wounded and taken priſoner, in his laſt attack upon the coppice. The Americans, after ſore loſs, were obliged to retreat and having, in the eagerneſs of attack, puſhed their guns [illegible] cloſe to the Brick Houſe, the artillery men and officers were not only deſtroyed, but the fire was ſo intolerable, that they could neither bring off the cannon, nor the wounded, which were within its command. Gen. Greene acknowledges, that he found it neceſſary, in order to ſpare the effuſion of blood, to draw his troops out of the reach of the Engliſh fire; but his ſubſequent retreat of ſeven miles, to his camp at Bardwell's, he attributes entirely to the want of water; a want (if real) undoubtedly of ſuch a nature, as could not but be ſeverely felt through the courſe of ſo long a march, ſo hot a day, and ſo ſevere an action.

Theſe circumſtances afforded fair ground to the Britiſh commander, whereon to reſt his claim of victory. But others were not equally concurrent; and his ſituation and force did not admit that the conſequences of the action ſhould ſupport the claim with effect. It was certainly a great and moſt gallant recovery; ſuch as is not often equalled in ſimilar circumſtances; and in which the officers and troops had a higher claim to honour, than the moſt complete victory might have afforded in other inſtances. Greene boaſts that he took 500 priſoners; (including in that number 70 wounded, who, he ſays, the royal forces left behind them on their retreat the following day) that he left a ſtrong picket on the field of battle; that he collected all his wounded, excepting thoſe who lay

under the fire of the Brick
ſe; that, early on the fol-
ng morning, he detached Lee
Marion on the way to Charles
n, as well to prevent ſuc-
s from thence, as to embar-
the retreat of the main body
ſt he purſued them; and, that
fugitives from the field of bat-
had ſpread ſuch an alarm, that
Engliſh burnt their ſtores at
cheſter, and abandoned their
at Fair Lawn. He acknow-
es the loſs of two pieces of
non, but ſays he brought off
of theirs.

We are left as much in the
as to the numbers on the
l ſide, as we are with reſpect
the American. Col. Stewart
s apprehenſive, as well as
eene, that it might be ima-
ed from the various corps
d to be under his command,
his force was conſiderably
ater than it really was. It
well be ſuppoſed, that from
climate, as well as from other
ſes, they were reſpectively very
Letters from Charles Town,
the time, looſely ſtated Stew-
's force, as being about 2,000.
The loſs on the American ſide,
killed and wounded, by their
t account, amounted to be-
en five and ſix hundred. That
officers, which could not be
cealed, was very conſiderable.
e lieutenant-colonel, one ma-
, ſix captains, and eight other
miſſioned officers, were killed.
e lieutenant-colonels, thirteen
tains, and twenty-five lieute-
nts, were wounded. On our
e, only three commiſſioned offi-
s were killed on the ſpot, but
veral died of their wounds. The
ole number of men ſlain is rated
only at eighty-five; the wounded at 351, of which ſixteen were commiſſioned officers; and the miſſing at 257; of theſe were ten commiſſioned officers, fifteen ſerjeants, and eight drummers. We mention theſe little particulars, as they ſerve in ſome ſort to ſhew the diverſity and various fortune of the action. No notice is taken in Col. Stewart's account or return, of fifteen commiſſioned officers, who, Greene particularly ſpecifies, to have been admitted to their paroles on the field of battle. As this return was dated before the retreat from the Eutaws, it could not include the ſeventy wounded, who were ſaid to have been left behind on that occaſion. Theſe, though it was made a matter of boaſt, could only have been left behind, from their wounds being in too bad a ſtate to admit of a removal. Col. Stewart was himſelf wounded, and is ſaid to have been taken priſoner, and afterwards re-taken. Every royal officer, who had the ſmalleſt command, even to that of a company, had an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf in ſome marked degree, which, in more fortunate ſeaſons, and circumſtances of leſs general exertion, would have been deemed an object of public notice and applauſe.

The royal forces decamped on the following evening. Greene pretends that they ſtaved a quantity of rum, and deſtroyed many ſtores, through the want of carriages; but what ſeems utterly improbable, he farther advances, that above 1,000 ſmall arms were found, which they had broken, and hidden in the Eutaw Springs.

In the mean time, Major M'Arthur was diſpatched with ſo ſtrong a detachment from Charles Town, to meet the returning forces, that Marion and Lee could not hazard the ſmalleſt attempt to interrupt his purpoſe; and Greene's purſuit as far as Harriſon's Swamp, was probably a mere matter of parade, without the ſmalleſt hope of being at all able to diſturb the retreat. From that time, the country in the vicinity of Charles Town, and of the neighbouring great rivers, became the ſcene of a ſmall, cruel, and deſultory war, in which, excepting the deſign of ſtraitening the capital and its garriſon on the one ſide, proviſions, plunder, and the gratification of mutual animoſity, were the only objects.

The loſs of the Dutch Iſland of St. Euſtatius, marked the concluſion of the year in the Weſt Indies. The Marquis de Bouille, of whoſe activity and generoſity as an enemy we have had frequent occaſion to take notice, learning the ſecurity and negligence of the governor and garriſon, was thereby induced to undertake the otherwiſe hopeleſs taſk, of ſurprizing and reducing the Iſland. He embarked about 2,000 men for this purpoſe, in a number of ſmall veſſels at Martinique, and knowing that the only practicable landing place in the iſland was left open and unguarded, he took his meaſures in ſuch a manner, as to arrive before it betimes in the night. The landing was however ſo bad, the ſurf ſo high, and the ſunken rocks ſo numerous and dangerous, that he loſt his boats, and had many of his men drowned in the attempt. By the utmoſt perſeverance and courage he only land 400 men by day-and the means of landing were then at an end. He once the danger of his ſituat that all aſſiſtance from his and means of retreat, were cut off; and conſidering the riſon to be nearly double his number, that nothing but the ceſs of a vigorous puſh and adventure, could poſſibly himſelf and his troops, from either made priſoners or cut pieces.

The landing place was two leagues diſtant from the and fort; and the way was only extremely difficult in all parts, but was interſected by defile in the hills, where a ful of men could have ſtopped approach of an army. The riſon conſiſted of the thirteenth and fifteenth regiments, except their light infantry and grenadier companies, which had been called away upon ſome other ſervice but the remaining number was much leſs than 700 men; a force which in leſs unfortunate time could not have been ſafely approached by an equal, much leſs an inferior enemy. The Marquis de Bouille, inſtead of deſpairing his untoward ſituation, boldly and wiſely placed a full truſt and confidence in the negligence of his enemy, and the conſequent probability of a ſurprize. The troops landed were likewiſe among the beſt in France, being principally compoſed of Count Dillon's regiment; a part of that Iriſh brigade, which has been ſo long and ſo highly diſtinguiſhed for its valour, and the excellency of the troops, and which the ill poli

h of England and Ireland has
ren into the French ſervice.
e red uniform of theſe troops,
ng the ſame as the Engliſh,
tributed greatly to facilitate
give effect to the enterprize.

A diviſion of the
y. 26th. garriſon were going
ough their exerciſes in a field
ſome diſtance from the fort;
the greater part were diſperſed
quarters in the houſes of the
n, and as it was only about
-riſe, many were poſſibly in
. A volley of ſmall arms,
d almoſt at their breaſts, and
ich killed ſeveral men, was the
knowledge which the ſoldiers
exerciſe had of their danger.
was an inſtance, perhaps, with-
parallel by day-light. They
re incapable of reſiſtance. Thoſe
quarters hurried headlong to
fort, and clogged the draw-
dge in ſuch a manner that it
uld not be raiſed, until the
my entered pell-mell along
th them. Lieut. Col. Cock-
rne, commandant or governor,
o had been taking an early
e, returned juſt at the inſtant
the ſurprize, and was made
ſoner on horſeback. The iſland
s loſt in a few minutes, and
thout the expence of a man to
e enemy. It has not often hap-
ned that Engliſh troops have
t with ſo ſignal a diſgrace.
The Marquis de Bouille be-
ved with his uſual magnani-
ty. A conſiderable ſum of
oney, which the Governor
imed as his property, was, with
e generous conſent of the officers
d troops, reſtored to him. But
very large ſum, being a re-
inder of the produce of the
e ſales, and ſaid to be the
property of Admiral Rodney and General Vaughan, became a prize to the victors. Their whole ſpoil was eſtimated at two millions of livres. Such was the concluſion of the unfortunate circumſtances which attended the capture of the Iſland of St. Euſtatius.

The loſs of that iſland was only a prelude to farther misfortune in the Weſt Indies. The ſuperiority of the French by ſea and land, enabled them to attempt and to execute whatever they liked. The Dutch ſettlements of Demerary and Eſſequibo, were retaken by them in the firſt month of the year 1782; and France, by their recovery and reſtoration to Holland, as well as by the preſervation of the Cape of Good Hope, had a happy opportunity of diſplaying to her new ally and to the world, a fidelity, and an appearance of diſintereſtedneſs in her conduct, which has peculiarly marked the preſent reign, and which was by no means conſidered as her political characteriſtic in other times.

The old and valuable Engliſh Iſland of St. Chriſtopher's was doomed to be the next victim to the calamity of the times. The people had been much diſſatisfied with the American war, and with many other meaſures of government. We have already obſerved that they had been conſiderable ſufferers by, and had greatly complained of, the indiſcriminate ſpoil made at the capture of the iſland of St. Euſtatius. It cannot be ſuppoſed that a diſcontented people ſhould ever make a hearty and vigorous defence.

The Marquis de Bouille, who ſeemed hitherto decreed to Jan. 11th. 1782.

reap all the laurels which the West Indies could produce, landed 8,000 men on the island, and was supported by the Count de Grasse, with thirty-two ships of the line. The garrison, under Gen. Frazer, did not exceed 600 effective men; and the great force of the enemy by sea and land, notwithstanding the dangerous surf, and other circumstances, which render a communication with that island at all times difficult, prevented all resistance to their landing. Gen. Frazer, with his handful of men, retired to Brimstone Hill, which, besides some newly erected fortifications, was, from its height, and almost inaccessible situation, considered as one of the strongest posts in the West India islands. But the number of troops was not sufficient for its defence through any thing of a long siege. It was supposed that a garrison of 2,000 men, would have rendered it impregnable for any time that their provisions lasted.

The English fleet under Sir Samuel Hood, was then at Barbadoes, and consisted only of twenty-two ships of the line. That island was the original object of the French commanders, who, depending on the great superiority of their force both by sea and land, hoped by a joint cannonade and bombardment from the shore and the ships, to destroy the English fleet in Carlisle Bay. However this design might have succeeded in the experiment, it was frustrated by adverse winds, which drove the enemy so far to leeward, that they found it necessary to change their object, and direct their attack against the Island of St. Kitt's.

The English commander, [illegible] disdaining to be tied down by [illegible] superiority of his enemy, [illegible] gallantly determined upon [illegible] unusually bold stroke for the [illegible] preservation of that valuable [illegible] if it was still possibly to be done, and instead of waiting to be [illegible] attacked, to astonish and confound them at once, by becoming [illegible] himself the aggressor, and attacking them at anchor.

He accordingly sailed from Carlisle Bay to Antigua, where he took Gen. Prescot, and the [illegible] troops that could be afforded, on board, and from thence proceeding in the evening for Basse-Terre Road, where the enemy lay at anchor, began at day-break to form his line of battle, for the purpose of bearing down upon and attacking them.

The accident of two ships running foul of each other, interrupted the prosecution of this bold design; and the fleet was obliged to lie to for a day, during the repair of the damage done to the Alfred. A French frigate from Martinique, full of shot and ordnance stores for the siege of Brimstone-Hill, which fell into their hands at this time, seemed in some measure to atone for the delay. The Count de Grasse, who could not but be surprized at this unlooked for visit, and perhaps rejoiced at the apparent temerity of his enemy, thought it necessary to quit his anchorage, that by putting out to sea, and gaining a good offing, his ships might have full room to act, and thereby secure all the advantages of their superiority in number.

Sir Samuel Hood instantly perceived the Jan. 25th advantage

vantage to be derived from this vement. The enemy were, at -light, full in view, and med in a line of battle a-head. carried on every demonſtration an immediate and determined ack; and having thereby drawn em ſomething farther from the re, he then puſhed on directly Baſſe-Terre Road, and took ſſeſſion of that anchorage ground ich they had quitted on the ceding evening. If the ſu- rior judgment and ſeamanſhip played in this maſterly move- nt, excited the aſtoniſhment d chagrin of the enemy, a ſenſe its poſſible conſequences, in tting them off from all com- unication with their army on re, afforded no leſs room for moſt ſerious apprehenſions. pelled therefore by every mo- e, whether of defeating the ign, or of avenging the de- ption, they fell with the ut- oſt fury upon Commodore Af- ck, who commanded and cloſed rear of the Britiſh ſquadron, d with no ſmall hope of entirely tting off that diviſion. But that llant officer, and his two brave conds, Lord Robert Manners, d Capt. Cornwallis, kept up ſo ble and unceaſing a fire, that th little loſs or damage to them- lves, they in a great meaſure vered the other ſhips of the di- ſion, while they were getting to their ſtations; and after a arp conflict, the French were bliged to bear off.

The next morning, by eight clock, the Britiſh line was at- cked from van to rear, by the hole force of the enemy; who, fter an action of two hours, in hich they were not capable of making the ſmalleſt viſible im- preſſion, ſtood off again to ſea, Count de Graſſe, not yet diſcou- raged, renewed the engagement in the afternoon, directing his attack principally againſt the center and rear diviſions, which he hoped to overwhelm by the great ſuperiority of his force; but he was again repulſed with greater loſs and damage than before. His own ſhip, the Ville de Paris, ſuf- fered ſeverely, and received no leſs than eighty-four ſhot in her hull. Her damage was ſo great, that on the ſucceeding days ſhe was obliged, in the ſeaman's phraſe, to be *heeled*; that is, laid partly on her ſide, and that in the view of the Engliſh, in order to plug and cover the ſhot-holes. It was ſaid, that the French ſent a thouſand wounded to St. Euſta- tius. The loſs in the Engliſh ſquadron, in all the attacks, amounted to 72 killed, and 244 wounded. From that time, the enemy kept at a guarded diſtance, but ſtill continued conſtantly in ſight.

The ſucceſs of this bold adven- ture opened very flattering proſ- pects. The preſervation of the iſland was not only in view, but it was to be hoped that the in- vading foe would have met with ſuch difficulties in getting his forces clear off, as might have afforded him ſufficient cauſe to repent his temerity. No doubt was entertained, that Brimſtone- Hill was capable of making a long defence, and the iſland was incа- pable of long maintaining the French army. Sir George Rodney was every hour expected with ſuch a reinforcement from England, as would have afforded a ſuperiority

to the British fleet; and under such circumstances, the Marquis de Bouille's situation would have been not a little critical.

We are to see how affairs in the island corresponded with these hopes. Besides the effects incident to that dissatisfaction of the people which we have mentioned, they had a melancholy example before their eyes of the ruin, which a brave and generous, but ineffectual defence, had brought upon their neighbours in the island of Tobago. The justice, humanity, generosity, and other eminent qualities, displayed by the Marquis de Bouille in the conquered islands, served much to lessen the horrors of a French government, with those who were far from being satisfied with the proceedings of their own; while the losses and untoward events of the war, as they damped hope, necessarily repressed exertion. A real, or tacit and understood neutrality, seemed accordingly to operate on the side of the inhabitants from the first arrival of the enemy.

About 350 of the militia were, however, led by Gov. Shirley, to reinforce Brig. Gen. Fraser's small garrison at Brimstone-Hill, and continued to the last, bravely to encounter all the dangers, and patiently to endure all the hardships of the siege. That hill rises on the sea-shore, within a small distance of Sandy Point, the second town of the island, and about four leagues from Basse-Terre, where the enemy landed, which is considered as the capital. On the night of their landing, and the following morning, the French closely invested Brimstone-Hill on all sides. The powerful artillery which had been destined to the attack on Barbadoes, was now attempted to be disembarked at Sandy-Hook, as they had no means of conveying it by land from Basse-Terre. The ship which conveyed the most heavy and effective part of it, together with a prodigious quantity of shells, balls and ordnance stores, struck upon the rocks, and went to the bottom. This loss, with the subsequent capture by the British squadron, of the frigate which was bringing a fresh supply from Martinique, seemed to augur favourably to the garrison. But the enemy were not to be discouraged by common accidents or disappointments. They fished up with great perseverance and industry, no small part of the artillery, shells and stores that had been sunk; the men of war brought more heavy artillery from Martinique, which they landed at Sandy-Point; and the means provided for the protection and defence of the garrison, were, by a strange fatality, most lamentably perverted to their destruction.

For, eight brass twenty-four pounders, with 6,000 balls of the calibre, together with two thirteen inch brass mortars, and 1,500 shells, all which had been sent out by government to the support of that fortress, had not, through some strange circumstance, of which we are not perfectly informed, been carried up to the works; and were all found by the enemy at the foot of the hill, and proved a most seasonable and necessary supply to them in the prosecution of the siege.

The hill is naturally very strong,

the approaches to it are
lt, and the aſcent to it ſo
, as not to require much ar-
cial aid, to enable a few men
repel any ſudden aſſault. But
works and buildings at the
were in no degree anſwerable
the ſtrength of the ſituation;
were little calculated to with-
nd the batteries of heavy can-
n and mortars, which the un-
turbed poſſeſſion of the adjoin-
g country, and the weakneſs of
garriſon, enabled the enemy
eſtabliſh, at the moſt conve-
nt diſtances, and in the moſt
vantageous poſitions. It can-
t but appear ſurprizing, that
er ſo long a war, and ſo much
ighbouring and expected dan-
r, the garriſon ſhould be totally
ſtitute of entrenching tools; a
oper ſupply of which, in ſo pe-
liar a ſituation, would have af-
rded abundant reſources, even
the very laſt extremity.

The Marquis de Bouille, how-
er, found the adventure at-
nded with ſo much difficulty,
at he carried on his approaches,
d opened trenches, under all
e formalities of the moſt regular
ege. He had eſtabliſhed his head
uarters at Sandy-Point; but the
arriſon ſoon ſet the town on fire;
nd then played their heavy cannon
nd mortars with ſuch effect from
e hill that the French could not
ttempt to extinguiſh the flame,
ntil it was entirely conſumed.
hey likewiſe continued a moſt
igorous fire, which greatly in-
ommoded the enemy in all their
pproaches, through the whole
ege; and had the fortune in its
rogreſs to blow up a powder ma-
azine, which was attended with
he loſs of ſeveral men. As the
French had no ſubſtitute for hu-
man labour and ſtrength in the
removal of their artillery and
heavy ſtores from the ſhore to the
reſpective batteries, which were
conſtructed all round the hill;
the toil and fatigue of the troops,
in ſuch a climate, could not but
have been exceſſive. The trenches
were opened in the night between
the 16th and 17th of January.

As ſoon as the Engliſh admiral
had gained poſſeſſion of the an-
chorage, one of the firſt objects
with him and Gen. Preſcot, was
to convey an officer, with an ac-
count of their ſituation and cir-
cumſtances, to the commanders at
Brimſtone-Hill. This was ſuc-
ceſsfully performed, and the offi-
cer returned as ſafely. Both the
governor and brigadier-general
ſeem at that time to have placed a
greater reliance in the ſtrength of
the place than the event fully
juſtified. They, however, re-
queſted, that an able naval offi-
cer, with a few ſeamen, might,
if poſſible, be conveyed to the
garriſon, for the better manage-
ment of their artillery.

The general had brought the
28th regiment, and two companies
of the 13th, with him, from An-
tigua; and the 69th had come
with the fleet from Barbadoes.
Upon receiving information of
the confidence and ſpirit which
prevailed in the garriſon, the
admiral propoſed to him, that if
he thought a poſt could be main-
tained on ſhore, he would land
two battalions of marines, of 700
rank and file each, which, with
the regimental troops, would com-
poſe a body of about 2,400 men.
Gen. Preſcot did not think it
practicable to maintain ſuch a

poſt; but was ſanguine in his deſire of being put on ſhore, with the Antigua troops, and the 60th regiment. This was accordingly done, and a ſmart ſkirmiſh immediately took place, with a part of the Iriſh brigade, who were ſtationed at Baſſe-Terre. Our troops drove the enemy before them with conſiderable loſs. About forty of our troops were killed or wounded; and a loſs of double the number was acknowledged on the other ſide. This brought the Marquis de Bouille on the following morning, with 4,000 men, from Sandy-Point. But he found Gen. Preſcot ſo advantageouſly poſted on a hill cloſe to the ſea, that he did not venture the attack, and led his troops back to the ſiege. As no object was to be gained by continuing on ſhore, Gen. Preſcot re-embarked on the ſame evening.

Jan. 28th.

The vigilance of the enemy was now ſo extreme, that all communication with the garriſon of Brimſtone-Hill was totally cut off. Capt. Curgenven, with a few brave volunteer ſeamen, who boldly attempted to reinforce the garriſon, were not only foiled in the attempt, but expoſed to imminent danger; and a number of officers, who knew all the private roads and paths of the iſland, and who adventured ſingly the taſk of attempting to convey letters or meſſages, were all detected and taken priſoners.

Their vigilance was equalled by the unremitting induſtry and labour with which they proſecuted their works, and the inceſſant fury of their attack. Batteries were multiplied upon batteries all round the hill; and for the laſt three weeks of the ſiege, they were conſtantly, night and day, cannonading and bombarding the garriſon. During the greater part of that time, all the force and effect of 23 pieces of heavy cannon, and of 24 large mortars, was directed againſt a ſpot of ground, whoſe greateſt diameter did not exceed 200 yards; and new batteries were ready to be opened at the end. All the houſes and covert on the top of the hill, were conſumed or blown to pieces early in the ſiege, and the works were every where crumbling to their baſe in its progreſs. The garriſon, though every day thinned by the number killed and wounded, yet far from ſinking under their growing weakneſs, bore the inceſſant fatigue of being under arms night and day, and the increaſing danger, with wonderful patience and fortitude. Only one man deſerted through the whole ſiege.

The admiral underwent the painful mortification of underſtanding their diſtreſs and danger by ſignals from the garriſon, without having it in his power to adminiſter relief, or even to convey information or counſel to the commanders. At length, the works on one ſide being ſo deſtroyed as to form an entire and perfect breach, almoſt all the guns being diſmounted or diſabled, and there not being much above 500 men left who were able to go through duty, both the governor and brigadier-general thought it would be highly ungrateful as well as imprudent, to ſtake the lives of ſo brave and deſerving a garriſon, upon the hazardous iſſue of an aſſault; and wherein, the greateſt ſucceſs that could

Feb. 8th.

ould be hoped, would not by any eans extricate them from the fficulties of their ſituation. They had been before ſum- oned by the Marquis de Bouille, pon the ground, that the retreat f Gen. Preſcot's detachment, ad left them no farther room to ope for ſuccour; and he now 13th. eagerly embraced the pro- poſal of a capitulation. very condition they propoſed, hether in favour of the garriſon the iſland, was agreed to. The ormer were allowed all the hon- rs of war in the fulleſt ſenſe. he regular troops, conſiſting of e 1ſt battalion of the Royal cotch, and the flank companies f the 15th regiment, were tranſ- itted to England, until their ex- hange. The iſland was upon the eſt footing that it could be under capitulation. And the Marquis e Bouille, with his wonted mag- animity, diſcharged, by a parti- ular article, as an avowed ac- nowledgement of their gallantry, Gov. Shirley, and Brig. Gen. raſer, from the condition of eing conſidered as priſoners of ar, declaring that the firſt might eturn to his government of An- igua, and the latter continue in e ſervice of his country.

The ſurrender of Brimſtone- Hill, and capitulation of the land, rendered the longer ſtay of e Engliſh ſquadron on the an- horage ground at Baſſe-Terre, qually uſeleſs and dangerous; or the enemy were preparing to rect gun and mortar batteries pon ſome neighbouring eminen- es, which would have command- d, at leaſt, a part of the ſhip- ing. Sir Samuel Hood there- ore determined upon quitting his ſituation; but the means of car- rying the deſign into execution, were not a little difficult. The French had been juſt joined by two ſhips of the line from France; ſo that M. de Graſſe now poſſeſſed the decided ſuperiority of 34 to 22 line of battle ſhips. It was like- wiſe, independent of this ine- quality of force, the great object of the Engliſh admiral, now that the preſervation of the iſland was no longer in view, to preſerve his ſquadron as whole, and in as per- fect condition, for the junction with Sir George Rodney, as it was poſſible to be done; well knowing, that even the ordinary effects of a partial engagement, might prove the means of crip- pling the further operations of the fleet, in a ſeaſon, perhaps, the moſt critical that could poſſibly be imagined. It was likewiſe ne- ceſſary, if an engagement ſhould become inevitable on leaving the iſland, that the ſquadron ſhould form as compact a body as poſſible, in order the more effectually to reſiſt the vaſt ſuperiority of force againſt them; and this purpoſe could only be attained, by all the ſhips being, as nearly as it could be done, under ſail at the ſame moment. Upon all theſe accounts, on the night after the capitulation, the enemy's fleet lying within five miles, and their lights full in view, the Engliſh ſquadron ſlip- ped their cables, and put out to ſea, without obſtruction or pur- ſuit.

The iſlands of Nevis and Mont- ſerrat followed the fortune of St. Chriſtopher's; ſo that of all our former numerous poſſeſſions in the Weſt-Indies, Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua, now only remained,

It

It was ſaid, that the reduction of Brimſtone-Hill coſt the French a thouſand men.

The deſign againſt Jamaica, which had been ſo often adopted, and, through a ſeemingly peculiar fortune, ſo often laid aſide or deferred, was now revived with more vigour, under a greater preparation, and with a more aſſured confidence of ſucceſs, than ever. The Spaniards had a powerful fleet, and a great body of land forces, in the iſlands of Hiſpaniola and Cuba, who were amply furniſhed with abundant proviſion for war, and in readineſs to join the Count de Graſſe in the attack upon that iſland. The naval force of the two crowns in the Weſt-Indies, ſoon after the reduction of St. Kitt's, amounted to not leſs than ſixty ſhips of the line; and their land forces, if joined, would have formed a conſiderable army. Jamaica had nothing to oppoſe to this mighty force, but ſix battalions of regular troops, (which muſt always be conſidered on Weſt-India ſervice, as having a numerous train of ineffectives) and the militia of the iſland. The high ſpirit of the inhabitants, with the goodneſs of the troops, and the great natural ſtrength of the country, joined to the effects of the climate operating upon the moſt ſevere and continual duty, would, however, have rendered the conqueſt a matter of the greateſt doubt and difficulty, and the war exceedingly tedious and bloody. But in all events, the ruin of the iſland, and the annihilation of its immenſe property, muſt have been the immediate conſequence of ſo arduous a conflict.

The arrival of Sir George Rodney with twelve ſail of the line at Barbadoes, on the 19th of February, and his ſubſequent junction with Sir Samuel Hood's ſquadron, though later than was hoped and expected, and too late for the preſervation of the iſland of St. Kitt's, or for the attainment of thoſe great objects which might poſſibly have been within reach, had it taken place during the reſiſtance of Brimſtone-Hill, was, however, moſt fortunately decreed, to break in upon the thread of this deſign againſt Jamaica. A ſimilar piece of good fortune, and tending to the ſame object, was the diſaſter which befel M. de Guichen's fleet and convoy, after the ſucceſsful attack made upon the latter by Admiral Kempenfeldt. For they were ſo ſhattered and diſabled, almoſt immediately after that firſt miſadventure, by a continued ſucceſſion of tempeſts and foul weather, that only two of the men of war, with a very ſmall proportion, if any, of the convoy, could hold on their courſe to join M. de Graſſe; and the remainder of the fleet were obliged to return in very bad condition to France. It ſeemed indeed, under the eagerneſs and violence of the preſent war, that both France and England would ſet even the ſeaſons at defiance in their naval enterprize and hoſtility; but both nations, upon ſeveral occaſions, paid ſeverely for their temerity.

In a few days after the junction of the ſquadrons under Sir George Rodney and Admiral Hood, the fleet was farther reinforced by the arrival of three ſhips of the line from England. The firſt object with

with the Engliſh Admiral, was to intercept a ſecond convoy from Breſt, which ſailed from that place on the 11th of February, in order to ſupply the failure of the former, and was conveying naval ſtores, artillery, ammunition, and all other ſupplies to the Count de Graſſe, which were either neceſſary for the preſent repair and fitting out of his fleet, or for the further ſupport and execution of the great object he had in view. For this purpoſe he diſpoſed of his fleet in a line to windward of the French iſlands, ſtretching from the latitude of Deſeada to that of St. Vincent; with a line of frigates ſtill farther to windward; thus covering the courſe from Europe in ſuch a manner, that it was thought impoſſible for any number of ſhips in company to avoid being entangled in the barrier. The French convoy had, however, the addreſs, by making the iſland of Deſeada to the northward, getting to leeward of our fleet, and creeping cloſe in under the land of Guadaloupe and Dominique, to eſcape the danger, and to arrive ſafe in Fort-Royal Bay, where they found the Count de Graſſe buſy in repairing his ſhips, and brought him the means of ſpeedily equipping his fleet for the new intended ſervice. This unlooked-for diſappointment was a ſevere check to the hopes of the Britiſh admiral, and left him nothing farther for the preſent to do, than to return to Gros Iſlet Bay, in St. Lucia, there to refit his ſhips, to take in ſuch a ſupply of water, ſtores and proviſions, as would qualify the fleet for long ſervice, and to keep a ſtrict watch, by the means of his frigates, upon the preparation and movements of the enemy in Fort-Royal Bay; taking care, above all things, to be ready to put to ſea at the inſtant that he ſhould receive notice of their making a ſimilar diſpoſition.

March 20th.

The objects of the hoſtile commanders were not leſs oppoſite than their intereſts. It was the buſineſs and deſign of the Count de Graſſe to avoid fighting by all poſſible means, until he had formed a junction with the French and Spaniſh fleets at Hiſpaniola; when their combined force would have been ſo vaſtly ſuperior, as to forbid every attempt on the ſide of England by ſea, to obſtruct their deſigns during the campaign. On the other ſide, the ſalvation of the Weſt-Indies, with the whole fortune and hope of the war, depended upon the Britiſh commanders preventing the junction, or at leaſt their bringing on a cloſe and deciſive engagement with the Count de Graſſe, before it took place. Such were the ſtakes depending upon a ſhift of wind, upon other the moſt uſual caſualties of weather, and upon the numerous accidents and diſappointments to which all naval movements and operations are peculiarly liable. Nothing could be more periloufly critical.

The Britiſh fleet at St. Lucia amounted to 36 ſhips of the line. The force under M. de Graſſe at Martinique, only to 34. We except from the latter account, two ſhips of the line armed en flute, and two fifty-fours; the former not being in either engagement, and the laſt, if preſent, acting only as frigates. The accounts

vary

vary greatly as to the number actually engaged. We here adhere to the written order for the line of battle, signed by M. de Graſſe himſelf, and which ſeems confirmed upon an eſtimate of the general teſtimony. The French fleet ſeems to have been rather over-manned, (though if it be an error, it is a general and national one) and beſides a full complement of ſeamen, had near 6,000 land forces on board. The Ville de Paris, of 110 guns, De Graſſe's own ſhip, had not leſs than 1,300 men, including ſoldiers, on board; and the French ſeventy-fours carried 900 men each. Their metal is always heavier than that of the Engliſh, in equal rates; but ſeveral of their ſhips were only in indifferent condition. The Engliſh had five ninety-gun ſhips, which was their higheſt rate; and the French had eight of 80 and 84 guns each, beſides the Ville de Paris, which was conſidered as the pride and bulwark of their fleet. So that upon the whole, if an exact eſtimate were made of the force on both ſides, oppoſing ſuperior weight of metal in larger ſhips, and a much greater number of men, on the one, to the advantages of better condition, two ſhips more in number, and a ſomewhat greater number of guns, on the other, the comparative balance would probably be found tolerably even, and it would appear, that contending fleets do not often happen to meet upon more equal terms.

The van of the Engliſh was commanded by Sir Samuel Hood, the centre by Sir George Rodney, and the rear by Admiral Francis Drake. The ſhips were in good condition; and perhaps a ſet of more brave and able officers were never joined in the command of an equal number, in any conflict. The three diviſions of the French fleet were commanded by the Count de Graſſe, M. de Vaudreuil, and M. de Bougainville, who were all diſtinguiſhed commanders.

The French fleet began to turn out of the harbour at Fort-Royal by the break of day on the 8th of April, with a great convoy under their protection, all bound to leeward, and intending to fall down to the French or Spaniſh ports in Hiſpaniola. But as M. de Graſſe had every reaſon for wiſhing to avoid any encounter on his paſſage, inſtead of puſhing, as his courſe was, directly to leeward, which would have laid him open to the fair and unremitted chace of his purſuers, and which it would have been impoſſible to evade in an open ſea, with ſo conſtant a wind, he thought it more adviſeable to keep cloſe in under the iſlands, until he had eluded the purſuit. The adoption of this courſe ſeemed to promiſe many advantages. The French being better acquainted with the coaſts, could keep much cloſer to the land than the Engliſh would dare to adventure, and keeping the convoy between him and the ſhore, he hoped to throw them off entirely to leeward; the ſeveral channels between the iſlands were likewiſe better known to the French; and theſe, with the great diverſity of winds and paſſages which they afforded, ſeemed to hold out inexhauſtible means of baffling the purſuit of an enemy.

His conduct, however, in this buſineſs

ſineſs has been queſtioned, and obably without due conſidera-on, on two grounds; firſt, for tting to ſea at all, and again, r encumbering himſelf with the nvoy. With reſpect to the firſt, e great object he had in view, t only warranted ſome hazard, t perhaps any thing ſhort of ecifion; nor could his inactivity that time, when ſo great a force as waiting for him to leeward, d the hopes of both nations were highly raiſed, ever be juſtified, ther to his country or to the orld. The arduous ſituation of commander in chief, obliges him look to his own character, and the public opinion, as well as the public ſervice. Thoſe who now danger only in theory, and who are little informed as to cir-mſtances, are ſeldom merciful their cenſure or opinion of a ommander, who is ſuppoſed to iſs any favourite object through e want of fighting. Neither was e without reaſons for hoping, that an action ſhould take place, it ight have been rendered partial nd indecifive. As to the convoy, does not ſeem that the French ommander could have been at all arranted, in leaving it locked up n Fort-Royal-Bay.

The movements of the enemy, nd their departure from that bay, ere ſo ſpeedily communicated by ignals from the frigates upon the atch, and the Engliſh fleet were n ſuch excellent preparation, that he whole were clear of Groſs-Iſlet-Bay by noon, and purſued them with the utmoſt expedition; ſo hat the French gained only a few ours, by being maſters of the ime of departure. This unequal-ed diligence, and the general ar-dour, which it might be ſaid added wings to the fleet, brought them within ſight of the ene-my, under Dominique, on that very night; and they afterwards regulated the purſuit by their ſig-nals.

So ſudden a preſſure could not have been expected by M. de Graſſe. He, however, like a pre-pared and accompliſhed comman-der, immediately ſuited himſelf to the emergency, and though fighting was by no means his ob-ject, he formed the line of battle to windward betimes in the morn-ing, thereby affording an oppor-tunity to his convoy to proceed on their courſe, whilſt he ſtood to abide the conſequences. On the other ſide, Sir George Rodney had thrown out ſignals ſoon after five in the morning to prepare for bat-tle, to form the line at two cable lengths diſtance aſunder, and for the ſhips to fill and ſtand on. But the Engliſh fleet lay becalmed for a conſiderable time under the high lands of Dominique, while the enemy, who were farther advan-ced towards Guadaloupe, had wind enough to enable them to make the movements we have ſtated.

The breeze at length reached the van of the Engliſh fleet, and they began to cloſe with the French centre, whilſt their own centre and rear were ſtill becalmed. It is ſaid, that the Count de Graſſe might ſtill have avoided an en-gagement; but the temptation held out of falling with his whole weight upon and entirely cruſh-ing one third of his enemy's force, while thus ſeparated, was too ſtrong to be well reſiſted. The action commenced about 9 o'clock. The attack Apr. 9th.

was led by the Royal Oak, Captain Burnet, and seconded by the Alfred and the Montague, with the most impetuous bravery. The whole division were in a few minutes closely engaged, and for more than an hour were exceedingly pressed by the great superiority of the enemy. The Barfleur, Sir Samuel Hood's own ship, had at one time seven, and generally three ships firing upon her; and none of the division escaped the encounter of a very disproportionate force. Nothing could be more glorious than the firm and effective resistance with which, and without once shrinking, they sustained all the efforts of so great a superiority.

At length, and by degrees, the leading ships of the centre were enabled to come up to the assistance of the van. These were soon followed by Sir George Rodney in the Formidable, with his two seconds the Namur and Duke, all of 90 guns; who made and supported a most tremendous fire. The gallantry of a French captain of a 74 gun ship in the rear, who, opposite to Prince Rupert's Bay, having backed his main-top-sail, steadily received and bravely returned the fire of these three great ships in succession, without in the least flinching from his station, excited the highest applause and admiration of his enemies; and one of our officers could not refrain, under the immediate impulse of his enthusiasm, from calling him a "Godlike Frenchman" in a letter which he wrote home upon the occasion.

The coming up of the admiral, with a part of the centre division, rendered the fight less unequal; and M. de Grasse, notwithstanding his still great superiority, finding that his purpose had failed while the van was engaged singly, determined, by changing the nature of the action, to prevent it now becoming decisive. The command of the wind, and the connected state of his fleet, enabled him to execute this design, and to keep such a cautious distance during the remainder of the engagement, as was evidently intended to disable our ships as much as it could be done, without any considerable hazard on his own side. This sort of firing, which was extremely well supported on both sides, and produced as much effect as the distance would admit, was continued for an hour and three quarters longer; during all which time, the rest of the fleet was held back by the calms and baffling winds under Dominique. Several of our officers have condemned the failure of enterprize which appeared on the side of the enemy, in not exerting their superiority with greater effect during this interval; but it is possible, that the motives which operated with the French commander did not come within their consideration.

The mortification of the sixteen brave officers who commanded the ships in the rear, and who were doomed to be the spectators of so unequal a combat, without having it in their power to support their admiral and fellows, is much more easily to be conceived than described. About twelve o'clock, the remaining ships of the centre came up, and the rear was closing the line; upon which M. de Grasse withdrew his fleet from the action, and evaded all the efforts of the

English

English commanders for its renewal. No sea battle could be better fought than this was on both sides, so far, at least, as it suited the views of the commander on one side to admit of close action; nor has a more tremendous cannonade been known between any equal number of ships. The French commander, notwithstanding his great superiority at all times, but particularly in his first action with the van, failed entirely in his object; and his ships received much more damage, than their fire produced on the other side. Two of them were so much disabled, that they were obliged to quit the fleet, and put into Guadaloupe, by which his line was reduced to thirty-two ships; and the damage sustained by others, led to the subsequent action, and to all its decisive consequences. On our side, the Royal Oak and Montague suffered extremely; but were still capable of being so far repaired at sea, as not to be under a necessity of quitting the fleet. Captain Bayne of the Alfred, gallantly fell in this action.

The fleet lay to, on the night of the 9th, to repair their damages; and the following day was principally spent in refitting, in keeping the wind, and in transposing the rear and the van, the former of which not having been in the late action, was necessarily fitter for the active service of that division. Both fleets kept turning up to windward, in the channel which separates the islands of Dominique and Guadaloupe. It was constantly in the power of the enemy to come to action whenever they pleased, as they were always to windward; while it was impossible for the English admiral to force them, entangled, as his fleet was between those islands, and a little cluster of small ones, called the Saints, with the wind against him.

On the 11th the enemy had got so far to windward as to weather Guadaloupe, and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be descried from the masts heads of our centre. All hope of being able to come up with them seemed now at an end; and it was said to have become a question of deliberation on our side, whether to continue a chace, which appeared to be hopeless, or at once to push to leeward, and endeavour to get before them at their rendezvous?

In this critical state of things, so highly interesting to both sides, two of the French ships, which had received damage in the late action, were perceived, about noon, to fall off considerably from the rest of their fleet to leeward. This welcome sight, immediately produced signals for a general chace from the British admiral, and again renewed, throughout the fleet, the hope of coming up with the enemy. The pursuit was so vigorous, that the Agamemnon, and some others of the headmost of the British line, were coming up so fast with these ships, that they would have been assuredly cut off before evening, if their signals for assistance, and evident danger, had not induced M. de Grasse, to bear down with his whole fleet to their assistance.

This spirited movement brought things precisely to that situation, which our commanders had so ardently sought, and so little expected.

gested. It was now impossible for the enemy to avoid fighting; but the evening being too far advanced, that final decision was postponed to the morning. The pursuing ships fell back into their stations; a close line was immediately formed, and a most masterly disposition of the British fleet exhibited; while such manœuvres were practised in the night, as were necessary, at least, to preserve things in their present state, and might possibly produce casual advantage. The wind generally hawls to the northwards towards evening in the West-India islands, and to make the most of this circumstance, our fleet stood to the southward until two in the morning, and then tacked with their heads to the northward. On the other side, the enemy being sensible that the die was now cast, prepared with the greatest resolution for battle, and only considered how to abide the issue, with the best grace and countenance possible.

The scene of action may be considered as a moderately large bason of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominique, the Saints, and Marigalante; and bounded both to windward and leeward by very dangerous shores. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks. The battle commenced about seven o'clock in the morning, and was continued with unremitting fury until near the same hour in the evening. Admiral Drake, whose division led to action, gained the greatest applause and the highest honour, by the gallantry with which he received, and the effect with which he returned, the fire of the whole French line. His leading ship the Marlborough, Captain Penny, was peculiarly distinguished. She received and returned, at the nearest distances, the first fire of twenty three French ships of war; and had the fortune only to have three men killed, and sixteen wounded.

The signal for close fighting had from the first been thrown out, and was, without a single exception, punctually observed. The line was formed at only a cable length's distance. Our ships, as they came up, ranged slowly and closely along the enemy's line, and close under their lee, where they gave and received a most tremendous fire. They were so near, that every shot took place; and the French ships being so full of men, the carnage in them was prodigious. We may form some opinion of the havock that was made, from the Formidable, Sir George Rodney's ship, firing near fourscore broadsides; and we may well believe that she was not singular. The French stood and returned this dreadful fire with the utmost gallantry; and both sides fought, as if the fate and the honour of their respective countries were staked upon the issue of that single day.

About noon, or not long after, Sir George Rodney, in the Formidable, with his seconds the Namur and Duke, and immediately supported by the Canada, bore directly, with full sail, athwart the enemy's line, and successfully broke through it, about three ships short of the centre, where M. de Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Being followed and nobly supported by the ships a-stern of his division, he wore round

nd upon his heel, and thus ubling upon the enemy, and ing up with their centre, com- ted the ſeparation of their line, d threw them into inextricable nfuſion. This bold puſh decid- the fortune of the day. The nch, however, continued ſtill fight with the utmoſt bravery, d the battle laſted till ſunſet; nich in thoſe latitudes is almoſt mediately ſucceeded by dark- ſs.

The inſtant that the admiral ore, after breaking through the emy's line, he threw out a ſig- l for the van to tack; and this ing as immediately complied ith by Admiral Drake, our fleet ereby got to windward of the emy, and completed the general nfuſion. The French van bore ay to leeward, in an endeavour reform their broken line; but is they were never able to ac- mpliſh; the diſmay and diſor- r in that part of their line a- ern, was irretrievable. Sir Sa- uel Hood's diviſion had been ng becalmed, and thereby kept at of action; the coming up now his leading ſhips, and a part of is centre, as far at leaſt, as the arfleur, which he commanded imſelf, ſerved to render the vic- ory more deciſive on the one ſide, nd the ruin greater on the other.

The broken ſtate of the French eet, neceſſarily expoſed, in ſome nſtances, a few ſhips to the at- acks of a greater number; and he extent of the action, with he darkneſs and uncertainty oc- aſioned by the ſmoke, afforded ven opportunities, which might ave been leſs expected, for ſingle ombat. The Canada of 74 guns, Capt. Cornwallis, took the French Hector, of the ſame force, ſingle hand. Captain Ingleſield, in the Centaur of 74 guns, came up from the rear, to the attack of the Ceſar, of 74 likewiſe. Both ſhips were yet freſh and unhurt, and a moſt gallant action took place; but though the French captain had evidently much the worſt of the combat, he ſtill diſdained to yield. Three other ſhips came up ſucceſſively, and he bore to be torn almoſt to pieces by their fire. His courage was inflexible; he is ſaid to have nailed his colours to the maſt, and his death only could put an end to the conteſt. When ſhe ſtruck, her maſt went overboard, and ſhe had not a foot of canvas without a ſhot hole. The Glorieux likewiſe fought nobly; and did not ſtrike, until her maſts, bow-ſprit, and enſign were ſhot away. The Engliſh Ardent, of 64 guns, which had been taken by the enemy in the beginning of the war, near Plymouth, was now retaken, either by the Belliqueux, or the Bedford. The Diadem, a French 74 gun ſhip, went down by a ſingle broadſide, which ſome accounts attribute to the Formidable; it has alſo been ſaid, that ſhe was loſt in a generous exertion to ſave her admiral.

M. de Graſſe was nobly ſupported, even after the line was broken, and until the diſorder and confuſion became irremediable towards evening, by the ſhips that were near him. His two ſeconds, the Languedoc and Couronne, were particularly diſtinguiſhed; and the former narrowly eſcaped being taken, in her laſt efforts to extricate the admiral. The Ville de Paris, after being already much battered, was cloſely laid along

ſide by the Canada; and in a deſperate action of near two hours, was reduced almoſt to a wreck. Captain Cornwallis was ſo intent in his deſign upon the French admiral, that without taking poſſeſſion of the Hector, he left her to be picked up by a frigate, while he puſhed on to the Ville de Paris. It ſeemed as if M. de Graſſe was determined to ſink, rather than ſtrike to any thing under a flag; but he likewiſe undoubtedly conſidered the fatal effects which the ſtriking of his flag might produce on the reſt of the fleet. Other ſhips came up in the heel of the action with the Canada; but he ſtill held out. At length Sir Samuel Hood came up in the Barfleur, juſt almoſt at ſunſet, and poured in a moſt tremendous and deſtructive fire, which is ſaid to have killed ſixty men outright; but M. de Graſſe, wiſhing to ſignalize, as much as poſſible, the loſs of ſo fine and ſo favourite a ſhip, endured the repetitions of this fire for about a quarter of an hour longer. He then ſtruck his flag to the Barfleur, and ſurrendered himſelf to Sir Samuel Hood. It was ſaid, that at the time the Ville de Paris ſtruck, there were but three men left alive and unhurt on the upper deck, and that the Count de Graſſe was one of the three.

Upon the whole, the ſea has not often exhibited a more noble naval and military conteſt; and if we were diſpoſed to adopt the ſounding language ſometimes uſed on the continent, it might be ſaid, without much extravagance of hyperbole, that miracles and prodigies of valour were performed on both ſides. The Ceſar, which was one of the beſt ſhips in the Frenc fleet, was unfortunately ſet fire, and blew up in the night the action. This happened th the inordinate behaviour of t French priſoners, who throw off all obedience to their offic from the time ſhe ſtruck, and f ing the Engliſh on board too f in number effectually to reſtr their ill conduct, were guilty the greateſt enormities. A lie tenant, and fifty Engliſh ſeame periſhed with about 400 priſoner

The advantage of cloſe fightin with Engliſh ſhips and ſeame was never more happily exempl fied, or more demonſtrably ſhew than in this action. The loſs men on the ſide of the enemy w prodigious. Three thouſand a ſaid to have periſhed every way and double that number to ha been wounded. We are far fro conſidering theſe eſtimates as e tirely accurate, and the latter, particular, is probably too large but it is undoubted, that there we more men killed in the Ville d Paris, and in ſome other ſingl French ſhips, than in the whol Engliſh line. The ſhips likewi ſuffered extremely, and the flee in general was little leſs than ruin ed; while, on the other ſide, a ſquadron of Britiſh ſhips wer freſh and fit for action at the clo of the day. It is to be obſerved, that the ſmall ſuperiority as to th number of ſhips on the Engliſh ſide, did not contribute any thing to the ſucceſs of the day; as more ſhips of Sir Samuel Hood's divi ſion, than that difference amount ed to, were held back through the want of wind, from coming into action. It would be of little avail, and entirely beſide our purpoſe,

attempt any enquiry into the ſes of that ſuperiority which iſh ſeamen poſſeſs in cloſe t; but the fact ſeems to be bliſhed.

The loſs of men in the Britiſh t was wonderfully ſmall, con- ring the length and violence he battle, the prodigiouſneſs he fire, the nearneſs of the batants, and the obſtinate bra- of the enemy. The whole nber killed and wounded, in two actions of the 9th and (for no ſeparate liſts have given) amounted only to o, of which 253 were killed n the ſpot. It is obſervable, the ſlain in the Ville de Paris , was ſaid to amount, at leaſt, oo. The brave Captain Blair he Anſon, who, in the pre- ng year, had moſt gallantly ht the Dolphin againſt the ch, in the north-ſea action er Admiral Hyde Parker, fell iouſly on this day. The loſs Lord Robert Manners, ſon of late Marquis of Granby, and her to the Duke of Rutland, univerſally lamented by the on as well as the navy. That ant young nobleman, in the mand of the Reſolution of 74 s, had been highly diſtinguiſh- during the war, by a ſeries of moſt brilliant actions; and g moſt grievouſly wounded in battle, (though with fair es of recovery from the excel- y of his conſtitution) was, to great loſs of his country and ſervice, carried off by a locked , a few days after, on his paſ- to England.

Thirty-ſix cheſts of money, deſ- d to the pay and ſubſiſtence of troops in the deſigned invaſion of Jamaica, were found in the Ville de Paris. The peculiar circumſtances of that ſhip with reſpect to her name and origin, as well as her greatneſs and beauty, rendered her a prize not a little flattering to the victors. She had been a preſent from the city of Paris to Lewis the 15th, in that fallen ſtate of the French marine, which prevailed towards the cloſe of the former ruinous war, ſuſtained by that nation againſt England. No pains or expence were ſpared, to render the gift worthy of that great city, and of the monarch to whom it was preſented; ſo that ſhe was ſaid to have coſt 176,000 l. ſterling, in her building and fitting out for ſea. It ſeemed to be a ſingular fortune, that the whole train of artillery, with the battering cannon, and travelling carriages, intended for the attack on Jamaica, happened to be on board the ſhips which were now taken.

As it grew dark, the admiral thought it neceſſary, in order to keep the fleet collected, to ſecure the prizes, and to afford time for enquiring into the ſtate and condition of the ſhips that had ſuffered in the action, to bring to for the night. The routed enemy made off to leeward, in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion; and were totally out of ſight in the morning. The rout and diſmay had been continued and increaſed, by the cloſe purſuit of Commodore Affleck in the Bedford, and ſome other of the Britiſh ſhips, who kept an unceaſing fire upon them until it was quite dark. Some ran down for ſhelter and relief to the Dutch iſland of Curaçoa; which was but in indifferent con-

dition for affording either. The greater part, however, under Monſieurs de Bougainville, and de Vaudrevil, keeping together in a body, made the beſt of their way to Cape Francois. It was evident, that a few hours longer day light, would have produced the deſtruction of the whole French fleet.

Sir George Rodney attempted to purſue the enemy on the following morning; but the fleet was becalmed under Guadaloupe for three days ſucceſſively after the battle, which afforded the moſt happy opportunity that could happen for the eſcape of the enemy. The admiral having at length examined the bays and harbours of the neighbouring iſlands, and being ſatisfied that they were gone to leeward, diſpatched Sir Samuel Hood, (whoſe diviſion, as we have already obſerved, being in the rear, and coming up late, had ſuffered but little in the battle) to the weſt end of St. Domingo, or Hiſpaniola, in the hope that he might be able to pick up ſome of their diſabled ſhips; he himſelf following with the reſt of the fleet under an eaſy ſail, in order to rejoin him off Cape Tiberoon.

Succeſsful, glorious, and highly important in its conſequences as this action was, yet it did not paſs entirely free from a certain degree of criticiſm and cenſure. It has been ſaid, both in the ſervice and out, that if the enemy had been inſtantly purſued, when they ran to leeward in the evening, the fleet would thereby have eſcaped the calm which detained it ſo long under Guadaloupe, and that very few, if any, of the French ſhips could have eſcaped; whereby, they ſay, the battle would have held a foremoſt pl amongſt thoſe the moſt glori and the moſt happily deciſive their conſequences, that are corded in hiſtory. Without tering into the merits of a tion, of which we cannot be petent judges, it may in gen be obſerved, that great and ſig ſervice ſhould be received gratitude, in whatever way, wi out diſhonour, it is perform that too ſtrict a ſcrutiny in caſes ſeems invidious; for that human action is liable to fault to error; but that where the g greatly predominates, it ſho ſpread like gold in fully cover over the imperfection. Thi will appear in a very differ point of view upon a cool re ſpect, and with a full knowle of all the circumſtances on b ſides, from what they would the ſame perſons, under all circumſtances and impreſſions, doubt, hurry, uncertainty, even abſolute ignorance as to m eſſential matters, incident to long fought, arduous, and en five naval battle. The old ſervation, that the lookers o gameſters, though greatly in rior in knowledge and judgm will eaſily perceive thoſe blots errors, which paſs unnoticed the parties immediately conce ed, will apply with equal juſtne to thoſe who fight, and to th who talk or judge of battles.

Sir Samuel Hood proceeded the execution of his commiſ with ſuch alacrity and diſpat that on the very day after his departure April 10 from the fleet, he deſcried five of French veſſels, in the M paſſage, which ſeparates the iſl

Porto Rico from Hiſpaniola. general chace immediately en- d; and after ſeveral hours pur- it, the Valiant and Magnifi- nt of 74 guns each, having far tſailed the reſt of the ſquadron, me up with, and after a ſhort gagement took, the Jaſon and aton, French ſhips of war of 64 ns each, together with two of e frigates which were in their mpany. The third frigate, when on the point of being taken, d the fortune to eſcape, by an expected ſhift of wind in her vour. The two French ſhips of e line loſt a number of men, d ſuffered greatly otherwiſe in is ſhort action; while the loſs the two Engliſh ſhips was very ifling.

Thus the enemy loſt eight ſhips the line by the late action; ſix theſe were in the poſſeſſion of e Engliſh, one had been ſunk, nd the Ceſar blown up after her pture. Four other of their ſhips d got into Curaçoa, and the rench commanders were for ſe- eral weeks totally ignorant of their te; ſo that no leſs than twelve il of their line was miſſing, and r any thing that was yet known, e whole were either loſt or taken.

Sir Samuel Hood joined the eet off Cape Tiberoon; and the nemy having now no force to indward, Sir George Rodney roceeded with the diſabled ſhips nd the prizes to Jamaica; as ell for their repair, as for the reater ſecurity of the iſland, if he combined enemy ſhould ſtill venture to make any attempt to- wards the proſecution of their for- ner deſign. He arrived there by he end of April; and nothing could be more glorious, or more flattering to human nature, than the real triumph, though without its antient oſtenſive and odious forms, which he enjoyed upon that occaſion. The inhabitants of that iſland, which had been ſo long marked out for war and ruin, and menaced by a preparation and force ſo vaſt, as had hitherto been unknown in the new world, not only ſaw themſelves at once freed from the danger, but beheld the principal commander of that armament which had been ſo long and ſo great an object of their terror, himſelf brought a priſoner into the intended ſcene of his hoſtility and conqueſt, and accompanied by ſix of thoſe capital ſhips, now under Engliſh colours and command, which had ſo lately been the deſtined inſtruments of their deſtruction.

Indeed the fortune of Sir George Rodney, had been peculiarly ſingular, as well as highly glorious in the preſent war. Within a little more than two years, he had given a ſevere blow to each of our three powerful and dangerous enemies, the French, Spaniards and Dutch. He had taken an admiral of each nation; a circumſtance perhaps unequalled. He had, in that time, added twelve line of battle ſhips, all taken from the enemy, to the Britiſh navy; and deſtroyed five more. And to render the whole ſtill more ſingularly remarkable, the Ville de Paris is ſaid to be the only firſt rate man of war that ever was taken, and carried into port, by any commander of any nation. It would not be eaſy, after ſuch inſtances, conſidered in all their circumſtances,

to deny that fortune has her peculiar favourites.

The admiral had left Sir Samuel Hood, with about twenty-five ſhips of the line, to keep the ſea, and watch the motions of the combined enemy at Hiſpaniola. For they were ſtill formidable both by ſea and land, at leaſt with reſpect to numbers and appearance. The Spaniards had 16 ſhips of the line, and about 8000 troops, at Cape Francois; ſeveral French men of war, of the ſame deſcription, and on the ſame deſign, had been through the year upon that ſtation; and the remains of the Count de Graſſe's fleet, which were now collected there under Vaudrevil, amounted to twenty-three ſail of the line. But the ſpirit of enterprize was now no more. The late blow was too ſevere to be ſoon forgotten; and the parties who had felt any part of its weight, were neither diſpoſed or in condition for farther exertion. All their deſigns upon Jamaica were accordingly given up by both nations. The Spaniſh fleet and troops returned to the Havanna; a number of the French ſhips of war came home with convoys; and the Count de Vaudrevil, with the remainder, amounting to thirteen ſail of the line, proceeded to North-America; but more to evade the hurricane ſeaſon, to recover his men, and to repair or ſupply his ſhips, than with a view to any active ſervice.

This happy naval victory, great in itſelf, and rendered greater by the critical nature of the time, not only ſecured our remaining poſſeſſions, but might be ſaid to cloſe the Weſt-India war; nothing of conſequence being afterwards undertaken on either ſide in that quarter. It was of ſtill greater importance in its general effects, from that ſudden and unexpected change it produced in our ſituation, from the high reputation which ſo extraordinary and ſucceſsful an exertion afforded, at an inſtant when we ſeemed to be nearly overwhelmed as well as ſurrounded by our numerous and powerful enemies, and by the additional weight it gave us as a nation, whether for the accompliſhment of peace, or for the further proſecution of the war.

Admiral Pigot having arrived from England to ſucceed Sir George Rodney on the Weſt-India ſtation, that commander ſailed from Jamaica in the beginning of Auguſt, on his way home to the enjoyment of thoſe honours, which were the due reward of his ſervices. For he had been created an Engliſh peer, by the title of Lord Rodney, immediately upon the firſt account being received of the late victory. Sir Samuel Hood was likewiſe honoured with an Iriſh peerage. Admiral Drake, whoſe conduct and gallantry had ſo admirably ſeconded the views of his commander in obtaining the late victory, together with Commodore Affleck, who had been highly diſtinguiſhed in both actions, were honoured with baronetages. Thus honours, in the preſent inſtance, held their due courſe; becoming the prizes of valour, good conduct, and ſignal ſervice.

North-America afforded no military tranſaction of any conſequence during this period. The oppo-

re armies at New York and in s neighbourhood, were so nearly lanced with respect to force, and the strength of their respective osts and defences, that little room r enterprize was left on either side. This state of inactivity was happily confirmed, by the resolutions of the British parliament against the American war, and the subsequent negociations for peace.

CHAP. X.

Minorca. Siege of Fort St. Philip. Fatal progress of the scurvy and other disorders in the garrison. Weakness in point of number. Successful attack on the Duke de Crillon's head-quarters at Cape-Mola. Powder magazine blown up, bomb battery destroyed, and a ship sunk, by the fire from the fortress. Garrison being reduced by sickness, General Murray submits to the necessity of a capitulation. Humanity and tenderness of the enemy to the sick. Coasts of these kingdoms threatened by the enemy. Admiral Barrington sails with a squadron to the Bay, and falls in with a French convoy. Captain Jarvis takes the Pegase of 74 guns. Most of the convoy taken. L'Actionaire, of 64 guns, taken by Capt. Maitland. Lord Howe sails to the coast of Holland. Dutch fleet returns to the Texel upon his approach. Combined fleets, in their way from Cadiz, fall in with the Newfoundland and Quebec convoy, and take several vessels. Combined fleets approach the channel. Lord Howe sails, with a very inferior force, to protect the Great Jamaica convoy. Enemy return to port, without effecting a junction with the Dutch, or being able to intercept the convoy. Preparations for the relief of Gibraltar. Royal George man of war lost at Portsmouth; Admiral Kempenfelt, several officers, with a great number of people, unfortunately perish. Lord Howe sails for the relief of Gibraltar. State of that fortress. Vast preparations, by sea and land, for its attack, by the combined fleets and armies of France and Spain. Confidence placed in the new constructed battering ships contrived by the Chevalier de Arcon. Some account of those formidable machines. Arrival of the French Princes of the blood in the camp before Gibraltar. Letters between the Duke de Crillon and General Elliot. Unexpected and violent cannonade and bombardment from the garrison, by which the enemy's works suffer greatly. Violent fire on the fortress. Combined fleets arrive at Algeziras. Grand attack. Dreadful cannonade and bombardment, from the lines, the battering ships, and the garrison. Admiral's ship, and another, at length set on fire, and blow up in the night. General conflagration. Extraordinary exertions of gallantry and humanity, displayed by Captain Curtis, and his seamen in the gun-boats, in saving the enemy from the flames. Battering ships entirely destroyed. Storm in the Bay of Gibraltar. Spanish ship of the line driven under the batteries, and taken by the garrison. British fleet arrives in the Straits. Most of the store ships miss the bay, and pass with the fleet into the Mediterranean. Combined fleets follow, but avoid action. Lord Howe hov-

ing landed the troops, and ſucceſsfully relieved Gibraltar, repaſſ[ed] Straits. Followed by the combined fleets. Diſtant cannonade, [and] partial action in the Atlantic.

WE ſhall now return from the new world, to conſider the ſtate of the war, and the principal military tranſactions which took place in the old. Though Minorca was, of neceſſity, abandoned to its fate by Great-Britain, yet the preparations for the ſiege of Fort St. Philip's, as well from the diſtance of the places, which were to ſupply the vaſt artillery, and the immenſe quantities of military ſtores and materials deemed neceſſary for the reduction of that fortreſs, as from the various difficulties and delays incident to their conveyance by ſea, could not but occaſion ſome conſiderable waſte of time, before the operations of the ſiege were effectually commenced.

The eagerneſs of Spain to gain poſſeſſion of this iſland was ſo exceſſive, that the court ſeems to have departed, in ſome degree, from that dignity of character, which ſhould ever be inſeparably united with royalty, by an inſidious endeavour, through the medium of an immenſe bribe, to corrupt the fidelity of the governor. Nor did the Duke de Crillon ſeem entirely to pay a proper attention to his own rank and reputation, nor to preſerve a due recollection of the honour and diſtinction entailed upon his family, by the peculiar virtue of an illuſtrious anceſtor, when he deſcended to become the inſtrument in ſuch a buſineſs. General Murray treated the inſult with a mixture of that haughty diſdain, incident to the conſciouſneſs of an antient line and illuſtrious anceſtry, and with the generous indignation and ſtern reſentment of a veteran ſoldier, who feels himſelf wounded in the tendereſt part, by an inſidious attempt upon, and conſequently ſuſpicion of that honour, which he had ſet up as the great object and idol of his life.

The fortreſs had been cloſely inveſted, and its communication with the country entirely cut off from the immediate landing of the enemy, which took place about the middle of Auguſt. By this means the garriſon were deprived of all ſupplies of vegetables; and that want alone, has not often produced more unfortunate effects. In all other reſpects they were admirably provided; for the ſtores and magazines were amply furniſhed with every kind of excellent ſalted proviſions; with good bread, peaſe, rice, wine, and other ſuitable neceſſaries, as well for the ſick as for thoſe who were in health; and all theſe in ſuch abundance, as would have ſupported double the number of men, for a longer time than the ſiege continued. But the ſingle want of vegetables, was ſufficient to deſtroy all the benefits that were reaſonably to be hoped from the general plenty in other reſpects, and to produce a diſtemper, as we have formerly obſerved, that ſeemed little to be apprehended, in that climate and ſoil. The ſcurvy raged among the troops in ſuch a degree, as has not often been exceeded in the moſt foggy and humid northern climates, and even under the worſt circumſtances of

water

ater and provisions; while this veterate enemy was aided in its ourse, as usual, by its destructive oncomitants, a putrid pestilential ver, and a mortal dysentery.

It is however to be observed, at other causes concurred to the effects produced by the immeate want of vegetables. Much e greater part of the British troops d been eleven years on the island; nd the soldiers had lived constantupon salted meats, during the hole of that time. So long a ourse of living upon salt provions, although the baneful effects ere greatly qualified by the liral use of those alimentary or native vegetables, of which the land produces such an exubence, could not but induce a geral scorbutic taint among the oops, and pre-dispose, even the st constitutions, to the reception that fatal disorder, whenever ey were deprived of the only rrective to such an unwholesome et. Its progress was likewise uch furthered by the close conement of the troops within the arrow limits of the fortress; and ll more by the tainted air of the semates and souterrains, which e intolerable cannonade and bomrdment of the enemy rendered eir only habitations, and which cessarily became every day more fectious by occupancy.

The combined forces amounted o 16,000 regular troops; and ey brought a prodigious artilry, consisting of 109 pieces of e heaviest cannon, and 36 great ortars, to act upon the place. he garrison consisted only of 692 men of all sorts: of these, 016, were English and Hanovean regular troops; including, however, in this number, 400 invalids, who had been sent thither from England so long before as the year 1775. A marine corps, who had been formed on the present occasion, and who, preserving their health much better than the regular troops, were of excellent service in the siege, composed the greater part of the remainder. A handful of Greeks and Corsicans likewise behaved with great bravery.

The fortress was, in some respects, exceedingly strong; the ditch, and all the subterraneous defences, being cut out of the living rock; the great arches which covered the casemates were bomb-proof; and the defences every where undermined. But the upper works by no means corresponded in strength with the under; and by some things which have since come out, from those who had a right to be the best informed on the subject, it would seem, as if through some negligence, (whether abroad or at home) they had likewise grown out of condition. The works were besides so numerous and extensive, that the present garrison, even in full health, did not amount to half the number, which would have been necessary to their effectual defence.

The knowledge of this weakness probably led the Duke de Crillon, to lie more unguardedly in his head quarters at Cape Mola than he might perhaps otherwise have done: while the observation of this negligence induced a vigorous and successful sally from the garrison, who surprizing and routing the enemy, chaced the duke from his post, and secured themselves, for the present, so effectually in it, that

that though he brought up his whole army to diſlodge them, he, after much heſitation, at length deſiſted from the attack. The ſucceſsful party returned ſafe to the garriſon on the following night, bringing with them about a hundred priſoners, among whom were a lieutenant-colonel, three captains, and four or five ſubaltern officers. This briſk action was probably intended by General Murray, as a perſonal military rebuke to the Duke de Crillon; and which the latter had no opportunity of returning, at leaſt in the ſame manner.

This happened pretty early in the month of November; about which time the enemy having opened their bomb batteries, a ſhell from the caſtle had the fortune to fall upon a powder magazine, which by its exploſion deſtroyed one of them entirely; a number of men were blown up, and a large quantity of loaded ſhells, either ſpent their force in the air, or burſt more deſtructively among the troops. The artillery of the fortreſs was likewiſe ſo well ſerved, as ſoon after to ſink a ſhip in the harbour, which was newly come in loaded with ammunition and ſtores for the ſupply of the enemy's batteries. But theſe ſmall ſucceſſes, however pleaſing and encouraging at the time, could in no degree counterbalance the increaſing ravages of thoſe diſeaſes which ſo unhappily prevailed in the garriſon. Nor could the differences that unfortunately took place between the governor and lieutenant-governor, tend in any degree to the leſſening of evil, or to the removal of difficulty.

Though the enemy kept a moſt cautious diſtance in the conſtruction and progreſs of their works, and that their troops were ſo extremely careful not to expoſe themſelves, as to be laughed at by our ſick and dying ſoldiers, who ſaid that they ſhould be ſent to ſchool to learn to ſtand fire; yet, their vaſt and numerous artillery, were ſo weighty, powerful, and inceſſant in their battery, and ſuch ſhowers of great ſhells were continually poured into the place, that they ſoon produced an extraordinary effect in ruining the upper defences of the fortreſs, and dismounted or rendered uſeleſs a greater number of cannon, than had been known in any ſimilar circumſtances.

Nothing ever exceeded the zeal, valour and conſtancy diſplayed by the garriſon. The behaviour of the private men, (who were the marked victims to the reigning diſtempers) through the courſe, and particularly towards the cloſe of this ſiege, was indeed beyond example. Numbers of ſoldiers died on guard, whoſe generous eagerneſs to defend the place, made them conceal their illneſs to the laſt, in order to prevent their being ſent away to the hoſpitals from a ſervice which held ſo firm a poſſeſſion of their hearts. Such nobleneſs of mind and conduct deſerved a better fortune. The artillery corps, as in every ſervice whether of the former or the preſent war, were in the higheſt degree diſtinguiſhed; ſo that it has been a queſtion with military men whether all the other countries in Europe could produce a ſet of bombardiers and cannoneers, equal to thoſe who were employed in the defence of Fort St. Philip. It is almoſt

lmoſt needleſs to obſerve, that he ſeamen, who compoſed the arine corps, did every thing that ould have been expected, even om that hardy and intrepid or- er of men.

In the beginning of February he garriſon was ſo much reduced y ſickneſs, that there were only 60 men left who were in any de- ree fit for duty; and of theſe, ll but one hundred were ſo far inted with the ſcurvy, that the hyſicians and ſurgeons declared, hey could hold out only a very ew days, before they muſt of ne- eſſity be ſent to the hoſpital; and s a corroboration of this opinion, o leſs than 106 had been ſent thi- her in the three preceding days. They likewiſe declared, that a few ays longer obſtinacy in defence, uſt prove the inevitable deſtruc- ion of the remains of that brave arriſon; as there was no poſſible emedy for the ſick, nor means ven of keeping the greater part of hem much longer alive, but by a peedy relief of wholeſome air, ided by an abundant ſupply of egetables. The neceſſary guards, n the laſt night of the defence, equired 415 men upon duty, ſo hat there were only 245 left, hich was 170 leſs than the ne- eſſary number, for the next re- ief; and no picket could at all e formed. It was likewiſe much o be apprehended, that the ene- ny, ſenſible of their weakneſs, would carry the place by a *coup de main*, as had been actually done n the former ſiege, when the for- reſs was defended by General Blakeney, and the garriſon was many degrees ſtronger than the preſent.

Under all theſe circumſtances, the governor found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of a capitulation, by which he obtained all the honours of war, and every thing elſe he required, excepting that article only, of freeing the garriſon from the condition of priſoners of war, which the Duke de Crillon aſſured him, his maſter, the Spaniſh King, had particularly tied him down in his inſtructions from granting; the troops were however to be tranſmitted to England, but ſubject to the cuſtomary conditions, until they were either exchanged, or diſcharged by a peace. The Corſicans and other foreigners were ſecured in their perſons, effects, and in the liberty of going where they pleaſed; and four natives of the iſland, who were all that had abided the fortune of the garriſon, in the poſſeſſion of their property, and of their rights as citizens. Feb. 5th. 1782.

So tragical a ſpectacle, and at the ſame time ſo glorious to the ſufferers, has not often been beheld, as the poor remains of the garriſon exhibited, in their march through the Spaniſh and French armies, which were drawn up in oppoſite lines for their paſſage. 600 old, emaciated, worn-down, and decrepid ſoldiers, were followed by 120 of the royal artillery, and by 200 ſeamen; about 20 Corſicans, and a ſomewhat greater number of Greeks, Moors and Turks, cloſed the proceſſion. The ſcene became ſtill more melancholy and intereſting, when the battalions arrived at the place appointed for laying down their arms; the ſoldiers exclaiming, with

with tears in their eyes, that "they surrendered them to God alone;" and at the same time, seeming to derive great consolation from the opinion, that the victors could not boast of their conquest in taking an hospital. This circumstance, of the indignation and grief expressed by the British troops on laying down their arms, was mentioned in terms of admiration, and of the highest honour to the garrison, in the Spanish accounts which were published of this transaction.

The generous sympathy shewn by the enemy upon this occasion, and their noble humanity after, was no less highly to their honour. It has been assured, by an authority not to be questioned, that several of the common soldiers of both armies, were so moved by the wretched condition of the garrison, that involuntary tears dropped from them as they passed. The subsequent humanity, kindness and tenderness, shewn by the Duke de Crillon, the Count of the same name and family, and the Baron de Falkinhayn, who commanded the French troops, in their continued supply of all necessaries to the sick, and their unremitted attention to their recovery, was beyond all praise. Such acts, "soften the rugged front of war," and tend to wear away all traces of national enmity.

Such was the fate of the island of Minorca, near fourscore years after its reduction by English arms and valour to the dominion of this country; and after being long considered as one of the splendid jewels of the British crown, as well as an illustrious monument of our national power and renown.

As the season for naval action began to open, great threats were held out, of the mighty effects to be produced by a combination of the whole naval force of France, Spain, and Holland; whose united fleets, it was said, to the amount of more than sixty ships of the line, would sweep the coasts of Europe, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the extremities of Norway, and spread desolation and ruin along the coasts of Great-Britain and Ireland, in their passage to and from the northern ocean. Unequal as our home force was to withstand this formidable combination, it became an object of the first importance to lessen the effect by preventing the entire completion of the union, which was only to be done by keeping such a watch upon the Dutch fleet as would disable them from penetrating the Channel, in their way to join our more southern enemies at Brest, which was the appointed place of rendezvous.

Necessary and important, however, as the attention to this object was, it could not but greatly restrain and weaken our exertions on the coasts of France and Spain, and particularly increase that security to their convoys, which, through their successes in the war, and general superiority at sea, were now far more frequent and numerous, than they ever had been before in any contest with this country. Under the pressure of this double necessity, of equally providing with an inferior force, for all the services and contingencies which might occur on either side of the channel, from the Naze of Norway to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, it required the most consummate

mmate judgment in the new admiralty, then juſt formed, as well as all the naval ability, by which our home commanders were at that time ſo highly diſtinguiſhed, to mete out their attention and ſtrength to either object, with ſo ſteady a hand, and ſo nice a balance, that no loſs might be ſuſtained, or poſſible advantage miſſed, on the one ſide, through any error or exceſs in the portion of either allotted to the other.

This plan of operation, though principally defenſive, by no means excluded the deſign of ſeizing every favourable opportunity of active ſervice and adventure which might come in the way; but ſo as not to loſe ſight of the main objects.

It indeed commenced with exertion. While the reſt of the home fleet was in a ſtate of more or leſs preparation,

April 13th. 1782. Admiral Barrington ſailed from Portſmouth for the Bay, with 12 ſail of the line, and having arrived ſomething leſs than a day's ſail to the ſouth-weſt of Uſhant, Capt. Macbride, in the Artois frigate, made the ſignal of diſcovering an enemy's fleet. The Artois was ſo far a-head, that although it was about noon, it was with the utmoſt difficulty the admiral could diſtinguiſh the colour of the flag which ſhe hoiſted. The ſignal

20th. for a general chace being immediately thrown out, the enemy began to be viſible, about three o'clock, from the maſt-head; and the admiral's ſhip, the Britannia, was ſoon left far behind, by ſeveral of the prime ſailers. Of theſe, Capt. Jarvis, in the Foudroyant, ſo far outſtripped all the reſt, that when night came on, with hazy and very blowing weather, he ſoon loſt them entirely; but he kept a full view of the enemy, and purſued them with unremitting vigour.

The chaced fleet conſiſted of 18 ſail, laden with ſtores, proviſions, ammunition, and conveying a conſiderable number of troops, for the ſupply and reinforcement of the French fleet and forces in the Eaſt-Indies; being particularly deſigned to ſupply the loſs of that convoy which had been taken by Admiral Kempenfeldt in the preceding winter. They had ſailed from Breſt only the day before, and were under the protection of the Protecteur and Pegaſe, of 74 guns each, L'Actionaire, of 64 guns, but armed *en flute*, and a frigate.

The Foudroyant gaining ſo faſt upon the chace, that it became evident they could not get off, without an engagement, the convoy was diſperſed by ſignal, and the two French 74 gun ſhips having conſulted, it was determined, that as the Protecteur had a large quantity of money on board, ſhe ſhould make the beſt of her way; and that, if fighting was inevitable, the Pegaſe ſhould abide the conſequences. This determination afforded an opportunity for one of the moſt ſignal actions of the preſent war, and for placing the profeſſional ſkill and gallantry of Captain Jarvis in the moſt conſpicuous point of view.

The two ſhips were well matched in point of force and condition. Both were freſh from port; and if a ſuperiority in number of ſix guns, in ſuch high rates, could

be

be thought any great matter of advantage on the ſide of the Foudroyant, it was probably fully compenſated by the weight of metal on the other. A little before one in the morning, Captain Jarvis came up with, and cloſely engaged, the Pegaſe, commanded by the Chevalier de Sillans. The action was extremely fierce, while it laſted; but within leſs than an hour from its commencement, Capt. Jarvis laid the French ſhip aboard on the larboard quarter, and the Pegaſe was compelled to ſurrender. Nothing could afford a more ſtriking inſtance of the decided ſuperiority of ſeamanſhip and diſcipline on the one ſide, and of the great effects which they are capable of producing, than the circumſtances of this action. The carnage in the Pegaſe, was beyond any thing that could have been ſuppoſed in ſo ſhort an action. Above four-ſcore men were killed, and a great number wounded. The damage to the ſhip was proportioned to the deſtruction of the men. Hull, maſts, and yards, were all materially injured. On the other ſide, the damage to the Foudroyant was very trifling; not a man was killed; Capt. Jarvis himſelf, and a few ſeamen only, were wounded; his wound was ſlight, and none of the others mortal. It ſeemed peculiar, that the Protecteur and Pegaſe, the guard of the preſent convoy, were witneſſes to the loſs of the former, under the ſame deſtination, when taken by Admiral Kempenfeldt.

The weather was ſo boiſterous, and the ſea ſo extremely rough, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty, and attended with the loſs of two boats, that Capt. Jarvis could put an officer and 80 men on board the French ſhip, and bring off about 40 of the priſoners. Theſe circumſtances, along with the ſhattered condition of the prize, and the difficulty of keeping together, began to render her ſituation, in more reſpects than one critical; but the Queen man of war coming in ſight ſoon after day-light, took upon her the charge of the diſabled ſhip; which was the more timely, as the Foudroyant and they ſoon loſt ſight of each other, in the hard gale which enſued.

The chace, along with the hard weather, had ſo greatly ſcattered the Britiſh ſquadron, that the Admiral was obliged to bring to, and continue in that poſition for forty-eight hours, in order to collect the ſhips. In the mean time, the purſuers were neither ſlack nor unſucceſsful in their chace; about a dozen ſhips of the convoy, with ſeveral hundred troops on board, being brought ſafe to England. The weather becoming more favourable on the morning of the day after the ſeparation of the Foudroyant, Capt. Maitland, of the Queen, had already taken out about 300 of the priſoners, and ſent an officer with a party of men, to reinforce thoſe which Capt. Jarvis had put on board the Pegaſe, when a large man of war appeared in ſight, which the French officers aſſured him to be their late conſort, the Protecteur, of 74 guns.

Captain Maitland ordered the Pegaſe, and a cutter he happened to have in company, to make the beſt of their way to the firſt convenient port in England, and, incumbered as he was with priſoners,

ners, immediately purſued the emy. After a chace of fourteen ours, he came up in the night ith the French ſhip, and after ouring in his broadſide, and re-iving hers, was much ſurpriſed find that ſhe ſtruck her colours. ut, inſtead of the Protecteur, e prize, much to the diſap-ointment of the captain, and s ſhip's company, proved to be e Actionaire, armed, as we have ſerved, *en flute*, but commanded an officer of rank and repu-tion, and having 250 ſeamen, d 550 ſoldiers on board; of hich number nine were killed, d twenty-five wounded, by the gle broadſide ſhe received. This ip was in all reſpects, both as an quiſition and a loſs to the ene-y, a very valuable prize, having great quantity of naval and ord-nce ſtores on board, beſides ne, rum, proviſions, and ſeve-l cheſts of money. Capt. Mait-nd now had his hands ſufficiently ll; for beſides the management two great ſhips, with the crew ly of one, he was involved in e care of no leſs than 1100 pri-ners. The accidental coming of the Latona frigate, ſerved, a conſiderable degree, to leſſen s embarraſſment.

The continuance of bad wea-er, obliged Admiral Barrington finiſh this ſhort but very ſuc-ſsful cruize, by returning to gland towards the cloſe of the nth. Neither the Queen ſhip war, nor the prizes, had joined e ſquadron, before their return. was much to the ſatisfaction of e public, that the order of the th was immediately after con-red on the gallant Sir John rvis.

The accounts which were received about this time, of Sir George Rodney's deciſive victory in the Weſt-Indies, of Sir Eyre Coote's ſucceſſes in the Eaſt, and of the taking of Negapatam and Trincamale, ſerved, along with the confidence founded on the new adminiſtration, greatly to raiſe the ſpirits and hope of the nation; which indeed had ſufficient occaſion for deſpondency, under a ſeries of ſuch unfortunate events, as are hitherto unequalled in our hiſtory.

Environed as we were by powerful enemies, both on the north and the ſouth ſide of the channel, it was impoſſible, with ſo inferior a force, at once to guard againſt their deſigns, and to provide, at the ſame time, for the effectual preſervation, in all its parts, of our commerce. Upon the return of Admiral Barrington's ſquadron, Admiral Kempenfeldt ſailed with eight or nine ſhips of the line, to ſupply their place in the bay; and May 3d. intelligence being received, that the Dutch were preparing with their whole force to come out of the Texel, with a view, in the firſt inſtance, of convoying their great outward-bound fleets of merchantmen out of danger, and then of proceeding themſelves to fulfil the ſcheme of joining our ſouthern combined enemies, Lord Howe was obliged, in a week after Kempenfeldt's departure, to proceed with a ſquadron of about a dozen ſhips of the line, from Portſmouth, to the coaſts of Holland, in the hope of intercepting, or at leaſt of confining the enemy, and of effectually fruſtrating any deſigns he might have formed upon

upon our North Sea and Baltic trade.

The Dutch fleet had already ſailed; but the intelligence of Lord Howe's movement obliged them to return haſtily to the Texel. After cruizing near a month upon the Dutch coaſts, the ſquadron growing very ſickly, being particularly affected by an epidemic diſorder, which the extraordinary bad weather of that ſummer had rendered generally prevalent, both by ſea and land, and finding that the Dutch ſhewed no manner of diſpoſition to venture out of the Texel, Lord Howe returned to Portſmouth, where being joined by the ſhips from the Bay, under Admiral Kempenfeldt, every diſpatch was uſed in preparing the fleet to oppoſe the deſigns of the combined enemy, who were ſoon expected to appear at the mouth of the Channel.

M. de Guichen had been for ſome time at Cadiz, from whence he and Don Cordova, with about 25 French and Spaniſh ſhips of the line, ſailed in the beginning of June, and in their progreſs to the northward, while they expected to be joined by the ſquadrons from Breſt, and other ports, they fell in with our outward-bound Newfoundland and Quebec fleets, which were under the convoy of Admiral Campbell, who, in a 50 gun ſhip, accompanied by ſome frigates, was going to his command at the former of theſe ſtations, for the protection of the fiſhery. About 18 of the convoy, laden chiefly, if not entirely, with proviſions, were taken; the ſhips of war, with the remainder, had the good fortune to eſcape.

The enemy being now entire maſters of the ſea, from the mouth of the ſtraits to Uſhant, were able to diſpatch their great outward-bound convoys, and to receive their homeward, with the utmoſt facility and ſafety; while we were under no ſmall apprehenſion for the ſafety of a rich and great convoy from Jamaica, which was on its way home, under the care of Admiral Sir Peter Parker, with only three ſhips of the line for its protection. Lord Howe ſailed from Portſmouth early in July, accompanied by the Admirals, Barrington, Sir J. L. Roſs, and Kempenfeldt; but theſe diſtinguiſhed commanders had only 21 ſhips of the line to ſupport their deſigns and adventure, while the combined fleets were cruizing about the chops of the channel, with more than double their force.

Lord Howe kept to the weſtward of the enemy, in order to protect and receive the Jamaica fleet, and it required all the dexterity and profeſſional ſkill which eminently diſtinguiſhed that nobleman, and the commanders acting along with him, to ſecure this object, and at the ſame time to avoid being forced into an engagement, where the vaſt ſuperiority of force againſt him, could not but produce ſome degree of its proper effect. Sir Peter Parker arrived ſafe with his convoy, by the end of July; the combined enemy derived as little advantage from this, as they had from their preceding adventures upon the channel; and the Dutch fleet ſtill continued unable to join them.

The return of the fleet to Portſmouth was marked by a calamity of the moſt grievous kind, and

which

hich was individually felt by the ation with the deepeſt concern. The protection of the homeward-ound Baltic fleet, the preventing he Dutch from ſailing to the outhward, and the relief of Gib-altar, were the great naval ob-jects ſtill in view; and were, each f them ſingly, of the very firſt mportance. It was then a moſt ritical juncture, to loſe one of he beſt commanders, the beſt ips, and a number of the beſt ficers and ſeamen in the Britiſh rvice. And this loſs, not to be ſtained in the arduous conflict ith a brave enemy, or under the poſure of the more dreadful ry of the elements, but, at me, in harbour, and in a ſtate the greateſt apparent ſecurity.

Several of thoſe ſhips which re in the beſt condition for ſea, d proceeded to the Downs, un-r Admiral Milbanke, in order attend to the motions of the utch; while the reſt of the fleet re in a haſty ſtate of equipment Portſmouth, and repleniſhing eir ſtores of water and proviſions the deſigned expedition to ibraltar, which was now become object of the utmoſt urgency; d even a general cry riſing rough the nation, at the relief ing ſo long deferred, without gard to the neceſſities by which was occaſioned.

In this ſtate of things, it was und neceſſary that the Royal orge, of 108 guns, commanded the gallant Admiral Kempen-dt, and long held as the firſt p in the Britiſh navy, ſhould ceive a ſort of ſlight careen, ich the ſeamen, in their peculiar raſeology, call a *parliament-heel:* ſhip being to be laid in a cer-

tain degree upon her ſide, while the defects under water, which occaſion the examination, are rectified. This ſeems to be a common operation, in caſes where the defects are not ſo great as to require a thorough careen, or where the delay, as in the preſent inſtance, of going into dock, cannot be diſpenſed with; and being uſually practiſed in ſtill weather, and ſmooth water, is ſuppoſed to be attended with ſo little difficulty, or danger, that the admiral, captain, officers and crew, all continued on board, and neither guns, ſtores, water, or proviſions, were removed.

This buſineſs was undertaken betimes in the morning, a gang of carpenters from the dock attending to aſſiſt her own; and, it is ſaid, that finding it neceſſary to ſtrip off more of her ſheathing than was at firſt expected, their eagerneſs to come at the leak, induced them to heel her a ſtrake more upon her ſide, than had been intended, and than poſſibly the commanders knew. The ſhip, as is uſually the caſe upon coming into port, was crowded with people from the ſhore; particularly women, who were not eſtimated at leſs than 300. Among theſe were many of the wives and children of the ſeamen, and petty officers, who, knowing the fleet was to ſail upon diſtant and perilous ſervice, eagerly embraced the opportunity of coming to ſee their huſbands and fathers. Between eight and nine hundred of the crew of the Royal George, including marines, were then on board. Aug. 29th.

In this ſituation, about ten in the morning, the admiral being

writing in his cabin, and much the greater part of the people happening then to be between decks, a ſudden and unexpected ſquall of wind threw the ſhip fatally upon her ſide, and her gun-ports being open, and the motion of the cannon probably increaſing the violence of the ſhock, ſhe, almoſt inſtantly, filled with water, and went to the bottom. A victualler, which lay alongſide the Royal George, was ſwallowed up in the whirlpool, which the ſudden plunge of ſo vaſt a body in the water occaſioned; and ſeveral ſmall craft, though at ſome moderate diſtance, were in the moſt imminent danger.

The admiral, with a number of brave officers, and, in general, moſt of thoſe who were between decks, periſhed. The guard, including thoſe who happened to be along with them, on the upper deck, were more fortunate; the greater part being ſaved by the boats of the fleet. About 70 others were likewiſe ſaved. The exact number of people on board at the time, could not be aſcertained; but it was ſuppoſed, that from 900 to 1000 were loſt. Something about three hundred, moſtly, if not entirely, of the ſhip's company, were ſaved. Capt. Waghorne, whoſe gallantry in the North Sea battle, under Admiral Parker, had procured him the command of this ſhip, had the fortune, though ſeverely battered and bruiſed, to be ſaved; but his ſon, a lieutenant of the Royal George, happening to be one of thoſe who were unfortunately below, periſhed.

Such was the fate of the Royal George, which carried the talleſt maſts, the heavieſt metal, and had the greateſt number of flags hoiſted in her, of any ſhip in the Britiſh navy. She had been repeatedly the ſeat of command under almoſt all our great commanders, and upon the greateſt occaſions, during both the former and the preſent war; and had been peculiarly diſtinguiſhed under Lord Hawke in the celebrated battle againſt M. Conflans, when the French fleet was entirely ruined, and ſhe ſunk the Superbe of 70 guns, by a ſingle broadſide, and drove the Soleil Royal, of 84 guns, on ſhore where ſhe was burnt. The loſs of the ſhip, notwithſtanding the critical period at which it happened, would not, however, have been much thought of, if it had not been for the brave men who periſhed ſo unfortunately in her.

Admiral Kempenfeldt, though near 70 years of age, was peculiarly and univerſally lamented. He was held, both abroad and at home, to be, in point of profeſſional ſcience, knowledge and judgment, one of the firſt naval officers in the world; particularly in the art of manœuvring a fleet he was conſidered by our great commanders as unrivalled; and his excellent qualities as a man at leaſt equalled his profeſſional merits as an officer. His father was a Swediſh gentleman, who coming early into the Engliſh ſervice, generouſly followed the ruined fortunes of his maſter, James the Second. Being recalled by Queen Anne, after the death of that unfortunate monarch, and ſerving with diſtinction in the wars, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and was, at the time of his death

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Lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Jerſey. That gentleman's private character was ſo admirable, as to be depicted and immortaliſed by Addiſon, in the Spectators; where it has ever been admired under the well known appellation of Captain Sentry.

A large ſum of money, which did honour to the feelings of the public, and was correſpondent to that generous benevolence and bounty which ſo highly diſtinguiſh the nation, was immediately raiſed, by ſubſcription, in London, for the relief of the widows, children, and other depending relations, of thoſe who had periſhed by this fatal accident.

The Dutch fleet, which had for ſeveral days been cruizing in the North Sea, having returned to the Texel, and our great convoy from the Baltic ſo nearly arrived, as to be out of danger, the ſquadron, which had been detached to attend to theſe ſervices, under Admiral Milbanke and Commodore Hotham, returned with the utmoſt expedition, in order to accompany the fleet in the expedition to Gibral-
Sept. 11th. tar. Upon this junction, Lord Howe ſailed from Portſmouth, with 34 ſhips of the line, ſeveral frigates and fire-ſhips, a fleet of tranſports, victuallers, and ſtore-ſhips, with a body of troops on board, for the relief of that garriſon. He was accompanied by the Admirals Milbanke and Sir R. Hughes, as well as by Commodore Hotham, and by as brave and able a ſet of naval officers, as had ever been joined in any ſervice.

Gibraltar was now, indeed, become an object ſo conſpicuous on the great theatre of the world, as to attract the attention of all the informed part of mankind; and its ſiege and defence began to vie in celebrity with the moſt famous of thoſe recorded in antient or modern hiſtory. Even thoſe nations which we account barbarous, and who have communicated that appellation to ſo large and ſo fine a portion of the coaſts of Africa, were led by that irreſiſtable ſympathy, which the exertions of valour, in its arduous ſtruggles againſt ſuperior power, produces in the fierceſt and moſt lawleſs minds, to be deeply intereſted in this event.

The joy of the Spaniſh king, upon the taking of Fort St. Philip's, was manifeſt and extreme. If it be true, as has been reported, that the plan of that expedition and ſiege was entirely laid by himſelf, it is not to be wondered at, that the ſucceſs of ſuch an eſſay, ſhould greatly increaſe the ſatisfaction, which the recovery of ſo conſiderable an iſland, and ſo antient an appendage to his crown, would otherwiſe have afforded. In ſuch a ſtate of temper, it was no leſs natural, that the immediate inſtruments in giving effect to the deſign ſhould not be forgotten. The Duke de Crillon was accordingly appointed Captain General of the Spaniſh armies, and Don Joſeph Moreno, who commanded the marine in that expedition, was advanced to high naval rank. Theſe rewards, however, looked forward as well as retroſpectively; they were intended as the earneſt of future ſervice; and the conqueror of Minorca was deſtined to the recovery of Gibraltar.

No means were neglected, nor

expence ſpared, to inſure the ſucceſs of this deſign. Spain found by experience, that all her attempts in the uſual forms upon the place, whether by ſea or by land, were totally ineffective; and that the cruel meaſure of deſtroying the town, odious as it was, went no farther than to the extermination of the inhabitants, without tending, in the ſmalleſt degree, to the reduction of the garriſon. It ſorely wounded her pride, that the utmoſt exertions of her power ſhould, in the face of the world, be for ſo many years baffled, in the unavailing conflict of a vaſt and powerful empire, with a handful of men ſhut up on a barren rock. The court was likewiſe greatly and particularly irritated, through the diſgrace which attended the deſtruction of their works and batteries in the preceding year by the garriſon. So that ambition, honour, pride and revenge, were all concurrent, in urging to the utmoſt exertions of power and of ſkill, for the conqueſt of that place; and as all former exertions had failed, the invention and application of new means became a matter of neceſſity.

It could not be ſuppoſed, that while Gibraltar was ſo long held out as an object of attention and admiration to the world, that the powerful motives of fame and honours, and the ſtrong paſſion that tends to the exerciſe and diſplay of talents, ſhould not, among the great number of ſcientific and ingenious men with which Europe abounds, have excited the genius and induſtry of ſome or other to the diſcovery of means, for overcoming thoſe obſtacles of art and nature, which had hitherto been found inſurmountable in all attempts upon the place. Nor could it be doubted, under the circumſtances we have ſeen, that ſuch projects, if at all feaſible, would be ſedulouſly attended to.

The Chevalier de Arcon, a French engineer, of high note, however, ſeemed to be the hero deſtined to the fall of Gibraltar. His plan was ſo highly approved of, that the king himſelf is ſaid to have taken a part in its modification, or adjuſtment; hoping to have borne away a royal ſhare of the honour in this inſtance, as well as in that of Minorca. The plan had been propoſed in the latter part of the preceding year; the preparations, though vaſt, and exceedingly expenſive, were now nearly completed; and the reduction of the place was not only deemed certain, but the powers to be uſed were ſo prodigious and terrible, that little leſs than the annihilation of the fortreſs was expected to be the conſequence of any great obſtinacy of defence in the garriſon.

In the eagerneſs which prevailed at Madrid, for the carrying of this point, it had been propoſed to bring a whole fleet to the direct battery and attack of the place, on all ſides, by ſea, while the army was to carry on a furious aſſault by land; and the ſacrifice of from ten to twenty ſhips of war, as the occaſion might require, was decreed to be the contented price of ſucceſs.

The French engineer ridiculed this ſcheme as wild and incompetent. He ſhewed that it would be attended with the certain deſtruction

ſtruction of the ſhips, without producing the ſmalleſt effect upon the fortreſs. His plan went to the conſtruction of floating batteries, or ſhips, upon ſuch a principle, that they could neither be ſunk, nor fired. The firſt of theſe properties was to be acquired by the extraordinary thickneſs of timber, with which their keels and bottoms were to be fortified; and which was to render them proof to all danger in that reſpect, whether from external or internal violence. The ſecond danger was to be oppoſed, by ſecuring the ſides of the ſhips, wherever they were expoſed to ſhot, with a ſtrong wall, compoſed of timber and cork, a long time ſoaked in water, and including between, a large body of wet ſand; the whole being of ſuch a thickneſs and denſity, that no cannon-ball could penetrate within two feet of the inner partition. A conſtant ſupply of water was to keep the parts expoſed to the action of fire always wet; and the cork was to act as a ſponge, in retaining the moiſture.

For this purpoſe, ten great ſhips, from 600 to 1400 tons burthen, (ſome of them ſaid to be of 50 or 60 guns) were cut down to the ſtate required by the plan; and 200,000 cubic feet of timber was, with infinite labour, worked into their conſtruction. To protect them from bombs, and the men at the batteries from grape, or deſcending ſhot, a hanging roof was contrived, which was to be worked up and down by ſprings, with eaſe, and at pleaſure; the roof was compoſed of a ſtrong rope-work netting, laid over with a thick covering of wet hides; while its ſloping poſition was calculated to prevent the ſhells from lodging, and to throw them off into the ſea before they could take effect. The batteries were covered with new braſs cannon, of great weight; and ſomething about half the number of ſpare guns, of the ſame kind, were kept ready in each ſhip, immediately to ſupply the place of thoſe which might be over-heated, or otherwiſe diſabled in action. To render the fire of theſe batteries the more rapid and inſtantaneous, and, conſequently, the more dreadfully effective, the ingenious projector had contrived a kind of match, to be placed on the lights of the guns, of ſuch a nature, as to emulate lightning in the quickneſs of its conſumption, and the rapidity of its action; and by which all the guns on the battery were to go off together, as it had been only a ſingle ſhot.

But, as the red-hot ſhot from the fortreſs was the enemy moſt dreaded, the niceſt part of this plan ſeems to have been the contrivance for communicating water in every direction to reſtrain its effect. In imitation of the circulation of the blood in a living body, a great variety of pipes and canals perforated all the ſolid workmanſhip, in ſuch a manner, that a continued ſucceſſion of water was to be conveyed to every part of the veſſels; a number of pumps being adapted to the purpoſe of an unlimited ſupply. By this means, it was expected that the red-hot ſhot would operate to the remedy of its own miſchief: as the very action of cutting thro' thoſe pipes would procure its immediate extinction. So that theſe terrible machines, teeming with

every ſource of outward deſtruction, ſeemed to be themſelves invulnerable, and entirely ſecure from all danger.

The preparation in other reſpects was beyond all example. It was ſaid, that no leſs than 1200 pieces of heavy ordnance of various kinds had been accumulated before the place, for the almoſt numberleſs intended purpoſes of attack by ſea and land. The quantities of powder, ſhot, ſhells, and of every kind of military ſtore and proviſion, were ſo immenſe as to exceed credibility. The quantity of gunpowder only, was ſaid to exceed 83,000 barrels. Forty gun-boats, with heavy artillery, as many bomb veſſels with twelve-inch mortars, beſides a large floating battery, and five bomb ketches, on the uſual conſtruction, were all deſtined to ſecond the powerful efforts of the great battering ſhips. Nearly all the frigates, and ſmaller armed veſſels of the kingdom were aſſembled, to afford ſuch aid as they might be found capable of; and 300 large boats were collected from every part of Spain, which, with the very great number already in the vicinity, were to miniſter to the fighting veſſels during action, and to land troops in the place, as ſoon as they had diſmantled the fortreſs. The combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to ſomething about 50 ſhips of the line, were to cover and ſupport the attack; and could not but greatly heighten the terrors as well as the magnificence of the ſcene.

The preparations by land kept pace with thoſe by ſea. Twelve thouſand French troops were brought to diffuſe their peculiar vivacity and animation through the Spaniſh army, as well as for the benefit to be derived from the example and exertion of their ſuperior diſcipline and experience. The Duke de Crillon was aſſiſted by a number of the beſt officers of both countries, and particularly of the beſt engineers and artilleriſts of his own. The length and celebrity of the ſiege, now rendered more intereſting by the fame of the preſent extraordinary preparation, had drawn volunteers from every part of Europe to the camp before Gibraltar; and not only the nobility of Spain, but many of other countries were aſſembled, either to diſplay their valour, or to gratify curioſity in beholding ſuch a naval and military ſpectacle, as, it was probable, had never been before exhibited. The arrival of two princes of the royal blood of France, ſerved to increaſe the ſplendour and celebrity of the ſcene. The Count de Artois, the French King's brother, and his couſin the Duke de Bourbon, ſeemed eager to immortalize their names, by partaking in the glory of ſo ſignal and illuſtrious an enterprize, as the recovery of Gibraltar to the crown of their kinſman and ally.

The arrival of the French princes afforded an opportunity for the diſplay of that politeneſs, and the exerciſe of thoſe humanized attentions and civilities, by which the refined manners of modern Europe have tended ſo much to diveſt war of many parts of its antient ſavage barbarity. Some packets, containing a number of letters directed to the officers in Gibraltar, having, on the way, fallen into

the hands of the Spaniards, were, of courſe, tranſmitted to the court of Madrid, where they lay, at the time that the Count de Artois arrived at that capital. The French prince, in that ſpirit of generoſity, which diſtinguiſhes his family as well as his country, conſidering this circumſtance as affording a pleaſing opportunity of introduction to a brave and generous enemy, obtained the packets from the king, and condeſcended to convey them, under his own care, to the camp.

The tranſmiſſion of the packets to Gibraltar, afforded an opportunity to the Duke de Crillon of accompanying them with a letter to General Elliot, in which, beſides informing him of the arrival of the French princes in his camp, and of this particular mark of attention ſhewn by the Count de Artois, he farther acquainted him, that he was charged by them, reſpectively, to convey to the general the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of their regard and eſteem for his perſon and character. The duke expreſſed his own regards for the general in the moſt flattering terms; eagerly wiſhing to merit his eſteem, and declaring the pleaſure with which he looked forward in the hope of becoming his friend, after he had learnt to render himſelf worthy the honour of facing him as an enemy. He likewiſe requeſted, in the moſt obliging terms, that he would accept of a preſent of fruit and vegetables, for his own uſe, which accompanied the letter, and of ſome ice and partridges for the gentlemen of his houſehold; farther intreating, that as he knew the general lived entirely upon vegetables, he would acquaint him with the particular kinds which he liked beſt, with a view to his regular ſupply. The whole letter may be conſidered as a model of military politeneſs.

General Elliot was not, however, leſs polite or obliging in his anſwer, whether with reſpect to the duke himſelf, or to the princes. But, he informed the duke, that in accepting the preſent, he had broken through a reſolution which he had invariably adhered to from the commencement of the war, which was, never to receive, or to procure by any means whatever, any proviſions or other commodity for his own private uſe: he declared, that every thing was ſold publicly in the garriſon, ſo that the private ſoldier, if he had money, might become a purchaſer with the ſame facility as the governor; and that he made it a point of honour, to partake of both plenty and ſcarcity, in common with the loweſt of his brave fellow ſoldiers. He therefore intreated the duke, not to heap any more favours of the ſame kind upon him, as he could not in future apply them to his own uſe.—An anſwer and conduct worthy of General Elliot, and of the brave garriſon which he commanded.

The French princes arrived at the camp about the middle of Auguſt, and after examining the ſtate of the preparations by land, reviewed the new and extraordinary machines contrived by the Chevalier de Arcon. They were accompanied on this occaſion by all the principal commanders of both nations, whether in the land or naval ſervice; and the battering ſhips, if the French and Spaniſh accounts are to be credited, not-

withstanding their vast bulk and immense weight, not only gave the greatest satisfaction, but astonished even the most intelligent of the officers present, when they saw them go through their various evolutions with all the ease and dexterity of frigates. The confidence now placed in the dreadful and immediate effect to be produced by their action, went beyond all bounds. Twenty-four hours was a longer time, than the public opinion would admit to be necessary, from the commencement of their attack, for the utter destruction of Gibraltar. Even the commanders held similar sentiments; and the Duke de Crillon was thought extremely cautious of hazarding an opinion, when he allowed so long a term as fourteen days to the certainty of being in possession of the place.

Those who are acquainted with the temper and disposition of the French armies, or even of the people in general, will not be surprized, that the arrival of the princes of the blood should excite an extraordinary enthusiasm in the troops of that nation. The contagion was soon communicated to the Spanish army; and as soon triumphed over the constitutional or habitual gravity of that nation. The impatience of the combined forces both by sea and land for action became excessive; and every hour appeared an age until they could have an opportunity, upon so conspicuous a theatre, and under the eyes of so great a number of illustrious spectators, of signalizing their respective valour and emulation. The infection even reached to, and produced its effect upon the commanders. The engineer has since complained, that much time was lost, before the preparation in consequence of his scheme was commenced, and that the precipitancy afterwards, in hurrying on measures before his plan was entirely completed, militated no less against its success than the original delay.

It is not however to be forgotten, that the apprehension of Lord Howe's arrival to the relief of the place, which began now to be every day expected, although the great inferiority of any force which he could bring was well known, would, notwithstanding, independent of any other circumstances, have effectually served, both to quicken the determinations of the court, and to accelerate the operations of the fleet and the army. It is likewise to be observed, that the arrival of the princes contributed, on various accounts, to further this effect; and that even the inconveniences of their being detained long in the camp, and the prodigious expence which it occasioned to the Count de Artois, were probably matters of consideration.

Although the intrepid defender of Gibraltar had long observed the storm gathering, and saw that it must soon fall with unparalleled violence, yet he could only obtain some general knowledge of the immense preparations that were making, and of the invention of some terrible machines, which had inspired the enemy with a confidence of success, to which they had been before strangers; but was utterly in the dark as to the nature, construction, and mode of operation of those new-invented vessels. This uncertainty as to the

mode of attack, and ignorance
he nature and powers of a new
my, seemed almoſt ſufficient to
e the firmneſs of the moſt tried
conſtant reſolution; and could
but greatly increaſe the al-
dy numberleſs anxieties of ſo
ious and perilous a ſituation.
theſe circumſtances, General
iot left nothing undone, that
was poſſible for a great com-
nder to accompliſh: he pro-
ed for every circumſtance of
ger that could be foreſeen or
gined, for the reception of
ry enemy, whatever his mode
peration might be; and con-
ng in the excellency of his of-
s, and the valour of the ad-
rable troops they commanded,
not apprehenſive of truſting
event to the deciſion of that
tune, which has ever been held
ourable to ſuperior exertions of
ue and bravery.

In the mean time, unawed by
vaſt force with which he was,
every ſide, by ſea and land
rounded, General Elliot did
heſitate, by new and unex-
ted inſult and damage, to pro-
e his combined enemies to the
ck. For, obſerving that their
rks on the land ſide were nearly
mpleted, and ſome of them
tty far advanced towards the
reſs, he determined to try
ough dubious of the effect from
diſtance) how far a vigorous
nonade and bombardment, with
-hot balls, carcaſſes and ſhells,
ght operate to their deſtruction.
powerful and admirably direct-
firing commenced from the gar-
on at ſeven o'clock in the morn-
of the 8th of September, and
ſupported through the day,
h the uſual unrivalled ſkill and
dexterity of the artillery officers.
The effect far exceeded the gene-
ral's expectation. By ten o'clock,
the Mahon battery, with another
adjoining to it, were in flames;
and by five in the evening were
entirely conſumed, together with
their gun-carriages, platforms and
magazines, although the latter
were bomb proof. A great part
of the communications to the
eaſtern parallel, and of the trenches
and parapet for muſquetry, were
likewiſe deſtroyed; and a large
battery near the bay was ſo much
damaged, having been repeatedly
on fire in ſeveral places, that the
enemy were under a neceſſity of
taking down one half of it. They
acknowledged, that their works
were on fire in fifty places at the
ſame inſtant. The emulation be-
tween the nations, as well as the
preſence of the French princes,
urged the troops to expoſe them-
ſelves exceedingly in their efforts
to prevent the progreſs of the
flames; ſo that their loſs in men,
under ſo dreadful and well directed
a fire, could not but have been
very conſiderable. This was in-
deed fully within the ſight and ob-
ſervation of the garriſon, although
the Spaniſh and French publiſhed
accounts, in their uſual manner,
repreſented the loſs of men as be-
ing ſo trifling, that it ill accorded
with their own detail of the miſ-
chief done to their works, and of
the extraordinary valour diſplayed
by the troops of both nations in
expoſing themſelves to ſuch im-
minent danger. It muſt have been
highly curious and intereſting,
even to an indifferent ſpectator, to
have beheld the diſorder and con-
fuſion into which ſo powerful an
army was thrown, and the loſs

and

and miſchief it ſuſtained, through the exertions of ſo inferior a number. If vanity was capable of producing ſuch effects, there would have been an opportunity now for its full gratification.

This freſh affront recalled the memory of the loſs and diſgrace ſuffered by the ſally of the preceding year, and was reſented ſo much by the allied commanders, that it ſeems to have contributed not a little to precipitate their meaſures. A new battery of 64 heavy cannon was opened by break of day on the following morning, which, with the cannon in their lines, and above 60 mortars, continued to pour their ſhot and ſhells, without intermiſſion, upon the garriſon, through the whole courſe of the day. At the ſame time, a ſquadron of ſeven Spaniſh and two French ſhips of the line, with ſome frigates and ſmaller veſſels, taking the advantage of a favourable wind, dropped down from the Orange Grove, at the head of the bay, and paſſing ſlowly along the works, diſcharged their ſhot at the ſouth baſtion, and the ragged ſtaff, continuing their cannonade, until they had paſſed Europa Point, and got into the Mediterranean. They then formed a line to the eaſtward of the rock, and, the admiral leading, came to the attack of the batteries on Europa Point, and, under a very ſlow ſail, commenced a heavy fire with all their guns, which continued until they were entirely paſſed.

The ſmall marine force at Gibraltar had for ſome conſiderable time been commanded by Captain Curtis, of the Brilliant frigate, who had been much diſtinguiſhed in ſeveral ſpirited actions with Spaniſh frigates and gun-boa and had been particularly ſucce ful in reſcuing the veſſels that coming in to the garriſon, their attacks in the bay. We already ſeen that the ſeamen held a diſtinguiſhed part in laſt ſally; where, as they attached to different garri corps, this gentleman acted as a volunteer. In the pre ſeaſon of danger, when the ſu riority of the enemy ſhut them from exertion on their proper ment, it was thought neceſſary to loſe their ſervices in the im diate defence of the place by They were accordingly formed to a diſtinct corps, under the of the marine brigade, and C tain Curtis held the rank title of brigadier, as their c mander. To that officer, and marine corps, was committed defence of the works and batte on Europa Point; a truſt w they diſcharged ſo well, that ing repeatedly ſtruck the en in the firſt attack, they were terwards glad to keep a guarded diſtance; and two of Spaniſh ſhips found it neceſſa go to Algeziras to repair their mages.

The firing from the iſthmus renewed on the next, and co nued the ſucceeding days; the enemy boaſted that it ſhould ſupported on the ſame ſcale the reduction of the place; being at the rate of 6500 can ſhot, and 1080 ſhells, in e 24 hours. The ſhips like made repeated attacks upon ropa Point, but the batteries ſo excellently ſerved, and the ſo well pointed, that they did

approa

roach near enough to produce
ll effect. As if it had been
ed at once to confound and
whelm the garriſon, by the
titudinous forms and variety of
ck, and the enormous quan-
of fire poured upon them,
gun and mortar boats were
added to all the other inſtru-
nts of vengeance, and renewed
h great fierceneſs their aſſaults
h by day and by night upon the
rks. Indeed the numerous
unteers and ſpectators had now
unuſual opportunity of gratify-
their curioſity, in beholding
operations of war diverſified
rly into all the forms, which it
capable of exhibiting, whether
land or by ſea, in the attack or
fence of a fortreſs.

It ſeems ſcarcely leſs than aſto-
hing, that theſe numerous at-
ks, accompanied by ſo prodi-
ous a weight of fire, in all its
oſt deſtructive modes of action,
ould have produced very little
ect, either with reſpect to the
s of men in the garriſon, or to
e damage done to the works.
t the arduous day was now faſt
proaching, when courage, ſkill,
d ingenuity, were to undergo
eir ſevereſt trial; and when all
e united powers of gun-powder
d artillery, in their higheſt ſtate
diſcovery and improvement,
ere to be called into action.

The combined fleets, of 27 Spa-
ſh and 12 French ſhips of the
ne, were now arrived at Alge-
ras from Cadiz, and with thoſe
ready on the ſpot, amounted
ther to 48 or 49 ſail of the line,
ſides two or three fifties. The
attering ſhips were likewiſe in
adineſs. Their batteries were
vered with 154 pieces of heavy
braſs cannon; and they carried
ſomething leſs than half that num-
ber to be uſed as exchanges. The
Paſtora, the admiral's ſhip, had
24 guns mounted, and ten in re-
ſerve; the Prince of Naſſau's ſhip,
the Paula, was about the ſame
force, and held a ſimilar propor-
tion. Thirty-ſix artillery men,
and volunteers from the two ar-
mies, were allotted to the ſervice
of each gun; and theſe being ex-
cluſive of the officers, and of the
ſeamen who navigated the veſſels,
the whole number on board was
eſtimated at between ſix and ſeven
thouſand men. The gun and
mortar boats, with the floating
battery and the bomb ketches,
were to carry on their attacks in
every poſſible direction, whilſt the
fire of the battering ſhips was di-
rected againſt their deſtined ob-
jects. By this means, and by the
fire of near 300 cannon, mortars,
and howitzers from the iſthmus, it
was intended, that every part of
the works being attacked at the
ſame inſtant, and every quarter
preſenting a ſimilar face of dan-
ger, the garriſon ſhould be thrown
into irretrievable conſternation and
diſmay, or at leaſt, that their at-
tention being called away to ſo
many ſervices, the reſiſtance muſt
become generally ineffective, and
totally unequal to the accumu-
lated weight and force of the
grand attack.

About ſeven o'clock, on the
morning of the 13th of September,
1782, the ten battering ſhips of
the enemy, lying at the Puenta
Maillova, near the head of the
bay of Gibraltar, and under the
conduct of Admiral Don B. Mo-
reno, were obſerved to be in mo-
tion; and ſoon after getting un-

der

der ſail, to proceed to their ſtations for the attack of that fortreſs. Between nine and ten o'clock they came to an anchor, being moored in a line, at moderate diſtances, from the Old to the New Mole, lying parallel to the rock, and at about 900 yards diſtance. The greateſt ſpirit was diſplayed through this whole evolution; and it is acknowledged on our ſide, that nothing could be more maſterly than the performance. The admiral's ſhip was ſtationed oppoſite the King's baſtion; and the others took their appointed places, ſucceſſively, and with great regularity, to the right and left of the admiral. The ſurrounding hills were by this time covered with people, and it ſeemed as if all Spain had aſſembled to behold the ſpectacle.

The cannonade and bombardment, on all ſides, and in all directions, from the iſthmus, the ſea, and the various works of the fortreſs, was not only tremendous, but beyond example. The prodigious ſhowers of red-hot balls, of bombs, and of carcaſſes, which filled the air, and were without intermiſſion thrown to every point of the various attacks, both by ſea and by land from the garriſon, aſtoniſhed the commanders of the allied forces, who could not conceive the poſſibility, that General Elliot, ſtreightened as he was within the narrow limits of a garriſon, ſhould have been by any means able to conſtruct or to manage ſuch a multitude of furnaces, as they deemed neceſſary to the heating of the infinite quantity of ſhot then thrown. The number of red-hot balls, which the battering ſhips only received in the courſe of the day, was eſtima in their own accounts at not than four thouſand. Nor the mortar batteries in the treſs worſe ſupported; and the battering ſhips appeared to the principal objects of vengean as they were of apprehenſion the garriſon, the whole extent the peninſula ſeemed at the ſa time to be overwhelmed in torrents of fire which were ceſſantly poured upon it.

As the violence of the attac correſponded with the fury of defence, and that the means powers of annoyance and deſtru tion were prodigious on both ſide no imagination could conceive ſcene more terrible, than this d and the ſucceeding night exh bited. All deſcription would fa in attempting to convey adequa ideas of ſuch a ſcene; and the ver actors in it could not be perfect clear and diſtinct in their conce tions of what was paſſing, amid the ſurrounding tumult and u roar.

The battering ſhips were foun upon trial to be an enemy ſcarce leſs formidable than had been re preſented. Beſides maintaining cannonade ſo prodigious throug the greater part of the day, a ſcarcely admitted any appearanc of ſuperiority on the ſide of th fortreſs, their conſtruction was admirably calculated for the pur poſe of withſtanding the combine powers of fire and artillery, th for ſeveral hours the inceſſan ſhowers of ſhells, and the hot ſho with which they were aſſailed, were not capable of making an viſible impreſſion upon them.

About two o'clock, however, ſome ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the

upper part of the admiral's ; and ſoon after, men were erved uſing fire engines, and ring water into the ſhot-holes. is fire, though kept under ing the continuance of day- t, could never be thoroughly dued; and in ſome time, the commanded by the Prince of ſſau, which was next in ſize force to the admiral's, was ceived to be in the ſame condi- n. The diſorder in theſe two mmanding ſhips in the center, cted the whole line of attack; d by the evening, the fire from fortreſs had gained a decided periority.

The fire was continued from the tteries in the fortreſs, with equal our, through the night; and one o'clock in the morning, two firſt ſhips were in flames, d ſeveral more viſibly on fire. he confuſion was now great and parent; and the number of ckets continually thrown up om each of the ſhips, as ſignals the fleet, were ſufficiently ex- reſſive of their extreme diſtreſs d danger. Theſe ſignals were mediately anſwered, and all eans uſed by the fleet to afford e aſſiſtance which they required; t as it was deemed impoſſible to move the battering ſhips, their deavours were only directed to ringing off the men. A great mber of boats were accordingly mployed, and great intrepidity iſplayed, in the attempts for this rpoſe; the danger from the rning veſſels, filled as they were ith inſtruments of deſtruction, ppearing no leſs dreadful, than he fire from the garriſon, terrible s that was; and that the light hrown out on all ſides by the flames, afforded the utmoſt preciſion in its direction.

This ſtate of things preſented an opportunity for the exerciſe of the daring genius of Captain Curtis, in uſing the exertions of his gun-boats, to complete the general confuſion and deſtruction. Theſe were twelve in number, and each carrying an eighteen or a twenty-four pounder, their low fire and fixed aim was not a little formidable. They were ſpeedily manned by the marine brigade, who were equally eager to ſecond the deſigns of their adventurous commander, whether by land or by ſea. He drew theſe up in ſuch a manner as to flank the line of battering ſhips, which were now equally overwhelmed, by the inceſſant direct fire from the garriſon, and by that juſt at hand, raking the whole extent of their line, from the gun-boats. The ſcene was wrought up by this fierce and unexpected attack to the higheſt point of calamity. The Spaniſh boats dared no longer to approach; and were compelled to the hard neceſſity of abandoning their ſhips and friends to the flames, or to the mercy and humanity of a heated and irritated enemy. Several of their boats and launches had been ſunk before they ſubmitted to this neceſſity; and one in particular with four-ſcore men on board, who were all drowned, excepting an officer and twelve men, who having the fortune to float on the wreck under the walls, were taken up by the garriſon. The day-light now appearing, two Spaniſh feluccas, which had not eſcaped with the others, attempted to get out of the danger; but a ſhot from a gun-

boat

boat having killed several men on board one of them, they were both glad to surrender.

It seemed, that nothing could have exceeded the horrors of the night; but the opening of day-light disclosed a spectacle still more dreadful. Numbers of men were seen in the midst of the flames, crying out for pity and help; others floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to an equal, though less dreadful danger, from the opposite element. Even those in the ships where the fire had yet made a less progress, expressed in their looks, gestures, and words, the deepest distress and despair; and were no less urgent in imploring assistance.

The generous humanity of the victors now, at least, equalled their extraordinary preceding exertions of valour; and was to them far more glorious. Nor were the exertions of humanity by any means attended with less danger, nor with circumstances less terrible in the appearance, than those of active hostility. The honour and danger, however, in this instance, lay entirely with the marine brigade, and with their intrepid commander. The firing both from the garrison and gun-boats instantly ceased, upon the first appearance of the dismal spectacle presented by the morning light; and every danger was encountered, in the endeavours to rescue the distressed enemy from surrounding destruction. In these efforts, the boats were equally exposed to the peril arising from the blowing up of the ships, as the fire reached their magazines, and to the continual discharge, on all sides, of the artillery, as the guns became to a certain degree heate It was indeed a noble exertio and a more striking instance of t ardour and boldness with which was supported, needs not to b given, than that of an officer a 29 private men, all severely, a some most dreadfully wounde who were dragged out from amo the slain in the holds of the bur ing ships, and most of whom r covered in the hospital at Gibralt

In these extraordinary efforts save an enemy from perishin though the most astonishing intr pidity was shewn by all the of cers and men, yet their galla commander was peculiarly distin guished; and his life was repea edly in the most imminent dange Besides his being the first to ru on board the burning vessels, an to set the example of dragging wit his own hands the terrified victim from the midst of the flames, h pinnace being close to one of th largest ships when she blew up the wreck was spread all round t a vast extent, and every object be ing for a considerable time buried in a thick cloud of smoke, Gen ral Elliot and the garrison suffered the most poignant anguish an distress, considering the fate o their brave and generous friend and of his bold companions, a inevitable. Indeed, their escap was little less than miraculous though not quite complete; for the cockswain and some of th crew were killed, others wounded and a large hole struck, by th falling timber, through the bot tom of the pinnace; which was only saved for the instant from going to the bottom, by the sea mens' stuffing the hole with their jackets, and by that means keep-

ing

g her above water until other oats arrived to her aſſiſtance. nother gun-boat was ſunk at the me inſtant, and a third ſo much amaged as to be with difficulty ved. Something near or about oo men were ſaved, by theſe xertions, from inevitable deſtruc- ion; and it may be truly ſaid, and highly to the honour of our ational character) that the exer- iſe of humanity to an enemy, un- er ſuch circumſtances of imme- iate action and impending peril, as never yet diſplayed with reater luſtre than upon this oc- aſion.

It was highly fortunate, that uch the greater part of the troops nd ſeamen on board the ſhips had een removed, before the effective, nd admirably directed attack ade by Captain Curtis with the un-boats, could have been at- empted. Numbers, however, periſhed; and it is ſuppoſed, at a very moderate eſtimate, that the enemy could not have loſt leſs than 1500 men, including the priſoners and wounded, in the at- tack by ſea. Admiral Don Mo- reno, left his flag flying, when he abandoned his ſhip, in which ſtate it continued, until it was conſum- ed or blown up with the veſſel. Eight more of the ſhips blew up ſucceſſively, with dreadful explo- ſions, in the courſe of the day. The tenth was burnt by the Eng- liſh, when they found ſhe could not be brought off.

It does not appear that the Spa- niſh gun and mortar-boats took any great ſhare in this attack. They were intended to flank the Engliſh batteries, while they were attacked directly in front by the ſhips, and to throw their fire in ſuch directions, as it was thought, beſides increaſing the general con- fuſion and diſorder, would render it impoſſible for the men to ſtand to their guns. It ſeems probable that their ſpirit of adventure ſunk, under the dreadful fire from the garriſon. The Spaniſh accounts only mention, that the riſing of the wind, and a ſwell of the ſea, prevented their producing the ex- pected effect. Only two of the bomb ketches came forward; but theſe continued to throw ſhells without intermiſſion into the for- treſs, during the whole day and night of the attack. Nor did the fleet perform the ſervices which were expected or threatened, by making attacks on all practicable parts of the fortreſs, and thereby cauſing, at leaſt, a diverſion, in favour of the battering ſhips. This failure has been attributed to an unfavourable wind.

The loſs ſuſtained by the ene- my, under the aſtoniſhing fire which the garriſon continued to throw upon the iſtmus during the whole time of attack, cannot be aſcertained; their own various and contradictory accounts, being ſo evidently calculated to depreciate their loſs both by ſea and land, that the liſts of killed and wound- ed officers, and of priſoners, which could not be concealed, ſeemed almoſt neceſſary to their acknow- ledging that any was ſuſtained. A letter from a French officer, dated on the evening of the 8th, giving an account of the attack upon the works on that day by the garriſon, which was publiſhed in the foreign gazettes, contains the following pathetic paſſage, which

may

may afford some idea of the effect produced by a similar or greater fire on the 13th; viz. "The eye is fatigued, and the "heart rent, with the sight and "groans of the dying and wounded, whom the soldiers are this "moment carrying away; the "number makes a man shudder; "and I am told, that in other "parts of the lines, which are not "within view of my post, the "numbers are still greater. Fortunately for my feelings, I have "not, at this instant, leisure to "reflect much on the state and "condition of mankind."

The loss on the side of the garrison was less than could have been conceived, and was nearly confined to the artillery corps, and to the marine brigade. A few brave officers and men lost their lives, and a much greater number were wounded. From the 9th of August to the 17th of October, the whole number of non-commissioned officers and private men slain, amounted to sixty-five only; but the wounded, were no less than 388. Of commissioned officers, twelve were in that time wounded, of whom a captain and a lieutenant died. Nor was the damage done to the works so considerable as to afford any room for future apprehension; or at all to hold any proportion with the violence of the attacks, and the excessive weight of fire they sustained.

Such was the signal and complete defensive victory, obtained by a comparatively handful of brave men, over the combined efforts and united powers, by sea and by land, of two great, warlike, and potent nations, who sparing no expence, labour, exertion of art, for the attainment of a favourite object, exceeded former example, as well in magnitude, as in the formidable nature of their preparation. victory which has shed a figu blaze of glory over the whole garrison, but which cannot fail particularly to immortalize the name of General Elliot, and to hand down to posterity with distinguished honour, those of Lieutenant General Boyd, and the other principal officers.

The enemy rested all their hopes now, at least ostensively, on the defeat of Lord Howe's fleet; at any rate, on preventing the intended relief, and thereby reducing the unconquered garrison to the necessity of a surrender, through the mere failure of ammunition and provisions. This afforded the only subject of consolation, and nothing seemed to be so ardently wished for as the arrival of the English fleet; an event which, it was held out, would afford an happy opportunity, for converting all past disgrace into an augmentation of present glory.

In the mean time, Lord Howe met with much delay, through contrary winds and very unfavourable weather, on his way to Gibraltar; which was rendered exceedingly irksome, by the anxiety and apprehensions that prevailed relative to the situation of things at that fortress, under a knowledge of the menaced attack. It was not until the fleet had arrived near the scene of action, that this doubt and apprehension were removed, by intelligence received from the coast of Portugal, of the total discomfiture of the combined

forces,

ces, in their grand assault upon
t place. Advice was also re-
ved that the united fleets, in-
d of waiting, as was expected,
encounter the British force, off
pe St. Mary, (a situation which
uld have presented a fair scene
general action on all sides)
taken their station in the Bay
Gibraltar, as a measure for
venting the intended supply.
At this critical point of time, a
lent gale of wind in the Straits,
ew the combined fleets at Al-
iras into the greatest disor-
, and exposed them to no small
nger. This happened on the
ht of the 10th of October, and
ring the course of the storm,
ch damage was done. One ship
the line was driven ashore near
geziras; two more were driven
eastward into the Mediter-
an; others lost masts or bow-
n; and many suffered more or
damage. The St. Michael,
ine Spanish ship of 72 guns,
driven across the bay, under
works of Gibraltar; where the
e of the batteries increasing the
ror and confusion on board, she
aground, and was taken by
boats of the garrison; her com-
nder, Admiral Don Juan Mo-
no, with 650 seamen and sol-
rs, became prisoners of war.
he enemy, upon discovering the
e of the St. Michael, began,
d continued for several days, a
oft furious fire upon the fortress,
rowing at the same time an in-
ite number of shells at the St.
ichael, in the hope of destroy-
g her as she lay ashore. This
e, however, produced no other
fect, than some small loss of
en, and much trouble to those
o were employed in getting off
the St. Michael; which was, how-
ever, done in three or four days,
without any other damage to the
ship than what she received from
the storm or the ground; and that,
excepting the loss of a mast, was
in no degree essential.

On the morning that succeeded the storm, Oct. 11th. the British fleet (which had felt it, but without loss or damage) entered the straits mouth, in a close line of battle a-head; and about an hour after night, the van arriving off the Bay of Gibraltar, a most favourable opportunity was afforded to the store-ships of reaching their destined anchorage, without any molestation from the enemy; but through some inattention of the captains to the peculiar circumstances of the navigation laid down in their instructions, only four of the thirty-one sail which accompanied the fleet effected their purpose. The rest, having missed the bay, were driven through the straits into the Mediterranean during the night, and were no small encumbrance to the fleet in its subsequent operations.

While Lord Howe was collecting his convoy in the Mediterranean, and preparing to escort them back to the rock, the enemy were under no small anxiety for the safety of the two-line of battle ships, which had been driven from Algeziras out of the straits on the night of the storm. To recover these, and in the hope of intercepting, or preventing the return of the store-ships, the combined fleets sailed from Algeziras on the 13th, their force being now lessened, by three disabled ships which they were obliged to leave behind,

behind, by the St. Michael, taken, and by the abſence of two others.

The Britiſh fleet was a-breaſt of Fungarola, a large port town lying between Malaga and Gibraltar, when advice was received of the approach of the enemy. Upon this intelligence, while the fleet was cloſing, and forming a line of battle, the Buffalo, of 60 guns, was detached with thoſe ſtore-ſhips which had yet been collected, to the Zafarine iſlands, which lie upon the coaſt of Barbary, about ſixty leagues above Gibraltar. The Panther, of the ſame force, being left in the Bay of Gibraltar, for the protection, as they arrived, of the ſtore-ſhips, Lord Howe's force now only amounted to thirty-two ſail of the line.

About ſun-ſet, the enemy were deſcried in great force, at about ſix leagues diſtance, in line of battle, with a ſtrong wind full in their favour, and bearing directly down upon the Engliſh fleet. They amounted in number to ſixty-four ſail, of which forty-nine were ſquare-rigged, and about forty-two ſeemed to be of the line, including ſeveral very large three deckers. About nine o'clock, advice was received from the advanced frigates, that the enemy had hauled their wind and bore up; and at two in the morning, that they had tacked. By day-light, they were perceived cloſe in with the land, and at ſuch a diſtance as not to be viſible from the deck. It would ſeem, that during that time they had recovered the two miſſing ſhips.

It was diſcovered in the morning, that ſeveral of the tranſports had not gone with the Buffalo on the preceding evening, and that ſeveral others had joined the ſ in the night. Upon this acco the wind happening to becom vourable, the fleet proceeded order of battle towards the m of the ſtraits, and paſſed eig of the convoy ſafe to Gibra Bay. By the 18th the veſſels der the convoy of the Buffalo h ing rejoined the fleet, were ſe into Gibraltar; two regimen which were on board the ſhips war and frigates, were like landed; and a ſcarcity of amm nition in the garriſon, which ſee not to have been provided for, w remedied by Lord Howe's ſend in a ſupply of 1500 barrels of po der from the fleet.

During the performance of the eſſential ſervices, the combin fleets of the enemy never ca came in ſight; but at the break day, on the 19th, the Britiſh fle being then in the entrance of t gut, and encloſed between the o poſite points of Europa and Ceu they appeared, at no great di tance, to the north-eaſt. Th Britiſh commander ſaw that would be the higheſt imprudenc and raſhneſs to hazard an actio in the gut. There was not ſuffi cient room for forming the line o battle; much leſs for the evolu tious which might be neceſſary i the courſe of an engagement. Th danger ariſing in ſuch circum ſtances from the vicinity of the enemy's coaſts, was not an object of leſs conſideration than their ſu periority in number and force. The wind blew full from the Me diterranean, and was of courſe en tirely in their favour; and, be ſides all the advantages to be de rived from friendly ſhores, and ſuch a perfect knowledge of them

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nd of the currents, as to be able o evade, or to convert into bene- ts all the dangers of the ſtraits, hey had, in caſe of particular da- age, or general misfortune, ex- ellent ports at hand on all ſides r their relief or protection; while he Engliſh ſhips, in caſe of any onſiderable damage, which was a onſequence to be conſidered as navoidable with reſpect to ſome other, had no friendly port to tire to for relief or ſhelter.

ct. 20th. In theſe circum- ſtances, Lord Howe paſſed the ſtraits into the Atlan- c, and was followed by the ene- y. On the following morning, ey were perceived, at about five agues diſtance to windward. The ngliſh fleet formed in order of attle to leeward, to receive them; nd the enemy had it in their power, ing the greater part of the y, to have choſen their time of tion as well as their diſtance. t ſun-ſet, they began a canno- de on the van and rear of the itiſh fleet; but generally at ſuch diſtance as to produce little ef- ct; the fire being occaſionally turned by different ſhips as they times approached within reach. his firing was held in ſuch con- mpt by Lord Howe, that he did ot return a ſingle ſhot from his n ſhip, the victory, although e was fired at by ſeveral, and at e time by three ſhips.

The enemy, however, perceiv- g a part of the rear a good deal parated from the reſt, made a lder attempt upon that diviſion. he French and Spaniſh admirals, de Guichen, and Don Cordo- , led the attack upon the ſepa- rated ſhips, which, reſerving them- ſelves till they were within a near diſtance, threw in ſo well-timed, ſo heavy, and ſo admirably direct- ed a fire upon them, and this was ſupported with ſuch ſpirit and ef- fect, that the enemy were ſoon thrown into evident confuſion, and their leading ſhips ſuffered ſome conſiderable apparent damage. Don Cordova, in particular, was thrown all a-back; and the enemy hauling their wind, gave up the object entirely; the cannonade ended about ten o'clock, and the combined fleets being at a conſi- derable diſtance in the morning, and, to appearance, on their re- turn to Cadiz, Lord Howe pro- ceeded on his way to England.

This diſtant fire, as uſual, and as all that was intended by it, excepting merely to ſave appear- ances, did a good deal of damage to the yards and rigging of ſeveral of the Engliſh ſhips, ſo that if Lord Howe had even been diſpoſ- ed to purſue the enemy on the following morning, he could not have ſo done; but that, undoubt- edly, neither was, nor ought to have been any part of his object. The meaſure of mere fighting, without any adequate object in view, can never be adopted by any wiſe commander, either by ſea or by land. The great ſervice of re- lieving Gibraltar was, in the face of all Europe, moſt happily and glorioufly performed, under ſuch circumſtances of inferiority in force, as not only fully to ſup- port, but highly to exalt, our na- val renown, and the honour of the Britiſh flag. It was evident, through the whole courſe of the

proceed-

proceedings, that the combined enemy, with so great a superiority as they possessed, had not, at any time, the smallest intention of hazarding a general action; however willing they might be to risque some loss in order to maintain that appearance, and however watchful they were to profit of any advantage that might be afforded. The British commander, besides, had other important services still to provide for. He detached eight ships of the line to the West-Indies, and six to the coasts of Ireland, on his way home; neither of which, or at least the former, could probably have been done, if a forced action, (and which from its nature could not be decisive) had taken place.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

Peterſburgh, Dec. 28, 1781.

IN conſequence of the reſolution of the Empreſs, our auguſt Sovereign, reſpecting the augmentation of her marine, orders have been iſſued for building 12 ſhips of the line at Cherſon, and eight others, three-deckers, here: by this arrangement, our marine will amount to 42 ſhips of the line for the Baltic, and 12 of the line for the Black Sea, excluſive of frigates, gallies, bomb-veſſels, and other armed ſhips.

Dantzig, Jan. 1, 1782. The total number of veſſels arrived here during the year 1781, is 162, among which not one under Dutch colours; and the number of thoſe which have ſailed from this port during the ſame period, is 149; among the former 42 came from Holland, and among the latter 30 were deſtined for that republic.

Moſt of the Dantzig veſſels have been employed in carrying ſhipbuilding timber to England, and have had very high freights; but as all the neutral powers are at this time building trading veſſels, it is thought the freights will be lower this year than laſt.

During laſt year, there have only arrived here from Poland 4067 laſts of wheat, and 5600 laſts of rye, which is very different from former years, when the average importation of thoſe grains uſed to be 40,000 laſts. We have at preſent, in our warehouſes, about 5000 laſts of corn, and 3500 laſts of rye.

Our trade, in general, is much diminiſhed; and if our navigation, and the ſale of ſhip-building timber, did not bring us ſome advantages, many here would be in actual want.

3d. The fleet commanded by Don Louis de Cordova, conſiſting of 40 ſhips of the line, 9 frigates, with 70 tranſports, having 4000 troops on board, ſailed from Cadiz on a ſecret expedition.

Milan, 18th. We have received here the ordinances of the Emperor, for the ſuppreſſion of ſome religious orders of both ſexes, the individuals of which lead a mere contemplative life, without being of any ſervice to the public.

19th. The Vienna Gazette of this day's date contains the following notification:

"Notice is hereby given to all thoſe who have hitherto kept out of their country on account of the religion they profeſs, that his Majeſty pardons them, on condi-

tion that they return in the courſe of the year 1782, promiſing that they ſhall enjoy the ſame benefits as thoſe who, on account of religion, had quitted the place of their birth, and taken up their abode in other provinces belonging to his ſaid Majeſty."

20th. The Marquis Fayette and Viſcount Noaille arrived at Paris from their ſtations in North America.

St. James's, 25th. The Baron de Kutzleben had a private audience of his Majeſty, to deliver a new letter of credence, giving him the character of Miniſter Plenipotentiary from his Serene Highneſs the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel.—He had afterwards a private audience of her Majeſty.

Came on in the court of king's bench, the important queſtion between the captors of the iſland of St. Euſtatius and the Britiſh claimants of property in that iſland, Whether their claims ſhould be determined in the court of admiralty, or whether the court of king's bench ſhould prohibit that juriſdiction from proceeding in the ſuits inſtituted in the admiralty, and leave the claimants to purſue their remedy againſt Sir G. Rodney and Gen. Vaughan in the courts of common law. This queſtion drew the attention of the firſt gentlemen of the profeſſion of the law, and was maintained with equal ability on both ſides; but was at length determined in favour of the admiralty courts by Earl Mansfield. His lordſhip ſaid, that the Engliſh language could not ſtate in clearer terms than the legiſlature ſaid and underſtood, that the juriſdiction was in the admiralty.

26th. A cartel ſhip, with 300 French priſoners on board, part of the regiments of Acquitaine and Soiſſoin, which were taken by Admiral Kempenfelt in clearing Mount Batten, in Plymouth Road, fell to leeward, miſſed ſtays, and drove upon the reef of rocks at the eaſt end of it. The poor unfortunate priſoners, who were but a minute before huzzaing in the higheſt ſpirits, were now ſunk in the deepeſt diſtreſs; many of them wringing their hands as if on the point of periſhing. Some that could ſwim reached the boats that had put off to their aſſiſtance. Six boys got out the yaul, and attempted to reach the ſhore, but were daſhed againſt a reck, and the boat inſtantly ſtaved; the next wave that ſucceeded caſt the lads on the ſhore, who found means to crawl up the rocks, and were ſaved. A cutter that attended the cartel got out all the boats, and, with the aſſiſtance that inſtantly came from the ſhore, took almoſt every man on board, not more than two or three being miſſing, who it was ſuppoſed in the hurry had ſlipped between the boats.

27th. The long pending and important cauſe between Mr. Diſney Ffytche and the Biſhop of London had a deciſive hearing before Lord Loughborough, who pronounced the deciſion in favour of Mr. Ffytche, laying it down as a principle not only affecting the iſſue of this particular caſe, but of general operation—a doctrine founded on the immoveable baſis of the law of the land—"That bonds of general reſignation were not illegal, and that of courſe a biſhop could not refuſe,

refuſe, on this plea, the inſtitution into a benefice of any clerk properly preſented by the patron."

An American ſhip arrived 1ſt. at Oſtend reports, that congreſs took a reſolution towards the end of November laſt, to forbid the importation of all goods and merchandizes of the growth or manufacture of Great Britain and its dependencies, on pain of confiſcation in caſe ſuch goods and effects are found in their dominions, or within three leagues of the coaſt, and being intended for that country, except they are taken in prizes, and lawfully condemned. This important reſolution is to take place the 1ſt of May, 1782.

At a meeting of the livery of the city of London, in common-hall aſſembled, this day, the right honourable the lord mayor reported the anſwer given by his majeſty to the ſheriffs of this city, reſpecting the preſenting the addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, agreed to at the laſt common-hall; alſo a letter from the Earl of Hertford, addreſſed to him, and his lordſhips anſwer to the ſaid letter.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the lord mayor, for the ſpirit and propriety of his conduct on this occaſion.

Reſolved, That whoever adviſed the king to deviate from the accuſtomed mode, admitted by his majeſty, of receiving the livery of London, ſitting on his throne, is an enemy to the rights and privileges of the citizens of this great capital of the Britiſh empire.

Reſolved, That the unequal repreſentation of the people, the corrupt ſtate of parliament, and the perverſion thereof, from its original inſtitution, have been the principal cauſes of the unjuſt war with America, of the conſequent diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire, and of every grievance of which we complain.

Reſolved, That theſe grievances can never be removed, until the right of the people to their conſtitutional ſhare in the Engliſh government ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, by a fair and equal repreſentation in parliament, and a frequent election of their repreſentatives, according to ancient uſage.

Reſolved, That for the purpoſe of obtaining a reſtoration of theſe rights, a committee of the livery of London be appointed.

Reſolved, That the committee appointed the 10th of February, 1780, by the common council of this city, to correſpond and confer with the committees of other counties, &c. proved themſelves firm friends to the people.

Reſolved, That the following gentlemen be the committee of the livery of London now appointed, to correſpond with the committees of the ſeveral counties, cities, &c. of the kingdom, viz. Wm. Plomer, Eſq. Lord Mayor, Braſs Croſby, Eſq. Fred. Bull, Eſq. J. Townſhend, Eſq. John Wilkes, Eſq. John Sawbridge, Eſq. Sir Watkin Lewes, Nath. Newnham, Eſq. Tho. Sainſbury, Eſq. Wm. Crichton, Eſq. Barnard Turner, Eſq. Mr. Wm. Hurford, Samuel Vaughan, Eſq. Tho. Scott, Eſq. Wm. Pickett, Eſq. Joſiah Dornford, Eſq. Mr. Samuel Thorp, Mr. John Pinhorn, Mr. John Withers, Mr. George Bodley, Mr. Tho. Skinner, Mr. George Bellas, Mr. A. Facer Kemp, Mr.

James Sharp, Edward Howſe, Eſq. Mr. Cha. Lincoln, Mr. Wm. Preſton, John Jacobs, Eſq. Mr. Robert Holder, Mr. Laurence Holker, M. Dep. Lake Young, Mr. Wm. Denham, jun. Mr. Dep. Jeremiah Percy, Mr. Wm. Anderſon, Mr. Nicholas Forſter, and Mr. Wm. Falkener.

Reſolved, That the ſaid committee do take the moſt effectual methods for obtaining a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, and a frequent election of the repreſentatives, according to ancient uſage, and for theſe purpoſes do confer and correſpond with other committees throughout the kingdom.

Reſolved, That the common-council of this city be requeſted to grant the uſe of the new common-council room to the ſaid committee, for the purpoſe of their occaſional meeting therein; and that the lord mayor be deſired to communicate this requeſt to the common-council at their firſt meeting.

Reſolved, That the ſaid committee be directed to meet in Guildhall for their deliberations, and that Mr. town clerk do attend them.

The lord mayor having preſented a paper, which his lordſhip informed the meeting had been delivered to him this morning, purporting to be a proteſt againſt the legality of this meeting, the ſame was read; and a motion being made, and queſtion being put, that the ſame be entered in the records of this city, it paſſed in the negative.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this common-hall be given to the right honourable the lord mayor for ſo readily complying with the requeſt of the livery in calling this meeting, and for his impartial conduct during the courſe of the whole buſineſs.

RIX.

Feb. 1. The following proteſt, relative to the common-hall, held yeſterday, was previouſly delivered to the lord mayor at the manſion-houſe, by the gentlemen whoſe names are ſubſcribed:

To the Right Hon. William Plomer, *Eſq. Lord Mayor.*

" My Lord,

" At a numerous and reſpectable meeting of the livery, held the 29th of January, 1782, at the Half-Moon Tavern, in Cheapſide, for the purpoſe of conſidering the propriety of a common-hall, convened by your lordſhip's precept, to be holden on Thurſday next.

' For the purpoſe of receiving the report of the gentlemen appointed to deliver the addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition, to his majeſty, agreed upon at the laſt common-hall, and to conſider what farther ſteps are neceſſary to be taken, on the preſent alarming and critical ſituation of this kingdom:'

" It was the unanimous opinion of the livery preſent, That the purpoſes for which the ſaid common-hall is directed to be called, are not legal, and do not concern this city in its corporate capacity:

" That a committee be appointed to draw up and deliver a proteſt to your lordſhip againſt the meeting or aſſembling of ſuch a common-hall; and that the ſaid committee do requeſt that ſuch proteſt may be read at the holding of the ſaid common-hall, and entered

ered of record in the city books.

"And a committee was ordered accordingly.

"Therefore we the ſaid committee, and whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, do, in purſuance of the above authority, accordingly proteſt to your lordſhip againſt the holding of the ſaid intended common-hall, for the reaſons before mentioned.

"And in caſe your lordſhip ſhall, notwithſtanding, think fit to hold the ſaid common-hall, we humbly requeſt that your lordſhip will permit, and order the above proceedings, and this proteſt, to be read on the huſtings, at the time of the holding of the ſaid common-hall, and to be entered on record on the city books. We are, my lord, your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervants,

Gabriel Leckey, *Skinner.*
John Merry, *Draper.*
Thomas Wellings, *Needle-maker.*
Thomas Tomlins, *Scrivener.*
Thomas Evans, *Armourer and Brazier.*"

DIED, At Stetin, Duke Auguſtus William of Brunſwick Luneburg Bevern. All his poſſeſſions, which were very conſiderable, devolve to his brother Duke Charles, the only remaining branch of Bevern.

At Darlington, in the biſhoprick of Durham, J. Nicholls, a labouring man, aged 105.

FEBRUARY.

1ſt. At the court at St. James's, preſent the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council,

SHERIFFS appointed by his majeſty in council for the year 1782, viz.

Berkſhire. Poſtponed.
Bedfordſhire. Robert Thornton, of Moggerhanger, Eſq.
Bucks. Joſeph Jacques, of Tickford Park, Eſq.
Cumberland. W. Dacre, of Kirklington, Eſq.
Cheſhire. Sir P. Warburton, of Warburton, Bart.
Camb. & Hunt. Henry Poynter Standly, of Little Paxton, Eſq.
Cornwall. John Coryton, of Crocadon, Eſq.
Devonſhire. Sir John W. Pole, of Shute, Bart.
Dorſetſhire. W. Churchill, of Henbury, Eſq.
Derbyſhire. Richard Loe, of Lockoe, Eſq.
Eſſex. Wm. Dalby, of Walthamſtow, Eſq.
Glouceſterſhire. Charles Hayward, of Quedgley, Eſq.
Hertfordſhire. John Michie, of North Mimms, Eſq.
Herefordſhire. Francis Wm. Tho. Bridges of Tibberton, Eſq.
Kent. Samuel Boys, of Hawkhurſt, Eſq.
Leiceſterſhire. Sir John Palmer, of Carlton Curlieu, Bart.
Lincolnſhire. William Pennyman, of Little Ponton, Eſq.
Monmouthſhire. Poſtponed.
Northumberland. Calverley Bewicke, of Cloſe Houſe, Eſq.
Northamptonſhire. Henry Sawbridge, of Daventry, Eſq.
Norfolk. Henry Lee Warner, of Walſingham, Eſq.
Nottinghamſhire. John Litchfield, of Mansfield, Eſq.
Oxfordſhire. Wm. Phillips, of Culham, Eſq.

Rutlandſhire. Tob. Hippeſley, of Hambledon, Eſq.
Shropſhire. Cha. Walcot, of Bitterley, Eſq.
Somerſetſhire. James Ireland, of Briſlington, Eſq.
Staffordſhire. Charles Tollet, of Betley, Eſq.
Suffolk. William Middleton, of of Crowfield, Eſq.
Southampton. William Shirreff, of Old Alresford, Eſq.
Surrey. Abraham Pitches, of Streatham, Eſq.
Suſſex. William Frankland, of Muntham, Eſq.
Warwickſhire. Rowland Farmer Oakover, of Oldbury, Eſq.
Worceſterſhire. Joſeph Berwick, of Worceſter, Eſq.
Wiltſhire. William Bowles, of Hele, Eſq.
Yorkſhire. Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, Bart.
South Wales. Brecon. Joſhua Morgan, of Lanelly, Eſq.
Carmarthen. J. Morgan, of Carmarthen, Eſq.
Cardigan. Herb. Evans, of Low-Mead, Eſq.
Glamorgan. Thomas Manſell Talbot, of Margam, Eſq.
Pembroke. Vaughan Thomas, of Poſty, Eſq.
Radnor. Thomas Beavan, of Skunlaſs, Eſq.
North Wales. Angleſey. Morgan Jones, of Skerries, Eſq.
Carnarvon. Richard Pennant, of Penrhyn, Eſq.
Denbigh. The Hon. Cha. Finch, of Voylas,
Flint. The Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice.
Merioneth. Wm. Humffreys, of Maerdu, Eſq.
Montgomeryſhire. Henry Tracy, of Maeſmawr, Eſq.

The caſe of Hevey, tried laſt ſeſſions at the Old Bailey for forgery, and under a ſpecial verdict, was reſerved for the determination of the twelve judges, has been brought before them, and the law finally ſettled on that ſubject.—The caſe was ſummarily this: he uttered a bill of exchange, indorſed "R. Macarty," and ſaid that his name was M'Carty, and that the indorſement was in his own hand-writing. On the trial it was proved, and the jury found, that the indorſement was not the hand-writing of Hevey, but of M'Carty; it followed of courſe that the indorſement was not forged: the difficulty therefore was whether, by having perſonated the indorſer, he had brought himſelf within the ſtatute againſt forgery. The judges have determined in the negative, ſo that the man's life is ſafe; but he remains to be tried for a conſpiracy, in having ſet up, in conjunction with divers others, pretended banking-houſes in Bath and London, with an intention to defraud.

4th. By the Hampden packet-boat, arrived at Falmouth from Liſbon, advice is received of the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of 30 line of battle ſhips, and ſeveral frigates, being cruizing off Cape St. Vincent's. The packet, on her paſſage, fell in with a Portugueze ſhip, which had been detained by the Spaniſh fleet for ſeveral days, in order to prevent her giving intelligence.

Lord Mansfield gave the unanimous opinion of all the judges on the appeal from the adjudication of the high court of admiralty, relative to the captures made on land on the 2d of February, 1781, by

y the forces under the command f Admiral Sir George Rodney nd General Vaughan, at St. Eutatius, when the judgment and urisdiction of the admiralty were onfirmed; and the rule ſet aſide, heir judgment was diſcharged.

th. The purſer of the Belmont East-Indiaman arrived t the East India houſe, with the ews of the above ſhip being ſafe rrived at Plymouth on Saturday aſt. He brought the following ccount, that they ſailed from St. Helena the 2d of November, in ompany with the Prime, under convoy of Commodore Johnſton's quadron. Soon after they ſailed, everal heavy gales of wind came on, which laſted for ſix weeks; nd that on the 23d of January hey parted company. Several of he commodore's ſhips were much damaged.

6th. A bomb-ketch of Commodore Johnſton's ſquadron, rrived at Plymouth, brings information of the Hannibal having captured two of Monſ. Vaudreuil's tranſports, one of them carrying 22 guns, and deeply laden with ſtores.

Extract of a letter from Jerſey, Jan. 26.

"A flag of truce arrived here laſt week with ſome ranſomers, and a young lady, who about 20 years ſince was ſent to France for her education, but was ſhut up in a convent. Her mother had frequent aſſurances of her death, and certificates from the holy fathers, and went into mourning for her; but about two years ſince was ſurpriſed to receive a letter from her child, informing her of her ſituation, and of her long meditated eſcape, which ſhe had never been able to effect. At length ſhe found a method of getting away, hired a veſſel, and came over.—Her mother had paid for her funeral about ſixteen years ago to a principal merchant who ſupported her when at ſchool. Her name is Du Merick; ſhe has a brother, a lieutenant in our ſervice, and a couſin, who commands his Majeſty's ſhip Repulſe, of 64 guns.

This day the lord mayor held the ſeſſion at Guildhall, when the attorneys concerned for the ſeveral plaintiffs who ſued the city for the damages ſuſtained by the tumults in June, 1780, claimed, on behalf of their employers, the ſums due; and the court made an order to pay 27,000l. which had been collected, amongſt the different plaintiffs, and that the future collections ſhould be reſponſible for the ſum of 400l. which ſtill remains due to thoſe verdicts.

8th. This being the day appointed for a ſolemn faſt, the ſame was obſerved at court; their majeſties attended divine ſervice at the chapel-royal, and heard a ſermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Kaye, ſub-almoner.

The Bp. of Worceſter preached a ſermon on the ſame occaſion in Weſtminſter-abbey, before the lord chancellor, five temporal and ten ſpiritual lords, and took his diſcourſe from the 5th chapter of Jeremiah, verſe 25. As did the Rev. Dr. Dampier before the ſpeaker and ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, at St. Margaret's church, from the 18th chapter of Ezek. ver. 30.

12th. *Extract of a letter from Dublin, Feb. 7.*

"Yeſterday afternoon the whole city was thrown into the greateſt conſter-

conſternation, by a very fatal accident which happened in the Grove-room of the Muſic-hall, in Fiſhamble-ſtreet. A meeting was held there of the corporation of ſtationers, cutlers, &c. to conſider of a proper perſon to repreſent this city in the room of the late Dr. Clements. The meeting was very numerous, and in the midſt of ſome of the ſpeeches the floor unhappily gave way, and fell with more than four hundred perſons, above twenty feet, on ſeveral others who were below. The confuſion occaſioned by this ſurpriſe was inexpreſſible, and the ſhrieks and groans of the numerous perſons wounded were heard throughout the whole neighbourhood.

"Amongſt twenty-one unfortunate perſons hurt are the three candidates, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Pemberton, and Alderman Warren, wounded, but not dangerouſly. Sir Edward Newenham's collar-bone broke, &c."

On Saturday a queſtion of conſequence, relative to the Angleſea militia, was brought before the court of king's bench, by way of mandamus, to declare the commiſſions of the major and captains ſerving in that militia void. It appeared, that four volunteer companies raiſed in Ireland as regulars, atteſted for the 101ſt regiment, with Iriſh officers, were added to the Angleſea militia, without qualifications, in that county. The court, on Mr. Bearcroft's ſhowing cauſe againſt the mandamus, made the rule abſolute, to declare all their commiſſions void.

15th. Yeſterday was tried, before the Earl of Mansfield, in the court of king's bench at Guildhall, a cauſe of general concern.—A merchant of Fluſhing brought an action againſt a merchant of this city, for the recovery of the amount of three bills of exchange given by the defendant for tea ſold by the plaintiff, and delivered at Oſtend to the defendant's order: the defence was, that the tea never came to the defendant's hand, but was ſeized as run goods; therefore the plaintiff was liable to the loſs: the defendant went upon two other points of law, namely, that the plaintiff could not apply for juſtice, as the act of ſelling the tea was a fraud upon the revenue; alſo, that if the tea had actually been delivered, the plaintiff was not entitled to recover. The noble judge, in his charge to the jury, remarked, that Fluſhing and Oſtend were the most famous ports for ſmuggling. If the jury conſidered the tea to be ſold for the purpoſe of being ſmuggled to England, they would find for the defendant. He obſerved, that the Eaſt-India ſhips were the only bottoms of conveyance of tea to England: beſides, it was proved, that the plaintiff kept boats and horſes to convey tea to the coaſt of England. The jury found for the defendant, and thereby made the notes void.

At the court at St. James's, the 15th of February, 1782, preſent the king's moſt excellent majeſty in council.

It is this day ordered by his majeſty in council, that an embargo be forthwith laid upon all ſhips and veſſels laden, or to be laden, in any of the ports of the iſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, Alderney, and Sark, with beef, pork, or any ſort of ſalted proviſions; and that the ſaid embargo do continue and

and remain upon ſuch ſhips and veſſels until further order.

W. FAWKENER.

26th. The ſeſſions at the Old Bailey, which began on the 20th, ended, when ten convicts received ſentence of death, viz. Edward Wilkins for robbing John Morant on the highway near Bayſwater, among other things, of a draught for 130l; Anthony Elcard, for ſtealing from the houſe of R. Onſlow, Eſq. goods to a conſiderable value; Lucias Hughes, for picking the pocket of Baron Kutzlebeb, miniſter plenipotentiary from Heſſe Caſſel, of his gold watch, as he was alighting from his carriage at the Opera-houſe; Peter Mayhew, for the wicked practice of cutting ſilk in the loom; Martin Taylor, for ſtealing a box, in which were 200 plates of tin; Henry Levi, for ſtealing a pair of coach harneſs; Heney Cohen, for ſtealing a ſilk handkerchief; Wm. Smith, for robbing the Cheſter mail; Anne Smith, for ſhop lifting; Jane Lee, for a crime of the ſame nature; John Knowles and John May, for houſe-breaking; and Wm. Roberts, for ſtealing dowlas and cotton goods, the property of Meſſrs. Scott, Harris, &c. in Bread-ſtreet.

At this ſeſſions two women were tried for the murder of a man in Eagle and Child-alley, Fleet-market, and acquitted. A young gentleman of fortune was likewiſe tried for ſtealing two ſilver ſpoons from the Bedford Head tavern, where he with another young gentleman had dined. The ſpoons were miſſed, and found in the young gentleman's boot.

6

MARCH.

Friday, March 1ſt. Being St. David's day, the anniverſary of the Society of Ancient Britons was held, when an excellent ſermon was preached on the occaſion at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by the Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells. After which they proceeded to the Crown and Anchor Tavern, where an elegant entertainment was provided. The collection after dinner was as follows, viz.

Collection at church	29	17	0
His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, annual donation	105	0	0
The Right Hon. Lord Bagot, preſident	50	0	0
Richard Pennant, vice-preſident	20	0	0
Rev. Rob. Carter Chelwall, ditto	20	0	0
Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bt. annual donation	25	0	0
Edw. Lovenden, Eſq. treaſurer	21	0	0
Right Hon. Earl of Plymouth	21	0	0
Right Hon. Earl of Godolphin	21	0	0
Collection at ſeveral tables	147	0	0
Total	£.459	17	0

The Right Hon. Lord Vernon, preſident, and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, ſtewards for the year enſuing.

2d. *Adm. Office.* By letters from Commodore Johnſtone, dated on board the Diana, at Portſmouth, Feb. 28th, there is advice of his arrival, and that he has brought with him from Liſbon,

Lieut,

Lieut. Reid, of the Romney, who commanded the Dankbaarheyt, one of the prizes taken in Soldanha Bay, with ten others who were ſaved from the ſaid prize. They report, that the Dankbaarheyt, after loſing all her maſts on the 28th of January, near the Channel, had her pumps choaked on the 29th; that ſhe gradually filled with water to the upper deck, and was on the point of ſinking on the 30th at dark, when they left her in a little boat in a hard gale of wind; that the crew had prepared a raft, and taken every precaution with coolneſs and intrepidity, but from all circumſtances there is little hope that any of thoſe brave men could ſurvive. The boat was obliged to keep right before the wind, and after running 80 miles to the ſouthward, they were taken up by a Swediſh brig, who, for a premium, landed them in the Tagus.

Lord Charles Fitzgerald, of his majeſty's ſhip La Prudente, acquaints the board of his having taken the Eagle, French ſtore-ſhip, bound to the Eaſt Indies, laden with naval and military ſtores. She ſailed from Breſt on the 11th inſtant, with Count de Guichen.

Captain Inglis, of his majeſty's ſhip Squirrel, acquaints the board, that he has taken the Furet brig, of 4 guns and 36 men, quite new, and had taken nothing.

3d. An order was iſſued from the privy council, for the enlargement of Meſſ. Gouverneur and Curzon from their confinement, on condition of their giving bail for their appearance, ſimilar to that entered into ſome time ſince by Mr. Laurens, the American priſoner.

4th. Sir Guy Carleton's commiſſion, appointing him commander in chief in America, paſſed the great ſeal.

11th. The river Clyde roſe higher than has ever been known in the memory of man. In Glaſgow the waters reached half way up the Salt Market.

12th. Cooper Hall was capitally convicted at Nottingham aſſizes for robbing the mail of the Newcaſtle bag. His trial laſted between ſeven and eight hours, in which time 52 witneſſes were examined.

13th. The following malefactors were executed at Tyburn: Edmund Harris, for burglary; John Lucas, for robbing on the highway, and ſhooting at Mr. Ellingham, and wounding him in the back; and John Coleman, for robbing Mr. Davanet, in the footpath leading from Pancras to Kentiſh town.

14th. *Adm. Office.* Capt. Paſley of the Jupiter acquaints the board that he had captured the Bologne privateer of St. Maloes, of 16 carriage guns. She had taken nothing.

The Solebay, Capt. C. H. Everett, was unfortunately loſt on the ſhallows off Nevis-point on the 25th of January. In manœuvring to avoid three ſhips that were then chaſing, ſhe got a-ground. In that ſituation two of them brought their broad-ſides to bear upon her. Upon which it was reſolved to quit her, which was done without the loſs of a man: after which ſhe was ſet on fire and burnt to the water's edge.

The

The remains of Kirkham priory ear Malton were blown down by he high wind. When Meſſ. ucks took a view of them, 1721, ney were not very conſiderable.

Vienna. The emperor 8th. is determined to employ 00,000 florins annually in the ducation of ſoldiers children: of o regiments diſperſed in Germany nd Hungary, each will receive he annual ſum of 2000 florins, hich are to be expended in the ducation of 48 boys, whoſe fa- hers ſerve in thoſe regiments as oldiers.—Their education is to e very ſimple, the object in view eing to form good ſubalterns for he army, which they have, for long time, felt the want of. The boys thus inſtructed, are to nter into ſervice at eighteen years f age.

Adm. Office. Rear Adm. 19th. Graves of the London ac- quaints the admiralty board with his having taken, in his paſſage from New York to the Weſt In- dies, a French ſhip of 800 tons, 38 guns, and 319 men, called the Imperieux, from Cadiz to Phila- delphia, laden with ſalt, ſome arms, cannon, mixed goods, and medicines.

The Ducheſs of Devon- 21ſt. ſhire gave a grand ball and rout, to which a thouſand of the firſt people of the kingdom were invited.

Com. Elliot hoiſted his broad pendant on board the Edgar.

The Court of Madrid have late- ly publiſhed a liſt of their military forces now on foot, which they eſtimate to amount in the whole to 94,960 effective men. Horſe- guards 8400. National infantry, 3960. Iriſh brigade, 2400. Ita- lian and Swiſs troops, 11,000. Seven regiments Guarda Coſtas, 7700. Battalions of militia, 21,600. Sixteen regiments of ca- valry, 8400. Dragoons, 6000. Fuzileers, 1200. Invalids, 6500. Detached volunteer corps of Gre- nada, Caſtile and Andaluſia, 8000.

Vienna. Pius VI. Sove- 23d. reign Roman pontiff, ar- rived yeſterday in this capital. His imperial majeſty, accompa- nied by his royal highneſs the Archduke Maximilian, went to meet his holineſs through Nau- ſtadt to Neukirken, where the firſt interview took place. After ſtay- ing ſome time at the military aca- demy at Neukirken, the holy fa- ther went into a coach with the emperor, and was received with- out the lines by a detachment of noble Hungarian and Galician guards, who eſcorted him to the caſtle, where, in the midſt of an innumerable concourſe of people of all ranks, forming a line to the entrance of the imperial palace, his holineſs arrived at half paſt three in the afternoon.

On deſcending from the coach the holy father was received by the Apoſtolic Nuncio, the mini- ſters of ſtate, the privy counſel- lors, and chamberlains, and con- ducted by his imperial majeſty and the Archduke Maximilian through the grand apartment to the orato- ry of the chapel of the chamber, where, in the preſence of the whole court, *Te Deum* was per- formed by way of thankſgiving, for the happy arrival of his holi- neſs, the hoſt being expoſed. Af- ter prayers the pope retired to his apartment, where the Archduke Maximilian repaired in the even- ing,

ing, and a little after his eminence the Cardinal Harzan, who arrived from Rome the ſame day, had an audience of his holineſs.

This day the Rt. Rev. the Ld. Bp. of Lincoln, brother to the lord chancellor, was inſtalled Dean of St. Paul's.

30th. The Daniſh envoy extraordinary at the Britiſh court has demanded, on the part of the king his maſter, firſt, The reſtoration of the Daniſh ſhips taken at St. Euſtatius; and ſecondly, The merchant ſhips which Capt. Schioning was convoying to the Antilles, and which he permitted ſome Engliſh privateers to make prizes of without the leaſt reſiſtance.—This demand, it is thought, will not be ſpeedily adjuſted.

DIED, Lately, at Liſbon, after a long and painful illneſs, John Jennings, Eſq. groom of the bedchamber to his R. H. the Duke of Cumberland, grandſon of the late Sir John Jennings, and nephew to the Earl of Clanrickarde.

At Brandford, Wiltſhire, John Iſles, aged 103.

At Bath, aged 90, Mrs. Sarah Palmer, mother to Mr. Palmer, of Chapel-farm, on Landſdown. She has left iſſue, children, grandchildren, and great grand-children, 156. She enjoyed a good ſtate of health till within a few days of her death.

APRIL.

1ſt. This day the lord mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs, with their ladies, attended by the governors of hoſpitals, &c. the city marſhals, and children belonging to the hoſpitals, went in the uſual proceſſion from the manſion-houſe to St. Bride's Church, where an excellent ſermon was preached by the Biſhop of Lincoln.

The entertainment and ball at the manſion-houſe this evening, being Eaſter Monday, was the moſt ſplendid that has been given by the chief magiſtrate for ſome years paſt.—The lord chancellor, Dukes of Richmond, Devonſhire, and Mancheſter; the Marquiſs of Rockingham and Caermarthen, Lord Howe, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Gen. Conway, Mr. Townſhend, Mr. Sheridan, and many other diſtinguiſhed perſonages were preſent. The dinner was ſumptuous in the extreme; the decorations and confectionaries were remarkable for taſte and novelty. The ball was the moſt numerous of any for ſome years: it is ſaid that not leſs than 1800 perſons were preſent.

3d. This morning between 9 and 10 o'clock ſome villains found means to break into the apartments belonging to Mr. Brooke, Somerſet-herald, in the college of arms, and in the ſpace of 20 minutes plundered them of plate, linen, wearing apparel, and other movables to a conſiderable amount, with which they got clear off.

Prince de Gallitzin and M. de Markoff, miniſters from the Empreſs of Ruſſia, preſented a memorial to the ſtates general in conformity to the mediation ſubmitted to her imperial majeſty, for accelerating a ſincere reconciliation between his Britannic majeſty and their republic. To this memorial was annexed the copy of a letter addreſſed to Monſ. Simolin,

molin, her imperial majesty's minister at the Court of London, by Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic majesty, expressive of his majesty's readiness to enter into negociation with their high mightinesses; and to give immediate orders for an armistice, if, on their side, the lords states general judge such a measure consonant to the end proposed. To this letter, however, no satisfactory answer has been given.

th. The Vansittart, the Glatton, and Ld. Mansfield, East Indiamen, arrived at their moorings in the river Thames from China.

th. Rear Admiral Ross hoisted his flag on board the Buffalo at Portsmouth.

th. Rear Admiral Kempenfelt hoisted his flag on board the Royal George.

th. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, at which a motion was made and seconded, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, on the late change in administration; which was agreed to, and a committee appointed to draw it up.

A motion was next made and seconded, that 2000l. be applied in giving bounties of 40s. to every able seaman, and 20s. to every ordinary seaman, who shall voluntarily enter into his majesty's navy; but the inexpediency of this motion being clearly demonstrated, the same was withdrawn.

The court ordered the use of the new common-council room (or any other part of the Guildhall most convenient) to the corresponding committee appointed at the last common-hall.

10th. The six following gentlemen were chosen Directors of the East India Company in the room of six other gentlemen who went out by rotation.

Ch. Boddam -	752
Henry Fletcher -	706
Jacob Wilkinson -	656
St. Huthington -	634
W. Devaynes -	491
Nat. Smith -	416

The following were chosen directors of the Bank.

Benjamin Winthorp, Esq. and Mr. Boddington.

Cowes. Admiral Barrington has made a signal from the Britannia, for all the ships to unmoor, which they are now performing, though the wind is at the S. W. and therefore will prevent their sailing. The fleet at Spithead consists of 19 sail of the line, viz. three of 100 guns, four of 90, seven of 74, and five of 64 guns: they are all coppered, and compleat vessels: Admirals Barrington and Kempenfelt command them. Besides the ships of the line, there are five frigates, with two fireships and two cutters.

14th. Adm. Barrington, with the fleet under his command, passed by Torbay. Wind at E.

Dublin Castle. The Duke of Portland, who embarked at Holyhead last night, arrived safe in this harbour this morning. His grace was received at landing by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commons of the city of Dublin. The foot forces in garrison lined the streets through which his grace, attended by a squadron of dragoons, proceeded

to

to the caſtle; and the council having met at three o'clock, his grace was introduced in form to Lord Carliſle, who received him ſitting under the canopy of ſtate in the preſence chamber, from whence a proceſſion was made to the council chamber, where his grace's commiſſion was read, and the oaths adminiſtered to him: after which, his grace having received the ſword from Lord Carliſle, the great guns in his majeſty's Phœnix Park were fired, and anſwered by the regiments on duty, which were drawn up on College-green. His grace then repaired to the preſence chamber, where he received the compliments of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction.

17th. Thomas and George Weſton, brothers, two moſt notorious villains, who for ſome years have defrauded the country by various artful contrivances, and who ſome time ago robbed the weſtern mail, were at length apprehended, and committed this day to ſeparate priſons.

19th. At a chapter of the garter his Royal Highneſs Prince Wm. Henry, the Dukes of Richmond and Devonſhire, and the Earl of Shelburn, were declared duly elected, and the three laſt inveſted accordingly.

This day their H. M. M. the States General, by the unanimous conſent of all the members of their confederate republic, took the memorable reſolution of acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, and of admitting Mr. Adams in quality of miniſter.

Arrived at Plymouth his majeſty's ſhip Artois, with the Bellona; Grand Serpentine; Duc de Chartes; Villa Nova; Fidelity; Lioneſs; Superb; and two others; all prizes taken by Admiral Barrington's ſquadron, laden with troops, military ſtores, cloathing, &c. and bound to the Eaſt Indies.

24th. Lord Carliſle arrived in town from Ireland, and immediately waited on her majeſty at the queen's palace.

25th. Arrived at Portſmouth the Pegaſus, a French 74, convoy to the tranſports bound to the Eaſt Indies. She is copper bottomed, and was taken by the Foudroyant, with the loſs of only 3 or 4 people wounded, of whom the Captain (Jervis) was one.

27th. *Adm. Office.* Letters from Vice Admiral Barrington confirm the capture of the Pegaſus, and four of the French tranſports, viz. La Fidelité, with 178 troops and ſtores on board; La Bellone, 147 ditto; La Lione, 180 ditto; and Duc de Chartres, ſtores and arms.

Died, At Mr. Keate's, ſurgeon, in Parliament-ſtreet, Edw. Chamberlayne, Eſq. F. A. S. lately appointed one of the joint ſecretaries to the treaſury. The melancholy accident which occaſioned this gentleman's death, took its riſe from an exceſs of diffidence attending his recent appointment. The day on which the fatal accident happened, he was viſited by a friend, who remonſtrated with him on the abſurdity of the apprehenſion with which he appeared to be actuated, and requeſted him to go with him into the park, where they would diſcuſs the matter

er at their leiſure. Mr. Chamberlayne promiſed to comply, and pretended to go up ſtairs for his hat and cane, but took that opportunity to throw himſelf out of the window, in ſuch a poſition as to light upon his head, which produced the fracture of which he died. He was one of the beſt ſcholars of the age, equally proficient in erudition and taſte, at once profound in literature, and polite. The loſs of ſuch a man is therefore to be conſidered as a public loſs.

MAY.

1ſt. The weather was uncommonly ſevere, not in England only, but almoſt all over Europe. At Vienna the froſt continued ſo rigorous, that the vines were thought to be materially hurt. In Italy ſuch a fall of ſnow as has never been remembered. In Ruſſia many thouſands have periſhed of a ſickneſs owing to the rigour of the ſeaſon. In Sweden men and cattle have periſhed for want of food. In the Highlands of Scotland cattle die, or are killed, for want of fodder. In ſhort, the ſeverity of the weather has been generally felt.

2d. Sir James Marriot made the report of five pirates under ſentence of death, (among whom was Luke Ryan) to his majeſty, when they were all ordered for execution.

3d. A proclamation was this day iſſued for granting a free pardon to all ſmugglers and others under proſecution, or liable to proſecution, outlawry, in priſon, or beyond ſea, for any penalties incurred by the illegal practices of clandeſtinely running prohibited or uncuſtomed goods, who ſhall, on or before the firſt day of July next, voluntarily enter themſelves as ſailors on board any ſhips belonging to the royal navy, or who ſhall procure one fit and able ſeaman, and one fit and able landman, as ſubſtitutes to ſerve for him, her, or them, provided the penalty to which ſuch perſons are liable does not exceed the ſum of 500l. thoſe above, and under 2000l. to find two fit and able ſeamen and two fit and able landmen; and thoſe above 2000l. to find three fit and able ſeamen, and three fit and able landmen; upon which conditions all ſpecified offences are to be forgiven. Likewiſe his majeſty's pardon to all deſerters who ſhall ſurrender before the 17th of June.

4th. Nine ſail of Dutch men of war of the line put to ſea from the Texel; but on the 11th moſt of them returned.

6th. Admiral Kempenfelt ſailed from Spithead, with 7 ſhips of the line and a frigate, on a cruize to the weſtward.

This day the entry on the Journals of the houſe of commons of the 17th of February, 1769, importing, "that John Wilkes, Eſq. was judged incapable of ſitting in that houſe," was, on motion, ordered to be expunged, 115 to 47.

9th. Lord Howe, with 12 ſhips of the line, ſailed from St. Helens, as ſuppoſed to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet.

Six large ſhips, as convoy, thought to be part of this fleet, was ſeen on the 12th 25 leagues off Buchaneſs in Scotland, ſteering N.N.E. ſuppoſed to be going north

north about, and probably bound to India.

10th. *Geneva.* We have accounts from Turin, that 6000 French troops, and 4500 Sardinians, are marching towards this place; the latter are commanded by Count Ferſero de Maſimara, who is to act as commander in chief, and is charged with the orders of both courts. This officer is to ſummon the ſeditious to re-eſtabliſh order, and to receive the legiſlative plan with which he is charged. If any reſiſtance is attempted, no truce will be granted. If the plan is agreed to, it is to be guaranteed by the two powers; and as our fortifications, garriſon, &c. only ſerve to ſhelter the ſeditious, they are to be annihilated.

14th. At the rehearſal of the muſic at St. Paul's previous to the feaſt of the Sons of the Clergy the collection amounted to 177l. 9s.

This day the four pirates, as they are deemed, for the execution of whom an order came down on Saturday, were reſpited by another order.

16th. At the anniverſary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, held this day, the collection at church amounted to 241l. 1s. 6d. At the hall to 532l. 11s. which, with 177l. 9s. as above, made the whole collection for the preſent year 951l. 1s. 6d. in which ſum is included 50l. given at the hall by the lord chancellor.

18th. A proclamation offering a reward of 500l. for apprehending Thomas Lewen, Eſq. late ſecretary to the council at Madras, was publiſhed in the London Gazette.

This evening there was a general illumination throughout London for the ſucceſs of Admiral Rodney.

The Seſſions at the Old Bailey, which began on Wedneſday, ended, when three convicts received ſentence of death. At this ſeſſions the Weſtons were brought to the bar, but the witneſſes (more than 100) not being got together, their trial was put off to next ſeſſions.

Came into Torbay Adm. Kempenfelt's fleet from a cruize.

10th. The thanks of the houſe of commons were unanimouſly voted to Sir Geo. Bridges Rodney, for his gallant and ſpirited conduct on the 12th of April laſt.

Alſo to Sir Samuel Hood, Admiral Drake, Commodore Affleck, Sir Charles Douglas, and the reſt of the captains of the fleet.

And likewiſe to all the ſeamen and marines, to be communicated to the captains of their reſpective ſhips.

23d. The houſe of commons voted a monument to be erected to the memory of Captain Bayne of the Alfred, Captain Blair of the Anſon, and Captain Lord Robert Manners of the Reſolution, who gloriouſly fell fighting for their country, in the late actions in the Weſt Indies, on the 9th and 12th of April.

27th. This day the thanks of the houſe of peers (verbatim with thoſe of the houſe of commons) were voted to Sir Geo. Bridges Rodney, and the other admirals, captains, ſeamen, &c.

29th. *Vienna.* There happened on the 15th inſtant, at the village of Dieuhepole, on the frontiers of Moravia, a ſtorm which

ich entirely deſtroyed 53 houſes, cing them into the river Waag, h furniture, cattle, and inha- ants. Thirteen other houſes re blown down. Only 13 dead dies have been yet found, the er having carried off the reſt. he ſame day the whole horizon Peſt, a city of Hungary, was in lent agitation; many thou- ds of glaſs windows were brok- trees torn up by the roots, ofs blown off, houſes deſtroyed d ſwept away, for the moſt part, the torrents which the waters d prodigiouſly ſwelled. How- r, in the laſt mentioned calami- only one child of 12 years of loſt its life.

DIED, Mr. Daniel Bernouilli, yſician and profeſſor of natural iloſophy, at Baſil, the cele- ted Swiſs philoſopher.

The Right Hon. James Forte- e, member of parliament for county of Louth, in Clare- eet, Dublin.

Richard Wilſon, Eſq. at Clo- n-du, in North Wales, one of royal academicians, and libra- n to that ſociety.

JUNE.

2. The Dutch mails of yeſter- day announce the capture of e iſland of Providence by Don alvez; the force employed on is buſineſs conſiſted of 1500 Spa- ſh troops, and two ſhips of the ne.

4th. Late laſt night an expreſs arrived at the admiralty from ortſmouth, with the agreeable telligence of the Oſtrich cutter, nd 30 ſail of veſſels, the remain- ing part of the Charles-town fleet, being arrived there; the ſailors on board theſe ſhips will be of great ſervice at the preſent criſis.

7th. The diſpatches which have been received at the Earl of Shelburne's office from General Elliot, brought by the Cerberus frigate from Gibraltar, contain the agreeable aſſurance that the garriſon is in good health, but ſpeak very feelingly of the hard duty which the troops experience from the ſmallneſs of their num- ber, and the immenſe fortifica- tions they are compelled to at- tend. With reſpect to freſh pro- viſions, the governor ſays, they are well ſupplied by the Barbary ſtates; but they are purchaſed at ſo dear a rate, that the private men are very barely furniſhed with them.

Letters by the Liſbon mail ſay, that a diſorder (ſimilar to the pre- ſent influenza) prevails over that country, with which all ranks of people have been ſeverely afflict- ed; and that the crops are in great backwardneſs, owing to the ſevcrity of the ſeaſon.

13th. Sir Richard Bickerton, who is ſuppoſed to have arrived at St. Helena the latter end of May, had under his con- voy the following Eaſt Indiamen, beſides three ſtoreſhips on account of government, and two on that of the Eaſt India company:—For Coaſt and China, the Calcutta, Captain Thompſon; Ceres, Price; Earl Talbot, Taylor; Ganges, Dempſter; Hawke, Scott; Kent, Stokes; Major, Arthur; Morſe, Elliott; Alfred, Brown; Nor- folk, Benham; and Royal Henry, Dundas:—For Madraſs, Bombay,

and Bengal, Anne and Amelia, Popham; Naſſau, Gore; Nottingham, Curtis; Warren Haſtings, Larkings; and Worceſter, Cook. The Royal Biſhop, Captain Mayne, was the only ſhip for Bencoolen.

14th. Accounts are received from Breſt, that the epidemic diſorder reigns there with ſuch violence, that more than half the hands employed in the king's arſenals are confined to their beds. The hoſpitals are all full, and the crews of the men of war uncommonly ſickly.

Extract of a Letter from Dublin, June 15.

"By a veſſel (Captain Tripe) bound from Hallifax to London, put into Dingle laſt Monday, we learn, that three frigates, and ſeven tranſports, with troops on board, had arrived at Boſton from Breſt the 23d of April laſt. The land forces were computed to amount to 2000 effective men. Captain Tripe alſo mentions the extraordinary ſucceſs of a New York privateer, of 22 guns, who in the courſe of three weeks had captured, between Rhode Iſland and Cape Sable, fourteen American and French veſſels, and probably would have taken more, but for want of hands to man them. All the priſoners have been landed at Hallifax."

A letter from Peterſburgh ſays, that the diſorder ſtill rages in all the north part of the empire, and numbers die of it. On account of which it is found very difficult to recruit the army, and to raiſe men for the navy; the latter of which are at this time much wanted.

18th. A moſt ſevere ſtorm of thunder and lightning ſtruck the city of London and its ſuburbs with terror. It was followed by a luminous phænomenon, which appeared in the weſt in the form of a ſpear, and continued viſible near five minutes, and on its diſappearing, that part of the firmament became beautifully illuminated with an immenſe number of rays, projecting from a point, and ſpreading like a fan till, growing fainter and fainter, they wholly diſappeared. Seen from different places, it aſſumed different forms, and ſome repreſent it as a vortex, with a circular motion of infinite velocity. One of the heavieſt claps of the thunder burſt over a houſe in the Borough, and forced down the roof, ſhook the ſtack of chimneys from top to bottom, twiſted the iron-work of a caſement in ſeveral ſhapes, and lifted the door of an upper room off the hinges, removing it to a conſiderable diſtance. A water-ſpout burſt near Clapham Common.

Trieſte. The emperor has within ſome time paſt ſhewed great marks of his attention to this place, by advancing four millions of florins to the merchants of the town for the increaſe of their commerce, not only in Aſia, but in Africa, and alſo in America; and has alſo promiſed them every ſuccour in his power which their circumſtances appear to require. With ſuch a protection it is no aſtoniſhing that this place has increaſed ſo much within a ſhort time paſt.

19th. This day judgment was given in the court of king's bench, in the important cauſe re-

tive to the market at Warwick. he franchiſe of the market place, longed by an ancient preſcrip- on to Sir John Moſely, and the veral ſtalls have been accuſtomed be rented of him. A perſon ho had no right nor intereſt in e market, lately erected ſome lls and ſheds on his own free- ld, adjoining to the market, thout any real moleſtation to y of thoſe before erected. Sir hn Moſely brought an action for uiſance, in order to try his ex- uſive right to erect ſtalls for nding of goods, wares, and mer- andize, in that market. The urt held that the franchiſes of arkets and of fairs, according to e common law, ought not to be fringed by any perſon erecting lls for merchandize, even upon eir own freehold, without the nſent of the legal proprietors of e market or fair.

At a court of common 9th. council Mr. Thorpe ſub- itted to the court the following otion, which was ſeconded by r. Alderman Townſend, and rried unanimouſly.

Reſolved, That the freedom of is city be preſented, in a gold ox of one hundred guineas va- e, to the Right Hon. Lord ood, rear admiral of the blue, s a te^n ony of the high opinion hich the members of this court ntertain of his judicious, brave, nd able exertions, in the various ngagements with the enemy's eet in the Weſt Indies.

Mr. Thorpe then moved, that he freedom of this city be pre- ented to Admiral Drake, in a old box of one hundred guineas alue, for his great and diſtinguiſh- d ſervices to this country; which as alſo agreed to unanimouſly.

21ſt. *Altena.* The Court of Denmark being informed that Sweden has admitted the King of Pruſſia into the armed Neutrality, has alſo conſented to his admiſſion.

23d. *Verſailles.* The merchants and traders of Marſeilles, in common council aſſembled, having voted by proclamation 1.200,000 livres, for the building a ſhip of 110 guns, and 300,000 more to be applied towards the relief of the families of ſeamen belonging to that city, and the whole county of Provence, who may have been ſufferers by the preſent war; their deliberation was laid before the king by the Marquis de Caſtries, when his majeſty, moved at ſo ſignal a mark of their patriotiſm, was graciouſly pleaſed to accept of the offer, and ordered the ſhip to be called, from the circumſtance, Le Commerce de Marſeilles.

26th. Slavery is entirely aboliſhed in Auſtrian Poland, and joy is ſeen in every peaſant's countenance, for that he can now reap the fruit of his labour, unoppreſſed by a tyrannical lord.

DIED, The Princeſs Sophia, of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, her majeſty's ſiſter.

Her Royal Highneſs Maria, Princeſs Dowager of Wirtemberg, daughter of the late Margrave of Brandenburgh Schwedt, at Berlin.

In Park-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, Lloyd Dulany, Eſq. a gentleman of a moſt reſpectable character, and large property in the province of Maryland. His death is ſaid to be occaſioned by a wound which he received on Tueſday evening laſt, in a duel with the Rev. Mr. Allen, in Hyde-park. The ſecond of the former was

—— Delancey Esq. and of the latter, Robert Morris, Esq. He was attended by Dr. Millman, and Messrs. Pott and Adair.

The magistrates of Bow-street having advertised a reward of ten guineas each for the apprehension of the Rev. Mr. Allen, and Robert Morris, Esq. they were in consequence apprehended, and committed to Tothill-Fields bridewell.

JULY.

2d. This morning, about eight o'clock, five felons made their escape out of Newgate, amongst whom were the two Westons. They had sawed their irons off, and, as soon as the turnkeys unlocked their rooms, they rushed on them, and fired two pistols, but happily missed them; they then took the keys, and let themselves out, some running towards Smithfield, the Fleet, and Newgate-market: One of the Westons was taken in Cock-lane, after firing another pistol, and wounding a porter on the cheek, the other in Smithfield, and the other two in Fleet-street.—They were brought back and ironed to the floor. One Nicolson, a coiner, made his escape.

4th. Yesterday was tried before the Earl of Mansfield and a special jury at Guildhall, the important cause between two capital tradesmen, respecting a draft for 600l. on a late banking-house, given at half past one on the day previous to the stoppage of payment. Mr. Sollicitor General, on behalf of the plaintiff who received the draft, and who brought his action to recover the amount from the defendants of whom he received it, strongly contended that the former verdict, declaring the loss to fall upon the plaintiff, was ought to have gone the same way was expressly against law. Mr. Wallace, for the defendants, said he should call the attention of the jury to the particular circumstances of the case, and from thence they were to judge whether there was not a reasonable time for the plaintiff, who received the draft at noon, to go into Lombard-street before five o'clock, and take the money. He did not mean to say, that a draft received so late as four o'clock, or at York, was to be taken the same day, but he contended the question lay with the jury, whether there was a reasonable time. Lord Mansfield declared it was a question of great commercial consequence, and since the last trial he found it had been the subject of much talk in the city. The court had therefore taken deliberation on it, and there was not a case in print or manuscript, which had not been searched into; his lordship gave his opinion the same as on the former trial, that the next morning was a reasonable time. But the jury gave a verdict for the defendants.

5th. By an act just past, after the first of August next ensuing, all inland bills of exchange, promissory notes, or other notes, payable otherwise than upon demand, of any sum less than 5l. must be drawn upon a sheet or piece of paper, charged with a stamp duty of 3d. And all bills or notes of the like kind of 5l. or upwards must be drawn upon a sheet or piece of paper, charged with a stamp duty of 6d.

Any bill or note as above, not stamped agreeable to this act, and bearing date after the above period,

or marked or ſtamped with
ver duty, ſhall not be pleaded
iven in evidence in any court,
e available in law or equity.
any perſon counterfeiting the
e ſtamps is guilty of felony.

over, 5th. Yeſterday evening
t half paſt nine o'clock, their
al Highneſſes the Duke and
neſs of Glouceſter arrived at
Ship inn, where they ſupped
ſlept, and this day at twelve
ock embarked on board one of
paſſage yachts for Calais.
ir royal highneſſes were ſa-
d by the cannon at the caſtle
forts.

his day Lord John Cavendiſh
ned the office of chancellor of
exchequer, as likewiſe did
Fox the office of ſecretary of
.

Yeſterday the Rev. Mr.
Allen ſurrendered himſelf at
Seſſions-houſe, in the Old-
ey, when he and Robert Mor-
Eſq. were indicted for the
ul murder of Lloyd Dulany,
.—Mr. Juſtice Buller, in his
ge to the jury, obſerved, that
caſe before them conſiſted of
parts—law and fact. As to
law, there is not, nor ever
a doubt, that where two per-
meet together deliberately to
t a duel, and one of them is
ed, the other is guilty of
rder, and his ſecond likewiſe.
reſpect to the facts, he ſtated
t the quarrel aroſe from a cir-
nſtance of three years ſtanding;
aragraph called 'characters of
ncipal men in rebellion,' pub-
ed in the Morning Poſt, June
1779, referred to the 1ſt and
of July the ſame year, and
recogniſed by the priſoner
en, in a letter proved to be his
hand-writing, avowing himſelf the author of thoſe characters, retorting the charge of liar and aſſaſſin upon the diſeaſed, telling him he did not mean to diſpute with, but to puniſh him; and if he (the deceaſed) harboured any reſentment, or deſire of revenge, the bearer (Morris) would put him in the way of putting it in immediate execution; this brought on ſundry verbal meſſages, and at laſt, on the 18th of June, a meeting of Mr. Dulany, Mr. Delancey, his ſecond, and Mr. Morris, from whence they went to a Mr. Wogden's, gun-maker, to get Mr. Allen's piſtols charged; and about half paſt nine in the evening, after meaſuring eight yards, diſcharged each their piſtols, when the deceaſed fell.

Mr. Delancey ſaid, that Mr. Morris repeatedly urged deferring the duel till the next day. One Lydia Lepine depoſed that ſhe ſaw the priſoner Allen ſhooting at a mark in a field near Black Friars-bridge, with piſtols, between eleven and twelve on the 18th of June. Her maſter and his ſon confirmed the fact, but could not ſwear poſitively to the perſon. His lordſhip concluded with obſerving, that a miſtaken point of honour was not to biaſs the judges and the jury in ſuch a caſe.

The jury withdrew about 20 minutes, and brought in a verdict, Allen, Guilty of Man-ſlaughter; Morris, Not Guilty.

Mr. Recorder then, after a pathetic ſpeech, pronounced ſentence on Mr. Allen, of 1s. fine, and to be impriſoned ſix months in Newgate.

Bamber Gaſcoigne, ſen. Eſq.

and two ladies, proved an alibi as to the ſhooting at a mark; and they, as well as the Lords Bateman, Mountmorres, and ſeveral other perſons, gave Allen an excellent character. Mr. Morris brought no witneſſes.

This morning, at nine o'clock, came on at the Seſſions-houſe, in the Old Bailey, the trials of George and Joſeph Weſton, for the robbery of the Briſtol mail, in Jan. 1780; when, after the examination of a number of witneſſes, which laſted till half paſt 12 o'clock, nothing appearing to prove their guilt, they were both acquitted of that fact, but tried immediately on another indictment, for forging an indorſement in the name of John Wood, on the back of a bank poſt-bill, and putting it off at the Dun Horſe in the Borough; but nothing appearing alſo to criminate Joſeph in reſpect to this matter, he was acquitted, and George capitally convicted. Joſeph was afterwards tried for ſhooting at a man with a piſtol, in Cock-lane, on Tueſday laſt, as he was making his eſcape; and being tried on the black act, was capitally convicted.

13th. This day the combined fleets of France and Spain were ſeen W. S. W. from the Lizard, diſtant about 13 leagues.

The London Gazette of this day confirms the account of the ſurrender of the Bahama Iſlands to the arms of Spain, on capitulation. And the New York Gazette aſſerts, that, by orders from the Court of France, the French flag has been hoiſted at St. Euſtatius, in place of that of the United Provinces.

The king has been pleaſed to permit Thomas Earl of Clare[illegible] to accept the honour of bear[illegible] the Pruſſian eagle as a mantle[illegible] his arms; an honour conferred [illegible] his lordſhip as a mark of his Pr[illegible] ſian Majeſty's remembrance a[illegible] eſteem.

Died, on Monday, July 2, [illegible] ter a ſhort illneſs, at his houſe [illegible] Wimbleton, the moſt noble Char[illegible] Watſon Wentworth, Marquis [illegible] Rockingham, Earl of Malton, V[illegible] count Higham of Higham Fe[illegible] rars, Baron Rockingham of Roc[illegible] ingham, Baron of Malton, and [illegible] Worth and Harrowden in Ro[illegible] land, and Earl and Baron of M[illegible] ton in Ireland.

The noble Marquis was born [illegible] the 13th of May, 1730. He to[illegible] his ſeat in the Engliſh parliam[illegible] on the diſeaſe of his father Thom[illegible] the firſt Marquis of Rockingh[illegible] on the 22d of May, 1751; and [illegible] July 9 following was conſtitu[illegible] Lord Lieutenant and Cuſtos R[illegible] tulorum of the North and W[illegible] Ridings of the county of York [illegible] the late king, to whom he w[illegible] one of the Lords of the Be[illegible] chamber, in which poſts he w[illegible] continued by his preſent majeſ[illegible] at whoſe coronation, Sept. 2[illegible] 1761, as Deputy to the Duke [illegible] Norfolk (Lord of the Manor [illegible] Worksop) he preſented him wi[illegible] a right-hand glove before his r[illegible] ceiving the ſceptre with the cr[illegible] from the Archbiſhop of Canter[illegible] bury, and afterwards occaſional[illegible] ſupported his majeſty's right hand[illegible] His lordſhip alſo, after the kin[illegible] was enthroned, and whilſt he re[illegible] ceived the homage of the Peer[illegible] Spiritual and Temporal, held, a[illegible] Deputy aforeſaid, the ſaid ſcepti[illegible] with the croſs, and which hav[illegible] ing re-delivered, pronounced the[illegible] words

ords of the homage for all the arquiſſes. He was elected night of the Garter, with Earl emple, on February 4. 1760, d inſtalled in May 6 following.

His lordſhip, in 1763, reſigned s offices of Lord of the Bed-amber, Lord Lieutenant and uſtos Rotulorum of the aforeſaid idings of Yorkſhire, on account the ſyſtem of the Earl of Bute; t he was appointed Firſt Lord the Treaſury, in the room of e Right Hon. George Grenville, July 20, 1765, and was again ppointed Lord Lieutenant of the eſt Riding of Yorkſhire, &c. nd during this adminiſtration, he characteriſtic of which was the epeal of the ſtamp-act, he diſ-layed 'ſuch ſound principles, uch an enlargement of mind, ſuch lear and ſagacious ſenſe, and uch unſhaken fortitude, as to ind a moſt extenſive and honour-ble party of men, by an inviolable ttachment to him from that time orward.'

The intrigues of that faction, which were then in oppoſition, growing violent, the Marquis re-ſigned his place of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, on Auguſt 1, 1766; and during the whole of the mini-ſtry of the different men who re-ſumed the meaſures of coercion, he acted a zealous and deciſive part. The noble Marquis was, on the late important revolution, called again to the place of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury; and, to the great and alarming misfortune of his country, they are thus ſud-denly deprived of his ſervices, when their conſequence and value were juſt beginning to be felt.

His lordſhip married, on Fe-bruary 26, 1752, Mary, daughter and heir of Thomas Bright, of Badſworth, in com. Ebor. Eſq. uncle to Lord Ravenſworth, but has left no iſſue.

The Marquis of Rockingham having died without iſſue, the title becomes extinct: the Earl of Fitzwilliam, his nephew, who is a Lord of Parliament, becomes heir to a great part of his lord-ſhip's fortune in England and Ireland.

25th. Laſt Saturday the remains of the Marquis of Rockingham, after lying in great and ſolemn ſtate at York, were interred in the minſter with his noble anceſtors. The concourſe of the principal people from all parts of the country, to pay the laſt tribute of affection to his manes, was immenſe beyond example. The great bell at the cathedral tolled every minute on Friday, both day and night.

AUGUST.

1ſt. Advice was received of the ſafe arrival of the fleet from Jamaica under convoy of Sir Peter Parker in the Sandwich of 90 guns, in which ſhip came the Count de Graſſe. A letter received from an officer on board the Namur takes notice of the narrow eſcape of that ſhip by the Merſey ſtore-ſhip taking fire, and then falling a-drift among the fleet in Port Royal harbour, all in flames; ſhe miraculouſly paſſed them all except the Namur, which was ſo entangled with her, as literally to ſinge her beard; her ſails and rigging were on fire, and

every boat in the fleet got out to ſave the men, when by cutting ſhe drove clear.

2d. This day Sir Henry Fletcher, Bart, was choſen chairman of the Eaſt India company in the room of Robert Gregory, Eſq. who, to the regret of the whole body of proprietors, is diſqualified on account of his bad ſtate of health.

5th. Wedneſday Count de Graſſe with his ſuite landed on South Sea Common, Portſmouth, where carriages had been procured by Vice Admiral Sir Peter Parker, who conducted them to the George, where a moſt ſumptuous dinner had been procured for him and his ſuite by Sir Peter, who entertained him and his officers at his own expence, until the Count had permiſſion to go to London, which was not till Friday morning, when he ſet off with his ſuite, attended by the admiral, who had previouſly ſent an expreſs to the George at Godalmin, to prepare dinner and beds, and on Saturday morning they purſued their route to Mrs. Nugent's (the mother of Lady Parker) in Queen-ſquare, Weſtminſter, where they arrived about three o'clock, from whence Count De Graſſe walked up to the Royal Hotel in Pall-Mall.

Count De Graſſe is the firſt commander in chief of a French fleet or army, who has been priſoner in England ſince the reign of Queen Anne, when Marechal Tallard was taken by the Duke of Marlborough, and confined to the town and environs of Nottingham. Marechal De Belleiſle, indeed, and his brother, the Chevalier, were priſoners with us the war before laſt, and were confined in Windſor tower, but they were not in command when taken; they were merely as paſſengers travelling through Hanover, on their way, indeed, to take a command, when they ſtopped, and were ſent priſoners to England.

6th. The two pirates, Ryan and M'Carthy, condemned in March laſt, and who have been in priſon upwards of 18 months, have received his majeſty's pardon.

9th. About four in the afternoon, a gentleman calling at Mrs. Forteſcue's at Tottenham-green, was ſurprized on knocking at the door to find no admittance. Suſpecting ſomething wrong, he procured a peace-officer, and forced an entrance into the houſe, when he found the two maids tied, one to one bedſtead, and the other to another bedſtead, in ſeparate rooms, and the houſe robbed of plate and effects to the value of 500l. Mrs. Forteſcue and her daughter were out on a tea-viſit.

10th. This day came on at Wincheſter, by ſpecial commiſſion, before the Hon. Mr. Juſtice Heath, the trial of David Tyrie, for high treaſon, for holding correſpondence with the enemy. The principal witneſſes againſt him were,

1. Maria Harvey, who having a packet of papers put into her care with a particular charge, had the curioſity to look into the contents, and finding them of a dangerous nature, as ſhe thought, took them to Mr. Page of Weſtminſter, who carried them to the ſecretary of ſtate. The papers were produced; conſiſting of copies of papers called the *Navy Progreſs*, con-

ntaining lists of the navy, with e situation and state of repair of ch ship. Also a plan for a re- ular course of intelligence, and e terms on which such intelli- ence might be obtained from ery public office and every pub- c dock-yard.

2. Mr. Vowell, stationer, of ondon, to whom he was clerk, ent to prove his hand-writing.

3. Capt. James proved an a- reement with him to go to Bou- gne for wines, at 15 guineas a ip. He also produced letters hich he was to deliver to the mmandant of the port, and a assport from Boulogne to Cher- urgh. These contained intelli- ence of the sailing of the East and Vest India fleets, and of other nportant matters.

He had little to say in his de- nce, but that what he had col- cted was no more than was daily be gleaned from the public pa- ers, and that his intelligence was irected to particular friends, who e knew would make no ill use of , and that it rather led to de- ceive the enemy, and to mislead em, than to give any true in- rmation. The judge and jury ere, however, of another opi- ion, and found him guilty.— After he left Mr. Vowell, he went nto partnership in the merchantile ine, and had arrived to such high redit, as once to put up for nember for Hindon. He after- wards procured a place in the Navy-office at Portsmouth, which roved his ruin.

15th. Advice was received at the admiralty of the safe rrival of the Leeward Island fleet nder convoy of the Preston and Roebuck men of war.

16th. About two in the morn- ing the most dreadful fall of rain began at Dublin and its neighbourhood, that was ever re- membered in that country. It con- tinued for fourteen hours, with a violence that was truly alarming. The distresses of the inhabitants in different parts of Dublin are beyond description. Rings-end bridge was borne down by the flood.

18th. Letters from Holland, of this day's date, bring a melancholy account of the effects of the cold and wet weather, which have destroyed the hopes conceived of a plentiful harvest all along the coasts of the Rhine.

21st. Commod. Hotham, with eight sail of the line, and two frigates, sailed from Portsmouth, as is supposed for the North Seas, to convoy home the Baltic fleet.

This day Mr. Bosanquet was chosen one of the directors of the East India Company, in the room of Mr. Gregory, who disqualified.

24th. This night's London Ga- zette, in an article from Constantinople, gives a most me- lancholy account of the ravages of the plague in that city and its neighbourhood. But what aggra- vates that calamity, is a most dreadful fire that broke out there on the 29th of July, in the quarter called the Balatta, mostly inha- bited by Jews. As the wind was rather high, the flames spread with such rapidity, that, notwithstand- ing every effort, in about three hours the whole city was threat- ened with destruction. It is im- possible to paint the horrid scene exhibited by this alarming confla- gration, which raged with equal

violence

violence for about 15 hours, and ſpread through one of the moſt inhabited parts of the town. The number of houſes deſtroyed is computed at 10,000, beſides moſques, churches, and other public edifices.—At three o'clock P. M. the fire, which had appeared nearly extinguiſhed, broke out anew, in three diſtinct places, and proceeded in different directions. The wind, which had fallen, became again pretty high, and the greateſt apprehenſions were entertained for the fate of the city. The Grand Signior, Vizir, and all the Grandees, attended 17 hours, to encourage the exertions of the people to check the progreſs of the flames. Subſequent advices reduce the number of houſes burnt to 9000.

30th. On Thurſday night an expreſs arrived at the admiralty office, which brought the melancholy news of the loſs of the Royal George, of 100 guns, with the greateſt part of her crew. The ſhip was careening at Spithead, and many of her guns being removed to one ſide, ſome of her upper ports being open, and near the water's edge, a ſudden guſt of wind overſet her, and ſhe went to the bottom with about 400 of her crew, and, it is ſuppoſed, at leaſt as many women and children. The captain and two lieutenants, with about 300 men, are ſaved, but we are very ſorry to learn, that Adm. Kempenfelt was among the number of thoſe that periſhed.

Sheerneſs, which for ages has ſuffered great inconvenience from want of water, is now plentifully ſupplied from a ſpring which was diſcovered by digging a well at the inſtance of the garriſon. After ſeveral days labour, they came to a rocky bottom, which was no ſooner broken through, than the water flowed in ſo plentifully, that the workmen were with difficulty ſaved.

Died ſuddenly, at Kingſgate, near Margate, aged 43, Robert Child, of Oſterley Park, Middleſex, Eſq. M. P. for Wells. By his will, we hear, he has given all his eſtates, both real and perſonal, to Mrs. Child, Mr. Lovelace, Mr. Dent, Mr. Church, and Mr. Keyſall, his partners, in truſt, for the purpoſe of paying all his partnerſhip debts, and for carrying on the buſineſs as uſual at the houſe at Temple-bar, and has made them executors. He has alſo left Mrs. Child 6000l. a year, 2000l. a year to Lady Weſtmoreland, his only child, and 12,000l. to each of her ladyſhip's younger children down to the twelfth, except the ſecond, to whom he has left the reſidue of his fortune, which, it is imagined, will be nearly equal to that particularly deviſed. He hath died worth 15,000l. per annum in landed property, excluſive of his ſeat at Oſterley Park, which is deemed the moſt ſuperb and elegant thing of its kind in England. His ſhare of the profits in the banking buſineſs has never been eſtimated at leſs, for ſome years, than 30,000l. per annum, which immenſe addition he poſſeſſed alſo the right of bequeathing in common with his other property.

SEPTEMBER.

2d. The parliament, which ſtood prorogued to the 3d inſtant, was further prorogued to October 10.

The foundation ſtone of a new bridge over the river Peaſe, near the

the old Camda, Edinburgh, was laid. The centre arch is to be 123 feet in height.

4th. Capt. Thornborough, late commander of his majesty's frigate Le Blonde, arrived in town with an account of the loss of that ship. He had been cruizing for some time off Boston for the only ship of war the congress are in possession of; instead of which he had taken a large vessel, mounting 22 guns, laden with masts and stores for the French fleet, and was towing her into port, when, unfortunately, the Blonde struck upon some rocks, and was entirely lost. The prize, fearing the same fate, pursued her course, and is safe arrived at Halifax.—By means of a raft, the crew of the Blonde got to a barren uninhabited island, where they continued two days in the utmost distress, when providentially they were seen and taken off by two American cruisers, who landed them near New York, in gratitude to Capt. Thornborough, for the generous and humane treatment he had shewn to the prisoners he had on board when he met with the unhappy disaster. When he left New York there were twelve American privateers cruising there to intercept the trade.

7th. Was executed at Hereford gallows, one John Webb, for having plundered a Venetian vessel driven on shore on the coast of Glamorganshire by distress, some time in November last.—This, it is hoped, will put a final stop to that inhuman practice of plundering ships wrecked upon the coast.

9th. A court-martial was held on board the Warspite, at Portsmouth, on Capt. Waghorne, for the loss of the Royal George, when he was honourably acquitted. A carpenter on board, who escaped, declared, that the ship went down so suddenly, that he had only time to tell his brother that she was sinking. It also appeared that she was so old and rotten, that when a plank started not a peg would hold together.

The same day the body of Mr. Saunders, the first lieutenant, was taken up under the stern of the Montagu Indiaman, at the Motherbank. His gold watch was in his fob, and 5l. 15s. 6d. in his pocket.

Portsmouth, 11th. This morning sailed the following ships, viz.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Victory	100	Adm. Ld. Howe Capt. G. Duncan
Britannia	100	Ad. Barrington Capt. Hill
Queen	98	Adm. Hood Capt. Dornet
Atlas	98	Capt. Vandeput
Princess Royal	98	Capt. Falconer
Ocean	90	Adm. Milbank Capt. Bigar
Blenheim	90	Capt. Duncan
Union	90	Capt. Dalrymple
Princess Amelia	84	Adm. Hughes Capt. Reynolds
Cambridge	84	Stewart
Royal William	84	Allen
Foudroyant	84	Jarvis
Alexander	74	Longford
Bellona	74	Onslow
Berwick	74	Phipps
Courageux	74	Mulgrave
Egmont	74	Ferguson
Edgar	74	Com. Hotham Capt. Cayley
Fortitude	74	Keppel
Ganges	74	Fielding
Goliah	74	Parker
Suffolk	74	Horne
Vengeance	74	Moutray
Asia	64	Blyth

Bien-

Beinfaiſant	64	Capt. Howarth
Crown	64	Reeves
Polyphemus	64	Finch
Ruby	64	Collins
Raiſonable	64	Ld Harvey
Sampſon	64	Harvey
Vigilant	64	Douglas
Buffalo	60	Holloway
Panther	60	Simonton
Briſtol	50	Burney
Minerva	38	Pakenham
Latona	38	Conway
Monſieur	36	Finch
Andromache	34	Byron
Recovery	32	Bertie
Diana	32	Calder
Proſerpine	28	Taylor
Termagant	24	Stirling

Pluto, Tiſiphone and Spitfire fire-ſhips.

At the ſame time ſailed the trade and tranſports for Gibraltar, outward bound Eaſt and Weſt India fleets, and Heart of Oak armed ſhip.

On board of the grand fleet, which has ſailed for the relief of Gibraltar, there are ſix regiments, which are to act as marines; the 2d, 25th, 29th, 61ſt, 62d, and another whoſe number we could not learn. The 25th and 59th are intended to be left as a reinforcement to the garriſon; and the others, it is thought, will be ſent with the naval detachment, under Alexander Hood, Eſq. to the Weſt Indies.

The following letter was received by the Recorder of London, at the Seſſions-houſe in the Old-Bailey, from the Right Hon. Thomas Townſend, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate:

SIR,

I have the king's commands to ſignify to you his pleaſure, that, conſidering the great number of robberies that have been lately committed, and attended with acts of great cruelty, you ſhould report to him in council, as ſoon as poſſible, upon ſuch caſes as ſhall appear to you to call for immediate puniſhment.

I have it likewiſe in charge to acquaint you, that, in order to deter perſons from being guilty of ſuch acts of cruelty, his majeſty has determined to grant no pardon or reſpite to any perſon convicted of ſuch offences, on any ſolicitation whatever.

I have the honour to be, with great regard, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

T. TOWNSEND.

Mr. Recorder of London.

14th. Capt. Trollope, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Rainbow, having ſailed from Plymouth on the 2d inſtant, to join Commodore Elliot, fell in with, and captured the Hebe, a French frigate of 40 guns, 28 of which were French 18-pounders. She had ſailed from St. Maloes the day before with a convoy for Breſt, which, during the chace, got into Morlaix. She was commanded by M. de Vigny, of the order of St. Louis, who was ſlightly wounded; their ſecond captain and 4 men killed, their wheel ſhot away, and foremaſt badly wounded, which was the only damage. She gave only one broadſide, and ſtruck. The Rainbow had only one man killed.

17th. An expreſs arrived in town with advice that the Dutch fleet, conſiſting of 17 ſail, 14 of which were two-deckers, ſailed from the Texel early on the 15th; but what their object is, time muſt diſcover.

21ſt. This morning an expreſs arrived at the admiralty with the agreeable news of the Baltic fleet, conſiſting of 340 ſail, being

ſafe

ſe arrived off Flamborough head, nder convoy of two or three fri- ates, a ſloop, and a cutter.

On the 21ſt of Auguſt, 5th. at 9 P. M. a moſt dreadful re broke out at Conſtantinople. ſtrong N. E. wind blowing, the ames ſpread with ſuch rapidity hat there was no approaching ith the engines. It continued urning till the 24th at 10 A. M. he ſeven towers, the Janizary ga's palace, moſt of the fine uildings and moſques, are de- troyed, and full one half of Con- antinople. The fire round two arge moſques was ſo very violent, hat ſome hundred miſerable ob- ects who had taken refuge there were deſtroyed. Towards the ſea he flames formed a ſemicircle, nd reached on each ſide to the vater's edge, when cloſing by de- grees, the poor ſufferers who were within the circle, from its vaſt ex- ent unacquainted with the cir- umſtance, were at laſt driven on each other, and ſaw nothing left but the ſea for a refuge; many flew to it, and thoſe that had ſtrength, and were fortunate e- nough to be where it was ſhal- low, ſurvived: but thoſe who could not ſtand twelve hours in the water, expoſed to the waves on one ſide, and the ſcorching heat of the fire on the other, ſunk under it, were firſt drowned and then burnt, by being thrown upon ſhore. Thoſe who were in ſitu- ations that were deep, were moſtly drowned. — Some poor wretches had faſtened themſelves to boards, in hopes of floating, but the waves throwing them on ſhore, they were burnt to death. The Grand Vizir is ſince depoſed.

Dublin, 30. The following gentlemen have each undertaken to raiſe a regiment of Fencibles in Ireland, for the defence of the country: R. Talbot, Eſq. co. Dublin; M. Archdell, Eſq. co. Fermanah; T. Dawſon, Eſq. co. Armagh; W. K. French, Eſq. co. Galway; A Blennerhaſſet, Eſq. co. Kerry; Lord Inchiquin, co. Kerry. Each regiment to conſiſt of eight companies, to be raiſed by the officers without levy-money allowed them. The Col. to raiſe 100. Lieut. Col. 60. Major 45. 5 Captains 30 each. 1 Capt. Lieut. 20. 9 Lieutenants 13 each. 6 Enſigns 7 each. 1 Chap. 1 Adj. 1 Surgeon. 16 Serjeants. 16 Corporals. 16 Drummers. 2 Fifers. 500 Privates. In all 557. Government to provide accoutrements, and the reſpective Colonels to aſſign the off-reckonings for the cloathing in the uſual manner. Arms to be delivered by the ordnance. From the day of their being reported complete, if within four months from the day of their beating orders, they are to be put upon the eſtabliſhment, and paid from the date of their beating orders. The officers to keep their reſpective quotas complete at the price of their commiſſions.

DIED, At Dunkirk, Catharine Daubenbulke, a native of Flanders, aged 107 years, 3 months, and 16 days.

At Poplar, Mrs. Coles, who during the laſt war ſerved on board ſeveral men of was as a ſailor. After her diſcharge, upon a ſmall fortune devolving to her, ſhe reſumed the female character, and was from that time conſidered as a very polite and elegant woman.

OCTO-

OCTOBER.

1st. This morning arrived at Plymouth, the London, Capt. Obrien, from London, for Jamaica, with king's ſtores. She parted from Lord Howe's fleet on the 28th of September in lat. 48: 35, long 12:36, being ſo leaky ſhe could not purſue her voyage, owing to heavy gales and contrary winds, which the whole fleet had been expoſed to ever ſince they left the channel, but had ſuffered no material damage.

3d. A chapter of the moſt noble order of the Garter was held for inveſting the moſt noble Charles Duke of Rutland with the enſigns of that moſt noble order.

4th. A proclamation was this day iſſued for the meeting of parliament on the 26th day of November.

5th. The firſt news of the tremendous gale which the Jamaica fleet with their convoy met with off Newfoundland, was received at the admiralty-office.—Capt. Cornwallis, of the Canada man of war of 74 guns, who arrived at Portſmouth the day before, brought the account of the return of the Ardent of 64 guns, one of the convoy, to Port Royal in Jamaica, having ſprung a leak in Blue Fields; that the Glorieux, with five merchantmen, joined the convoy off the Grand Camanas; and that off the Havanah they fell in with Admiral Pigot, who was cruizing in order to intercept Don Solano's fleet from Cape Francois; and who had taken a neſt of American privateers waiting for the fleet, and had deſtroyed a fort in Matanſa-bay, that harboured them.

Capt. Moulton, of the Truelove Jamaicaman, who arrived at Portſmouth about the ſame time, gave a ſtill more deplorable account of the effects of the above gale, which continued three days, and in which the Rodney was ſeen to periſh; the Truelove had ſeven feet water in her hold, and was ſaved only by the lightneſs of her cargo, chiefly ſpirits. The gale came on the 16th of September. On the 17th 35 ſail were ſeen, moſt of them diſmaſted or water-logged. On the 24th the Parnaſſus, Capt. Carr, was ſeen captured by an American privateer, but has ſince been retaken.

An account of the damage ſuſtained by the convoy to the Jamaica fleet:

Ville de Paris, 104 guns, her mainſail carried away.

Glorieux, 74, loſt her foremaſt, bowſprit, and mizen top-maſt.

Centaur, 74, loſt all her maſts.

Ramelies, 74, after loſing her mizen-maſt, main-maſt, and fore top-maſt, went to the bottom; moſt of the crew ſaved.

Canada, 74, loſt her mizen-maſt.

Caton, 64, went to America in diſtreſs before the gale, and the Pallas to attend her.

Ardent, 64, ſo leaky, that ſhe was obliged to put back to Port Royal, from Bluefields.

Jaſon, 64, left watering at Bluefields when the fleet ſailed, and was ſeen ſome time after near the Canaries.

8th. The privy council of Ireland met on the ſubject of the emigrants from Geneva, when it was unanimouſly agreed to recommend the matter in the ſtrongeſt manner to his majeſty, who has

ſince

nce been graciouſly pleaſed to xtend the royal bounty in their vour, by a grant of 25,000l. to efray their charges in removing, nd a farther ſum of 25,000l. in id of their eſtabliſhment. The arl of Ely has offered them a ſet- ement in Wexford county; and he Duke of Leinſter has made he ſame offer in the county of ildare.

Accounts from Madras 11th. were this day received at St. James's, by which his majeſty received the agreeable news of the ſafe arrival of the Sultan and Magnanime, with their convoy, on March 31; and that the French fleet had left the Coromandel coaſt.

Was expoſed to public view, the Cenotaph, erected in Guildhall, to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham.—Elevated on a baſe, fixed to a rock, the Earl of Chatham, in the habit of a Roman ſenator, appears gracefully looking on a figure repreſenting the city of London; his left hand directs the helm of government, whilſt his right embraces commerce, who, charged with her proper attributes, is moſt delightfully ſmiling on her kind protector, through whoſe zeal, aſſiſted by the four quarters of the world, ſhe is pouring plenty into the lap of Britannia.

The city, in her mural crown, with a look of gratitude, is addreſſing her noble friend, pointing the while to Commerce; at her feet are placed the emblems of Induſtry, and on her right hand thoſe of Juſtice and Power. Upon the plinth is engraved the following inſcription,

"In grateful acknowledgment to the ſupreme Diſpoſer of events, who, intending to advance this nation for ſuch time as to his wiſdom ſeemed good, to a high pitch of proſperity and glory, by unanimity at home—by confidence and reputation abroad—by alliance wiſely choſen and faithfully obſerved—by colonies united and protected—by deciſive victories by ſea and land—by conqueſt made by arms, and generoſity in every part of the globe—and by commerce, for the firſt time, united with, and made to flouriſh by war—was pleaſed to raiſe up, as a proper inſtrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT.

"The mayor, aldermen, and common council, mindful of the benefits which the city of London received in her ample ſhare in the general proſperity, have erected, to the memory of this eminent ſtateſman and powerful orator, this monument in her Guildhall, that her citizens may never meet for the tranſaction of their affairs, without being reminded that the means by which Providence raiſes a nation to greatneſs, are the virtues infuſed into great men; and that to withhold from theſe virtues, either of the living or the dead the tribute of eſteem and veneration, is to deny to them ſelves the means of happineſs and honour.

"This diſtinguiſhed perſon, for the ſervice rendered to King George II. and to King George III. was created

EARL OF CHATHAM.

"The Britiſh nation honoured his memory with a public funeral, and

and a public monument amongſt her illuſtrious men in Weſtminſter-abbey."

16th. Began the ſeſſions at the Old-bailey, when Thomas Edwards was tried for ſtealing a guinea, the property of Chambers, Langſton and Hall, to whom he was clerk. He became ſuſpected, and Mr. Hall marked ſome guineas in the preſence of a confidential ſervant, and put them into a deſk to which the priſoner had acceſs; one of which was found upon the priſoner. In alleviation, he pleaded the firſt offence, and called a multitude of gentlemen to his character; on whoſe recommendation he was permitted to enter into the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, in the military line.

19th. Dr. Richard Watſon was conſecrated in Bow Church Biſhop of Landaff, in the room of Dr. Barrington promoted to Saliſbury.

The ſame day the ſeſſions at the Old-bailey, which began on Wedneſday, ended, when nine convicts received ſentence of death.

22d. *Adm. Office.* Rear-admiral Digby deſires to acquaint their lordſhips that Capt. Purvis, of the ſloop Duc de Chartre, of 16 guns and 125 men, had captured, and brought into New York, the Argle of 22 guns and 136 men, after a ſharp action of an hour; in which time ſhe had her firſt captain with 12 men killed, and her two next officers with 13 men wounded. The Duc de Chartres did not loſe a man. The Argle had diſpatches for the French fleet.

23d. Old wheat was this day ſold in Derby market at 8s. 9d. a buſhel, and malt at 7s.

28th. Admiral Pigot, with 21 ſail of the line, arrived at New York from the Weſt Indies on the 5th of September.

The Grand Duke and Ducheſs of Ruſſia arrived at Berne in Switzerland on the 7th ult. as did likewiſe their Royal Highneſſes the Duke and Ducheſs of Glouceſter with their ſuite. Theſe royal travellers went together to view the ice mountains, the moſt remarkable natural curioſities in that part of Europe.

His Imperial Majeſty of Germany has limited the univerſities throughout his kingdoms to ſeven; at Vienna, at Prague, at Peſt, at Lemberg, at Pavia, at Louvain, and at Loyburgh. The eſtabliſhment of the latter is on the ſame footing with that of Gottingen, where every one is at liberty to think with freedom, and to publiſh his thoughts to all the world.

DIED; At Preſton, near Hull, Val. Cateby, who attained to the great age of 116; and had his intellects perfect till within two days of his diſſolution. His diet for the laſt 20 years was milk and biſcuit. He went to ſea in his 18th year, and continued a ſailor 36 years; he then turned farmer, which occupation he followed 76 years.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. Mr. Seaton's prize is this year adjudged to Spencer Madan, M. A. of Trinity College, Cam-

ambridge, for his poem on The all of the Gentiles.

Yeſterday a common hall was eld at Guildhall for the election a lord mayor, for the year en- ing; when the recorder inform- the livery, that they were call- together for the very important ſineſs of electing a chief magi- rate, in the room of a worthy derman who was diſcharged that fice on account of his bad ſtate of ealth.

The names of the aldermen who d ſerved the office of ſheriff were verally put up, when the ſheriffs eclared the ſhew of hands to be favour of the Aldermen Newn- m and Clark, and reported the me to the court of aldermen, en ſitting in the council cham- r, who ſoon after returned into e hall, when the recorder de- ared the election to have fallen Nathaniel Newnham, Eſq.

Yeſterday a court of proprietors s held at the India Houſe, from on till ſix in the evening, for e purpoſe of ballotting on the eſtion to reſcind the vote of the urt of directors, for removing arren Haſtings, Eſq. from the overnment of Bengal, &c.

At eight o'clock, the ſcrutineers ade their report, when there ap- ared to be

For the motion -	428
Againſt - -	75
Majority - -	353

By this, the reſolution of the urt of directors is voted to be ſcinded.

A confirmation was receiv- ed in Holland of the loſs of e Union man of war, a new ſhip 68 guns, in the north ſeas, in hich every ſoul on board periſh- d. Count de Welderen, eldeſt ſon of the late ambaſſador of that name to the Court of London, who commanded the Union, is much lamented.

8th. The firſt general meeting of the patrons of the charity ſchools throughout Great Britain was held at St. Paul's Coffee-houſe in St. Paul's Church-yard, when the Right Hon. Thomas Harley was choſen preſident; the Right Hon. Lord Bagot and Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne, vice-preſidents; Wm. Wright, Eſq. of Soho-ſquare, treaſurer; Mr. John Robinſon, of Bartlett's buildings, ſecretary; and Meſſ. Boldero, Barnſton, and Co. bankers to the ſociety.

11th. This day a court of general officers met at the Horſe-guards, in obedience to a warrant from his majeſty, to try the Hon. Lieut. General Murray, late Governor of Minorca, on ſeveral charges exhibited againſt him by Lieut. General Sir William Draper, Kt. of the Bath, late deputy-governor, or ſecond in command of the ſame iſland.

13th. Arrived at Plymouth, being part of Lord Howe's ſquadron, the Egmont 74, Bienfaiſant 64, and the Buffalo of 60. The accounts brought by theſe ſhips are, that Lord Howe has detached for the Weſt Indies, having firſt victualled and watered them completely from the fleet, the following men of war:

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Princeſs Amelia	80	Adm. Sir R. Hughes. / Capt. Reynolds.
Union -	90	Capt. Dalrymple.
Berwick -	74	Phipps.
Bellona -	74	Onſlow.
Suffolk -	74	Sir G. Home.
Raiſonable	64	Lord Harvey.
Ruby -	64	Collins.
Polyphemus	64	Linch.

The Sampſon, Crown, and Vigilant, of 64 guns, and the Minerva and Andromache, were left cruiſing off Liſbon; and the Ocean of 90, Admiral Milbank, with the Foudroyant, 80, Fortitude, 74, Dublin, 74, Aſia, 64, and Panther, 60, were gone to Ireland to victual and water. They are ſince arrived at St. Helens.

14th. Letters juſt received from Newfoundland, give a very melancholy relation of the loſs of the Hector man of war off that iſland. She had juſt had an engagement with two French frigates, whom ſhe beat off; but a ſtorm coming on ſoon after the action, ſhe became ſo leaky that it was impoſſible to keep her above water. Juſt as the crew were about to leave her and commit themſelves to the mercy of the waves in their boats, a brig came in ſight, and landed as many of them as were able to come on board upon the abovementioned iſland, but in a miſerable condition. Among them was Captain Bourchier, who is ſince arrived in Ireland, being ſeverely wounded in the engagement, and it was with difficulty that the officer prevented her falling into the hands of the enemy. Capt. Drury, who was paſſenger on board, is now in town, and confirms the melancholy ſituation of that part of the crew who were ſaved (about 200 in number); the reſt went to the bottom with the ſhip.

15th. Lord Howe with part of the fleet under his command arrived at St. Helens, viz. The Victory, Britannia, Atlas, Queen, Princeſs Royal, Blenheim, Cambridge, Royal William, Alexander, Courageux, Edgar, Ganges, Goliah, Vengeance, Pegaſe; and the Bombay, Monſieur and Diana frigates.

21ſt. The veſſel with the diving-bell came into Portſmouth harbour, having fiſhed up 16 guns, with cordage, &c. belonging to the Royal George.

This day Capt. M'Bride was at the levee, and delivered to the king returns of the volunteer ſeamen raiſed in Ireland for the royal navy.

25th. Yeſterday a court of proprietors was held at the Eaſt India Houſe, in Leadenhall-ſtreet, purſuant to an adverti-ſement from the court of directors, when the following motion was made:

"Reſolved, That it appearing that there is ſome deſign to diſpute the rights of the Eaſt India company; and it being found from the tenor of the letters that have paſſed between his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate and the directors, that ſomething inimical to the privileges of the court of proprietors is intended, a committee of nine proprietors be appointed to watch over the buſineſs of the Eaſt India company, as it may be agitated in parliament; and to take all ſuch legal ſteps as may appear neceſſary to prevent thoſe much feared innovations, ſubject to the controul of general courts; and that the directors be inſtructed not to ſend out to India the over-land expreſs that had been intended."

After ſome deſultory converſation the motion was reduced merely to the appointment of a committee of nine proprietors, to meet at an apartment in the houſe, any five to do buſineſs; and then, on a motion, the court adjourned.

Late

Late on Friday night the following letter was received at the mansion houſe from the Hon. Mr. Thomas Townſhend, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate:

Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1782.

To the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the City of London.

My Lord,

His majeſty's miniſters, anxious to prevent as early as poſſible the miſchiefs too commonly reſulting from ſpeculation in the funds during the uncertain ſtate of negotiations of peace between the powers at war, which it is the general honour and intereſt of all perſons to avoid, have thought it their duty to aſk his majeſty's permiſſion to communicate to you, that the negociations now carrying on at Paris, are brought ſo near to a criſis, as to promiſe a deciſive concluſion either for peace or war before the meeting of parliament; which will on that account be prorogued from Tueſday the 26th inſt. to Thurſday the 5th of December; and I have his majeſty's command to aſſure you, that you will receive immediate notice of the ſame.

(Signed) T. TOWNSHEND.

DIED, Charles Lee, Eſq. a major-general in the Poliſh ſervice. He was in the ſervice of the American States, who ſuſpended him in 1778. He was ſurpriſed by Col. Harcourt, 1776; and being afterwards exchanged, was tried by order of Congreſs, and ſuſpended for one year. He was brother to Wm. Lee, who was Sheriff of London in 1774, and in 1775 choſen Alderman of Aldgate Ward, which he reſigned in 1780, having retired to the Continent.

In America (two months ago) Major Gen. Horatio Gates (the captor of General Burgoyne), his wife, and ſon.

At Rhuabon, Denbighſhire, the celebrated Mr. John Parry, generally known by the appellation of the *famous blind harper*.

DECEMBER.

3d. Saturday being St. Andrew's day, the Royal Society held their anniverſary meeting in Somerſet Place, in the Strand, when the following gentlemen were elected for the council.

Of the Old Council.

Sir Joſeph Banks, Bart.
Peter Holford, Eſq.
Edward Hooper, Eſq.
N. Maſkelyne, D. D.
P. Henry Maty, M. A.
Lord Mulgrave.
Joſeph Planta, Eſq.
Sir W. Muſgrave, Bart.
R. Saunders, M. D.
W. Watſon, M. D.
Samuel Wegg, Eſq.

Of the New Council.

Iſaac Hawkins Browne, Eſq.
Sir William Chambers.
Earl of Dartmouth.
Right Hon. W. Ellis.
John Frere, Eſq.
Mr. W. Harriſon.
Joſeph Hoare, D. D.
Cyril Jackſon, D. D.
Philip Stephens, Eſq.
Sir Noah Thomas.

And the officers were, Sir Joſeph Banks, Bt. preſident; Paul Henry Maty, M.A. ſecretary; Joſeph Planta, Eſq. ſecretary; Samuel Wegg, Eſq. treaſurer.

4th. In the late action in the east, the French had a weight of metal ſuperior to our fleet by 110 guns, beſides the aſſiſtance of near 3000 troops. In the firſt action, we fought them five to eight; and in the ſecond, ten to twelve; and though our ſhips were much diſabled, yet the Britiſh flag rode triumphant in both actions. The Superbe had upwards of 500 ſhot in her hull, many of them under water. There was no news of Sir Richard Bickerton, when the Royal Charlotte left India.

12th. Yeſterday a court of common council was held at Guildhall, at which were preſent the right hon. the lord mayor, and ſixteen aldermen.

Mr. Dornford moved, That the reſolution of the laſt court, for converting the chapel into a juſtices office be reſcinded—but the court confirmed the reſolution.

The motion for ſubſcribing to build a ſhip of war was ordered to ſtand over till the next court day.

A motion was made and carried, that the lord mayor and ſheriffs, inſtead of collecting charitable benefactions for priſoners at Chriſtmas, ſhould draw upon the chamber for one hundred pounds.

13th. A letter from Barbadoes, dated October 28th, ſays, "that the Argo frigate has lately taken a French 64 gun ſhip, called the Actif, armed en flute, with a large quantity of braſs cannon, mortars, and all kind of artillery ſtores from Old France, bound to Martinique; ſhe had alſo on board upwards of 200 ſoldiers, and her own lower deck guns in her hold. The Argo had like to have captured a frigate alſo, which was in company with her, on board of which was the Marquiſs de Bouille."

Laſt Tueſday being the anniverſary of the inſtitution of the Royal Academy, a general aſſembly of the academicians was held at the Royal Academy, Somerſet Place, when the officers elected for the year enſuing were Sir Joſhua Reynolds, preſident.

Council.—Edw. Burch, Charles Catton, P. J. De Loutherbourg, Joſeph Nollekens, James Barry, George Dance, Jeremiah Meyer, and John Richards, Eſqrs.

Viſitors.—James Bary, J. B. Cipriani, P. J. De Loutherbourg, Jeremiah Meyer, Rev. Mr. Peters, A. Carlini, Richard Coſway, Joſeph Nolleken, and Joſeph Wilton, Eſqrs.

This day ſe'nnight the ſubſcription for a national Bank in Ireland, was opened in Dublin, and filled in a few hours, 30,000l. more than was wanted was offered. The Bank opens for buſineſs the 1ſt of next June.

18th. Yeſterday, a court of aldermen was held at Guildhall, at which were preſent the right hon. the lord mayor, and 17 aldermen, when John Hopkins, Eſq. was ſworn in Alderman of Caſtle Baynard Ward, in the room of Samuel Plumbe, Eſq. reſigned. Alſo the recorder and common ſerjeant gave in their opinions, that alderman Wooldridge might be removed, for the reaſons given in a petition againſt him, and he was ordered to attend, by himſelf or attorney, the 21ſt of January, to ſhew cauſe why he ſhould not be removed.

This day arrived a mail from New York, brought by the Swallow packet boat to Falmouth. She

ſailed

ſailed the 20th of November. Capt. Aſgill came home paſſenger on board the above packet.

20th. Wedneſday a court of proprietors was held at the Eaſt India Houſe, in Leadenhall-ſtreet, for the purpoſe of declaring a dividend on the laſt half year's ſtock, when it was ſettled at 8l. per. cent. for the half year, from Midſummer day laſt to Chriſtmas.

23d. A letter from Plymouth, dated December 20, mentions the arrival of the Mediator, of 44 guns, from a cruize, and has brought in a fine new ſhip, called the Menagere, deeply laden with all ſorts of naval and military ſtores, amongſt which are 100 tons of gun-powder. She ſailed from Bourdeaux with five others, under convoy of two French frigates, and an American, called the Alexander, of 22 guns, bound to Port-au-Prince, which the Mediator took. The Menagere maintained a running fight of ſeveral hours before ſhe ſtruck, but no conſiderable damage on either ſide; ſhe has the appearance of a very beautiful ſhip, and looks as long as any ſhip in the navy; only her upper-deck guns mounted; her lower-deck ports are marked out, but the holes not yet cut; 'tis thought ſhe is capable of mounting 74 guns. The Alexander is arrived at Portſmouth.

Yeſterday an expreſs arrived at the admiralty from Falmouth, with advice of the Queen Charlotte being arrived there, from Jamaica. She ſailed from Port Royal the 10th of November, and came through the windward paſſage. A few days before ſhe ſailed, the London man of war of 90 guns, Captain Kempthorn, returned there from a cruize; during which ſhe fell in with a French man of war, of 74 guns, and engaged her for near two hours, when ſhe ſtruck; but, unfortunately, at that period, ſhe perceived the London had received conſiderable damage, and was unmanageable, and therefore took the advantage of making ſail and got off. The London had upwards of 70 men killed and wounded, and, it is ſaid, was very much injured by the French ſhip running foul of her, whilſt they were engaging; but we are happy to find, that the Torbay, of 74 guns, came up juſt after the action, and immediately gave chace to the French ſhip, who, by endeavouring to eſcape, run on ſhore near Port Dauphin, on the north ſide of Hiſpaniola, where it was ſuppoſed ſhe would be loſt.

DIED, Charles Gray, Eſq. of Colcheſter, F.R.S. and a Truſtee of the Britiſh Muſeum, and member for that borough in five parliaments.

A Comparative Table of the Population of London, *by* R. Bland, *M. D. from vol.* lxxi. *of the* Philoſophical Tranſactions.

THIS table, which is founded on the reports of the Weſtminſter General Diſpenſary, was made with a view to ſhew the proportion of natives to perſons born in the different counties of England and Wales, in Scotland, Ireland, or foreign countries.

Of 3236 married perſons,

824 or one-fourth were born in London.
1870 or four-ſevenths in the different counties of England and Wales.
209 or 1 in 15 in Scotland.
280 or 1 in 11 in Ireland.
53 or 1 in 60 were foreigners.

3236.

Of the above number the males and females were in the following proportions.

Men.		Women.
329	were born in London, and	495 or 166 more than men.
952	—— in different counties,	917 or 35 fewer than men.
135	—— in Scotland,	74 or 61 fewer than men.
162	—— in Ireland,	119 or 43 fewer than men.
40	—— were foreigners,	13 or 27 fewer than men.
1618		1618 166

BIRTHS for the year 1782.

Jan. 1. The Princeſs of Pruſſia, a prince, at the palace of Potzdam.

11. Counteſs of Winterton, a daughter.

28. The Lady of Sir John Henderſon, Bt. a daughter.

Feb. 3. The Lady of Sir James Pringle, Bart. a ſon.

Lady Frances Sandys, a daughter.

19. The Lady of Charles Lorain Smith, Eſq. of a ſon and heir, at his houſe in Bury-ſtreet.

March 7. The Lady of Lord Stourton, a daughter.

Lady Carysfort, a daughter.

8. The Counteſs of Strathmore, a ſon.

19. Lady Willoughby of Ereſby, Lady of P. Burrell, Eſq. a ſon and heir to that antient title.

Apr. 8. Lady Frankland, Lady of Sir Thomas Frankland, Bart. a nineteenth child. Same day Mrs. Nicholas their daughter, a thirteenth grandchild.

15. Counteſs of Tyrconnel, a ſon and heir.

26. Her majeſty the Queen of the two Sicilies, of a prince, at Naples.

May 30. Lady Althorpe, of a ſon and heir, at his lordſhip's houſe in St. James's-place.

The Lady of Sir John Smith, Bart. of a daughter.

June 17. The Lady of the Hon. Captain Rodney, ſon of Admiral Lord Rodney, a ſon and heir.

23. Her Serene Highneſs, the Electreſs of Saxony, of a prin-

a princeſs, at Dreſden.

29. The Lady of Lord Brownlow, of a daughter.

July — A daughter to the Lady of Lord Glandore, in Chandos-ſtreet.

— A daughter to the Lady of Lord Daſhwood, at Stratford-place.

16. Lady of Rt. Hon. Charles Townſhend, a daughter.

28. In Ireland, Lady of Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, of a ſon and heir.

Aug. — Lady Pole, wife of Sir John William Pole, Bart. of Shute, Devon, of a ſon and heir.

5. Lady of Sir William Aſhhurſt, of a ſon.

12. Lady of Sir John Borlaſe Warren, Bart. of a ſon and heir.

15. The Lady of Sir Charles Turner, Bart. a daughter.

24. Queen of Sweden, of a prince.

Sept. 2. The Counteſs of Radnor, of a daughter.

4. The Lady of Sir Matthew White Ridley, Bart. of Blagden, Northumberland, of a ſon.

5. Lady Kinnaird, of a ſon.

7. Her Serene Highneſs the Hereditary Princeſs of Baden Durlach, of a princeſs, at Carlſruche.

12. Lady of Sir Hugh Owen, Bart. a ſon and heir.

15. Lady of George Drummond, Eſq. of a ſon.

16. Lady Aſhburton, of a ſon.

Oct. 2. Lady of the Biſhop of Peterborough, of a daughter, at Trinity-lodge.

23. The Lady of Sir Robert Smith, Bart. a daughter.

Nov. 1. Lady Grantham, a ſon.

18. Her Excellency Baroneſs Kutzleben, a daughter.

22. Lady of Lord Viſcount Turnour, a daughter.

24. Lady of the Hon. Francis Talbot, a ſon.

Dec. 3. Lady St. John, a daughter.

Lady of Lord Macdonald, a ſon.

MARRIAGES, 1782.

Jan. 25. Earl of Lincoln, to Lady Anna Maria Stanhope.

31. Thomas Scott, Eſq; member for Bridport, to Mrs. Neſbit, widow of the late Arn. Neſbit, Eſq.

Feb. 2. Sir Hyde Parker, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Goliah, to Mrs. Boteler, only daughter of J. P. Boteler, Eſq.

7. Charles Collyer, Eſq. to Miſs Sarah Maria Pratt, daughter of Edw. Pratt. Eſq. and niece to Sir Edward Aſtley, Bart.

17. Charles Dundaſs, Eſq. of Lincoln's Inn, member of parliament for the county of Orkney, to Miſs Whitley, of the Hill, Richmond.

26. Lord George Cavendiſh, brother to the Duke of Devonſhire, to Lady Betty Compton, ſole heireſs to the late Earl of Northampton.

March 9. Sir John Shaw, of Eltham, in Kent, to Miſs Monſon, ſiſter to Lord Monſon.

10. John Robinſon, Eſq. of Denſton-hall, in Suffolk, to the Hon. Miſs Clive, eldeſt ſiſter of Lord Clive.

29. The Right Rev. Dr. Egerton, Biſhop of Durham, to Miſs Bouchier.

April 2. John Smith, Eſq. of Coomb-hales, in Somerſetſhire, to Miſs Mary Shirley, daughter of the Hon. George Shirley, of Lower Eſtington, in Warwickſhire.

8. Sir John Papillon Twiſdon, Bart. to Miſs Geary, daughter of Admiral Geary.

9. S. Courtenay, Eſq. to Miſs Conliffe, eldeſt daughter of the late Sir Robert Conliffe, Bart. of Cheſter.

15. Edward Dering, Eſq. eldeſt ſon of Sir Edward Dering, Bart. to Miſs Anne Hale, fourth daughter of William Hale, Eſq. of Kingſwald, in Hertfordſhire.

May 7. The Hon. Mr. Forteſcue, ſon of Lord Forteſcue, to the Hon. Miſs Grenville, ſiſter to Earl Temple.

12. The Hon. Booth Grey, brother to the Earl of Stamford, and member of parliament for Leiceſter, to Miſs Mainwaring, eldeſt daughter of the late Charles Mainwairing, Eſq. of Bromborow.

15. Sir Henry Hay Macdougall, of Makerſton, Bart. to Miſs Iſabella Douglas, ſecond daughter of Sir James Douglas, Knight, admiral of the white.

21. The Hon. Lieutenant-general Parker, to Lady Cottrel Dormer.

23. The Hon. Mr. Bouverie, brother to the Earl of Radnor, to Lady Catharine Murray, eldeſt daughter of the Earl of Dunmore.

June 3. C. W. Boughton Rouſe, Eſq. of Rouſe Lench, in Worceſterſhire, and member of parliament for the borough of Eveſham, to Miſs Hall, only daughter of Wm. Pearce Hall, Eſq. of Downton, near Ludlow in Shropſhire.

6. Munbee Gelburn, Eſq. of Portland-place, to the Hon. Miſs Chetwynd, eldeſt daughter of the Right Hon. Lord Chetwynd.

7. Sir T. Featherſtonhaugh, Bart. to Miſs Catharine Witney, daughter of George Boleyn Witney, Eſq.

— The Right Hon. Lord Viſcount Hinton, ſon of Earl Paulett, to Miſs Pococke, daughter of Sir George Pococke, Knt. of the Bath.

22. Sir John Legard, Bart. of Gunton, in Yorkſhire, to

to Miſs Aſton, eldeſt daughter of Henry Aſton, Eſq. of Aſton, in Cheſhire; and at the ſame time, Anthony Hodges, Eſq. of Balney in Oxfordſhire, to Miſs Anne Aſton, her ſiſter.

July 3. Sir George Shuckburgh, in Warwickſhire, to Miſs Darker, daughter of John Darker, Eſq. of Gayton, in Northamptonſhire, and member of parliament for Leiceſter.

8. The Right Hon. the Earl of Cavan, to Miſs Gould, youngeſt daughter of Sir Henry Gould, Knt. one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas.

27. Sir Cecil Biſhop, of Parham, in the county of Suſſex, Bart. and member of parliament for Shoreham, to Miſs Southwell.

31. The Right Hon. Lord Caſtleſtewart, to Miſs Sarah Lill, ſecond daughter of the Hon. Godfrey Lill, ſecond juſtice of the court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

Aug. 2. Hugo Meynell, Eſq. to the Hon. Miſs Ingram, daughter of Lady Irwin.

9. John Fownes Luttrel, Eſq. of Duncaſter-caſtle, in Somerſetſhire, member of parliament for Minehead, to Miſs Drewe, of Grange, in Devonſhire.

15. Lord Viſcount Maitland, ſon of the Earl of Lauderdale, to Miſs Todd, daughter of Anthony Todd, Eſq.

25. The Hon. Philip Yorke, nephew to the Earl of Hardwick, to Miſs Lindſey, daughter of Lady Balcarras.

Sept. 15. John Baker, Eſq. of Blake-hall, in the county of Eſſex, to Lady St. Aubin, widow of the late Sir John St. Aubin, of Clowance, in Cornwall, Bart.

— The Right Hon. Alexander Lord Loughborough lord chief juſtice of the Common Pleas, to Miſs Courtenay, one of the ſiſters of Lord Viſcount Courtenay.

Oct. 2. Earl of Mexborough, to Miſs Stephenſon.

Lately. Henry Gratton, Eſq. member of parliament for Charlemont in Ireland, to Miſs Fizgerald.

Nov. 23. Sir Sheffington Smith, Bt. of Tynny-park, Co. of Wicklow, member of parliament for Mullingar in Ireland, to Miſs Dally, only ſiſter to Dennis Dally, Eſq.

Lately. Rev. Auriel Drummond, ſon of the late Archbiſhop of York, and nephew to the Earl of Kinnoul, to Miſs De Viſme, daughter of the late William De Viſme, Eſq.

Dec. 4. The Hon. and Rev. Mr. Cadogan, ſecond ſon of Lord Cadogan, to Mrs. Bradſhaw, at Chelſea.

23. At Marybone, the Right Hon. Lord Edward Bentinck, brother to the Duke of Portland, to Miſs Cumberland, eldeſt

eſt daughter of Richard Cumberland, Eſq.

Principal PROMOTIONS *for the Year* 1782, *from the* London Gazette, *&c.*

Jan. 5. Lord Viſcount Dalrymple appointed his majeſty's Miniſter Plenipotentiary to the King and Republic of Poland.

Feb. 1. Lord Viſcount Bulkeley, of the kingdom of Ireland, appointed Lord Lieutenant of the county of Carnarvon.

— 9. Right Hon. Lord George Germain a baron and viſcount of Great Britain, by the titles of Baron Bolebrooke in the county of Suſſex, and Viſcount Sackville of Drayton in the county of Northampton.

— 11. John Duke of Dorſet ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.—Right Hon. Welbore Ellis appointed one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

— 23. A congé d'elire paſſed the great ſeal, empowering the dean and chapter of Briſtol to elect a biſhop of that ſee, with a letter recommending the Rev. Lewis Bagot, L. L. D. Dean of Chriſt Church, Oxford.—Thomas Thurlow, Lord Biſhop of Lincoln, recommended to be choſen Dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.

War-Office, March 26. His Royal Highneſs Prince Frederick, Biſhop of Oſnabruck, captain and colonel of the 2d troop of horſe grenadier guards, vice Lord Amherſt.

— 27. Right Hon. Charles Lord Camden, lord preſident of the council.—Right Hon. Lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the Exchequer. —— Auguſtus Henry Duke of Grafton, lord privy ſeal. — Right Hon. William Earl of Shelburne, and the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, ſecretaries of ſtate.

— 30. Marquis of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendiſh, Lord Althorpe, James Grenville, and Frederick Montagu, Eſqrs. lords commiſſioners of the treaſury.—Right Hon. Admiral Auguſtus Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Vice Admiral Hugh Pigot, Viſcount Duncannon, Hon. John Townſhend, Charles Brett and Richard Hopkins, Eſquires, lords commiſſioners of the admiralty.—Right Hon. Iſaac Barré, treaſurer of the navy.—Right Hon. General Conway, commander in chief. ——Charles Duke of Richmond, maſter-general of the ordnance.—Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, ſecretary at war.——Right Hon. Edmund Burke, paymaſter general.—Earl of Jerſey, maſter of the buck hounds.—Marquis of Carmarthen, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire.—Earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of Wilts.—— Earl Temple, lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of Bucks.—Right Hon. John Dunning, Baron Aſhburton.—Right Hon. Sir Fletcher Norton, Lord Grantley, Baron of Markenfield. — Earl of Effingham treaſurer, and Earl of Ludlow comptroller, of the houſehold.

April 6. Harry Duke of Bolton, governor and captain of the Iſle of Wight, governor and conſtable of Cariſbrook caſtle, and lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Southampton.

n.—Right Hon. Lord de Fer-
rs, captain of his majeſty's band
f gentlemen penſioners. — Lord
ivers, a lord of his majeſty's bed-
hamber.—Right Rev. Dr. John
Iotham, Biſhop of Oſſory, to the
iſhoprick of Clogher, in Ireland,
ice Dr. John Garnet, deceaſed.
—Right Rev. Dr. William Bereſ-
ord, Biſhop of Dromore, to the
iſhoprick of Oſſory, in Ireland,
ice Dr. J. Hotham tranſlated.

— 10. William Henry Duke
f Portland, lieutenant general and
eneral governor of Ireland.

— 13. Right Hon. Earl of
Tankerville, and the Right Hon.
Henry Frederick Carteret, poſt-
maſter general. —— Right Hon.
Lord Aſhburton, chancellor of the
uchy of Lancaſter.

— 16. Lieut. Gen. John Bur-
oyne, commander in chief in
reland.

— 20. Charles Turner, Eſq.
f Kirkleatham, county of York,
he dignity of a baronet of Great
Britain. —— Lloyd Kenyon, Eſq.
ttorney general; and John Lee,
Eſq. ſolicitor general to his ma-
eſty.——George Hardinge, Eſq.
ſolicitor general to the queen.—
Rev. Thomas Percy, D. D. to the
biſhoprick of Dromore in Ireland,
vice Dr. Beresford, tranſlated.—
Earl of Shannon, Earl of Scarbo-
rough, and the Right Hon. Sir
George Yonge, Bart. vice-trea-
ſurers of Ireland.—Duke of Man-
cheſter lord chamberlain; Charles
Herbert, Eſq. his ſecretary. ——
Hon. Edward Fitzpatrick, ſecre-
tary to the Duke of Portland.

— 23. Sir William Howe, K.B.
lieutenant general of the ordnance.
—Hon. Thomas Pelham, maſter-
ſurveyor of the ordnance.

— 24. George Lord de Ferrars,
ſworn of the privy council.—Ri-
chard Lord Viſcount Howe, of the
kingdom of Ireland, a viſcount of
the kingdom of Great Britain, by
the title of Viſcount Howe, of
Langar, county of Nottingham.—
Right Hon. Auguſtus Keppel, a
viſcount of Great Britain, by the
title of Viſcount Keppel, of El-
veden, county of Suffolk.

May 4. George Lord Viſcount
Chewton, vice-chamberlain of his
majeſty's houſehold, ſworn of the
privy council. —— Thomas Lord
Viſcount Weymouth, groom of
his majeſty's ſtole, and firſt gentle-
man of his majeſty's bed-chamber.
——Lieut. Gen. John Burgoyne,
commander in chief of his maje-
ſty's forces in Ireland, and the
Hon. Lieut. Col. Richard Fitz-
patrick, to be of the privy coun-
cil in the kingdom of Ireland.

— 7. Lieut. Colonel Thomas
Pigot, governor of the city of
Cork.

— 11. Frederick Earl of Car-
liſle, lord ſteward of his majeſty's
houſehold.—George Earl of Dal-
houſie, his majeſty's high commiſ-
ſioner to the general aſſembly of the
church of Scotland.--George Duke
of Argyle, colonel of the 3d regi-
ment of foot guards.—Lord Adam
Gordon, 1ſt regiment of foot.

— 25. Earl of Eſſex, a lord of
his majeſty's bed-chamber.

— 28. Sir George Brydges
Rodney, created Baron Rodney,
of Rodney-Stoke in Somerſet. —
Rear Admiral Francis Samuel
Drake, and Captain Edmund Af-
fleck, baronets of Great Britain.
—Sir Samuel Hood, created Baron
Hood of Catherington, in the
kingdom of Ireland.

June

June 1. George James Cholmondeley, Esq. a commissioner of excise, vice Henry Legge, Esq.—John Byng, Esq. commissioner of stamp duties, vice Mr. Cholmondeley.

— 4. The following gentlemen created baronets of Great Britain, viz. John Brisco, of Crofton-Place, county of Cumberland, Esq. Thomas Hussey Apreece, of Washingley, county of Huntingdon, Esq. And Rev. Henry Vane, D. D. of Long Newton, county of Durham.

— 5. Lord Robert Spencer, sworn of the privy council.

— 11. Douglas, Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, summoned to parliament by writ, as a peer of England, by the stile of Duke of Brandon, in Suffolk.

— 14. Earl of Cholmondeley appointed his majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

— 18. William Duke of Devonshire, lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Derby, vice Lord George Cavendish.—The King has ordered a congé d'elire to the dean and chapter of Llandaff, for electing a bishop, in the room of Dr. S. Barrington, translated to Salisbury, and recommended the Rev. Richard Watson, D. D. to be elected Bishop of Llandaff.

July 2. Right Hon. Walter Hussey Burgh, chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer in Ireland, vice Rt. Hon. James Baron Tracton, deceased. — Barry Yelverton, Esq. his majesty's attorney general in Ireland, vice Right Hon. John Scott; and sworn a privy counsellor.

— 10. Right Hon. William Pitt, chancellor and under treasurer of the exchequer, sworn of the privy council. — Right Hon. Thomas Townshend, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.—William Earl of Shelburne of the kingdom of Ireland, Right Hon. William Pitt, James Grenville, Richard Jackson, and Edward James Eliot, Esqrs. commissioners for executing the office of treasurer of his majesty's exchequer. —— Augustus Viscount Keppel, Sir Robert Harland, Bart. Admiral Hugh Pigot, Cha. Brett, Richard Hopkins, Hon. John Jefferies Pratt, and John Aubrey, Esqrs. commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, &c. — Sir George Yonge, Bart. secretary at war.

— 17. Right Hon. Thomas Lord Grantham, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

— 27. Isaac Barré receiver and paymaster general of his majesty's guards, garrisons, and land forces. —Hon. Henry Dundas, treasurer of his majesty's navy.

30. Dr. Joseph Dean Bourke, Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, translated to the archbishoprick of Tuam, with the united bishoprick of Enaghoden, and the bishoprick of Ardagh, in commendam, vacant by the death of the Rev. Jemmet Browne. —— Rev. John Law, D. D. (son of the Bishop of Carlisle) promoted to the united bishopricks of Leighlin and Ferns, vice Dr. Cope.—Henry Strachey, Esq. M. P. for Bishop's Castle, under secretary of state in the southern department, vice Mr. Orde, who succeeds him as one of the secretaries of the treasury.

Sept.

Sept. 3. Hon. Charles Howard ommonly called Earl of Surrey), proved of as deputy earl marſhal England.

7. Archbiſhop of Tuam, and rl of Clanricarde, to be of the ivy council in Ireland.—Rich. ully, Eſq. appointed his ma-ty's agent and conſul-general Tripoli.

21. Sir John Stepney, Bart. voy extraordinary at Berlin.

Oct. 2. Charles Earl of Tanker-le, ſworn of the privy-council.

8. George Rogers, Eſq; one of e commiſſioners of his majeſty's vy, vice Timothy, Brett, Eſq.

The following gentlemen are eated baronets of Ireland, viz. r Boyle Roche, of Fermoy, co. orke, Knt. Rich. Muſgrave, of urin, co. Waterford, Eſq. Nich. ugent, of Dyſert, co. Weſt-eath, Eſq. Fra. Hutchinſon, co. icklow, Eſq.

DEATHS, 1782.

Jan. 13. The Right Hon. John ord Sempill. He is ſucceeded title and eſtate by the Hon. ugh Sempill, of the 3d regi-ent of guards.

22. The Right Hon. Lady Tre-or, relict of John Lord Trevor, nd daughter of the late Sir Rich-rd Steele, Bart.

24. Sir James Harington, Bart. early allied to the two royal ouſes of Scotland and Portugal.

25. At his apartments in Holy-ood-houſe, Edinburgh, aged 86, he Right Hon. John Campbell, Earl of Breadalbane and Glenor-hy, Lord Vice Admiral of Scot-land, one of his majeſty's privy-council, and ſenior Knight of the Bath.

Feb. 2. The Right Hon. Hugh Boſcawen, Viſcount Falmouth, captain of the yeomen of the guard, and ranked as a general in the army.

7. Suddenly, the Right Hon. Lord Colvill of Ochiltree.

8. The Hon. Lieutenant-general Simon Fraſer, colonel of the 71ſt regiment of foot, and member of parliament for the county of Inverneſs.

14. The Right Rev. Thomas Newton, D. D. Biſhop of Briſtol, and Dean of St. Paul's.

A few days ago, at Cheltenham, in Glouceſterſhire, aged 69, the Hon. William Howe, uncle to the preſent Lord Chedworth.

March 1. The Hon. Lieutenant-general William Keppel, colonel of the 12th regiment of dragoons, uncle to the preſent Earl of Albemarle, and member for Chicheſter in Suſſex.

2. At Dublin, the Right Rev. John Garnett, Lord Biſhop of Clougher, to which ſee he was tranſlated, from the Biſhoprick of Ferns, in the year 1758.

3. William Dalrymple, Eſq. of Eaſthamſtead, in Berks.

9. The Right Hon. Lord Robert Bertie, uncle to the late Duke of Ancaſter, one of the lords of the king's bed-chamber, a general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe guards, Governor of Duncannon, in Ireland, and one of the repreſentatives for Boſton, in Lincolnſhire.

10. Lady Milner, grand-mother to the preſent Sir William Milner, Bart.

Bart. of Nun Appleton in the county of York.

11. John Thurlow, Esq. one of the Aldermen of Norwich, and brother to the lord chancellor and Bishop of Lincoln.

12. Sir Charles Holt, Bart. of Ashton, in Warwickshire, and knight of the shire for that county in the last parliament.

A few days ago, in the south of France, the Right. Hon. the Countess of Deloraine.

The Right Hon. Thomas Lord Fairfax. He is succeeded in title and estate by his only brother, the Hon. Robert Fairfax, of Leeds Castle, in Kent.

25. The Right Hon. Lady Viscountess Courtenay.

27. The Hon. Mrs. Howard, widow of the late Hon. Philip Howard, of Norfolk, sister to the late Duchess of Norfolk, and mother to the present Lady Petre.

April 10. The Right Hon. Lady Mary Forbes.

12. About twelve years of age, the third daughter of Lord Viscount Weymouth.

13. Lady Gough, relict of the late and mother to the present Sir Henry Gough, Bart.

26. Aged 72, the Right Hon. William Talbot, Earl Talbot, Lord Hensol, and Baron Dinevor, of Dinevor in Caermarthenshire; many years lord steward of the household, one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, and LL. D.

27. At Loudoun Castle in Ayrshire, aged 77, the Right Hon. John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, Baron Mauchlane, one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, a general of his majesty's forces, colonel of the 3d regiment of foot-guards, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and F.R.S.

May 1. James Philip, Esq. Judge Admiral of Scotland.

14. The Right Hon. Richard Lumley Saunderson, Earl of Scarborough, Viscount Lumley; also Viscount Lumley in Ireland; one of the joint vice-treasurers in Ireland, and a member of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

16. The learned Dr. Solander, F.R.S. and who had made the voyage round the world, in company with his friend Sir Joseph Banks.

21. At Portumna Castle in Ireland, the Right Hon. John Smyth de Burgh, Earl of Clarickarde, and Baron Dunkellyn.

27. The Hon. Mrs. Shirley, mother of the present Earl Ferrers.

29. At the German Spa, the Right Hon. Elizabeth Countess of Grandison.

June 3. Lady Theodore Crosbie, sister to the Earl of Glendore.

9. Sir Charles Buck, Bart. of Hanby Grange, Lincolnshire.

10. Thomas Hill, Esq. formerly representative in several parliaments for the borough of Shrewsbury.

11. The Dowager Viscountess Howe.

14. The Right Hon. Edward Earl Ligonier, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, and colonel of the 9th regiment of foot in America.

20. The Hon. General Monckton, Governor of Portsmouth, and colonel of the 17th regiment of foot.

Abroad.

Abroad, the Right Hon. Lady Newborough, daughter of the late Earl of Egmont.

25. In St. Stephen's Green, Dublin, the Right Hon. James Dennis, Baron Tracton, chief baron of the court of Exchequer.

27. The Right Rev. Dr. John Hume, Lord Biſhop of Saliſbury, chancellor of the order of the Garter, and brother-in-law to the Earl of Kinnoul.

29. The Hon. Mrs. Curzon, Lady of the Hon. Nathaniel Curzon, eldeſt ſon of Lord Scarſdale.

July 1. The Moſt Noble Charles Watſon Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham, Earl of Malton in England, and in Ireland, Viſcount Higham of Higham Ferrars, Baron Rockingham of Rockingham, Baron of Malton, Waith, and Harrowden, firſt lord of the treaſury, lord-lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the Weſt Riding of the county of York, and cuſtos rotulorum of the North Riding of the ſaid county, vice-admiral of the whole county of York, and the maritime parts thereof, a governor of the Charter-houſe, Knt. of the moſt noble order of the Garter, and F. R. S. He was born May 13, 1730, and on the death of his father in 1750 ſucceeded to his honours. He was married Feb. 26, 1752, to Mary, daughter and heireſs of Thomas Bright, Eſq. of Badſworth in the county of York, by whom he has left no iſſue.

24. Henry Bridgeman, Eſq. ſon and heir of Sir Henry Bridgeman, Bart.

26. At Edinburgh, Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of the late Alexander Duke of Gordon.

28. Robert Child, of Oſterly-park, Eſq. By his will he has given all his eſtates, both real and perſonal, to Mrs. Child, Mr. Lovelace, Mr. Dent, Mr. Church, and Mr. Keyſall, his partners, in truſt for the purpoſe of paying all his partnerſhip debts, and for carrying on the buſineſs as uſual at the houſe at Temple-bar, and has made them the executors of his will.

Aug. 13. Lady Hoſkyns, relict of the late Sir Chandos Hoſkyns, Bart.

17. General Fitzroy, uncle to Lord Southampton.

A few days ago, at Powick, in Worceſterſhire, Sir William Arnot, Bart. late lieutenant-colonel of the queen's regiment of dragoon guards.

28. At Knockrenny, in the county of Roſcommon, in Ireland, John Dillon, Earl of Roſcommon.

Sept. 6. At Weymouth, the Hon. Mr. Legge, fourth ſon of Lord Dartmouth.

Oct. —. The Right Hon. the Counteſs of Denbeigh.

The remains of Lady Hamilton, late wife to Sir William Hamilton, Knight of the Bath, and his majeſty's envoy to the King of the two Sicilies, were embalmed immediately after her death, which happened on the 27th of Auguſt, in order that they might be tranſported to England, to be interred in Sir William's family fault.

26. At the Hague, the famous Banker Tobias Boaz.

29. At Chicheſter, aged 85, the Hon. Coote Moleſworth, the laſt ſurviving

surviving son of Robert the first Lord Viscount Molesworth.

Nov. 19. At Strasburgh, her Royal Highness the Princess Christina, aunt to the Elector of Saxony.

Dec. 12. Charles Gray, Esq. of Colchester, aged 87, F. R. S. and one of the trustees of the British Museum; he represented that borough in five different parliaments.

13. Right Hon. Lady Dowager Blantyre, at Lennoxloye, aged 85.

27. At Edinburgh, Henry Home, Esq; Lord Kaimes, judge in the courts of session and justiciary, well known in the literary world.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

Gen. Murray's Account of the Siege of Fort St. Philip's; Articles of Capitulation, and Returns of the State of the Garrison and Artillery.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Gen. Murray, Governor of Minorca, to the Earl of Hilsborough, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. Received by Capt. Don, March 19.

Minorca, Feb. 16, 1782.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acquaint your lordship, that Fort St. Philip's was surrendered to his Catholic Majesty the 5th instant, The capitulation accompanies this. I flatter myself all Europe will agree the brave garrison showed uncommon heroism, and that thirst for glory, which has ever distinguished the troops of my royal master. Our necessary guards required four hundred and fifteen men, the night before the capitulation; the whole number able to carry arms amounted to six hundred and sixty only, of course there were none for picquet, and a defect of one hundred and seventy to relieve the guards, as is evident by the returns. The most inveterate scurvy which I believe ever has infected mortals reduced us to this situation. The reports of the faculty fully explain the dreadful havock it made, and that three days further obstinacy on my part must have inevitably destroyed the brave remains of this garrison, as they declare there was no remedy for the men in the hospitals, but vegetables; and that of the six hundred and sixty able to do duty, five hundred and sixty were actually tainted with the scurvy, and in all likelihood, would be in the hospitals in four days time. Such was the uncommon spirit of the king's soldiers, that they concealed their disorders and inability, rather than go into the hospitals; several men died on guard, after having stood sentry; their fate was not discovered till called upon for the relief, when it came to their turn to mount again. Perhaps a more noble, nor a more tragical scene, was ever exhibited, than that of the march of the garrison of St. Philip's through the Spanish and French armies. It consisted of no more than six hundred old, decrepid soldiers, two hundred seamen, one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, twenty Corsicans, and twenty-five Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, &c. The two armies were drawn up in

two lines, the battalions fronting each other, forming a way for us to march through: they conſiſted of fourteen thouſand men, and reached from the Glacis to George-town, where our battalions laid down their arms, declaring they had ſurrendered them to God alone, having the conſolation to know, the victors could not plume themſelves in taking an hoſpital.

Such was the diſtreſſing figures of our men, that many of the Spaniſh and French troops are ſaid to have ſhed tears as they paſſed them: the Duke de Crillon and the Baron de Falkenhayn declare it is true: I cannot aver this, but think it was very natural: for my own part, I felt no uneaſineſs on this occaſion, but that which proceeded from the miſerable diſorder which threatened us with deſtruction. Thanks to the Almighty my apprehenſions are now abated; the humanity of the Duke de Crillon (whoſe heart was moſt ſenſibly touched by the misfortunes of ſuch brave men) has gone even beyond my wiſhes in providing every thing which can contribute to our recovery. The Spaniſh as well as the French ſurgeons attend our hoſpitals. We are greatly indebted to the Baron de Falkenhayn, who commands the French troops. We owe infinite obligations to the Count de Crillon; they can never be forgot by any of us. I hope this young man never will command an army againſt my ſovereign, for his military talents are as conſpicuous as the goodneſs of his heart.

Liſts of the killed and wounded, with the number of our guns which were deſtroyed by the enemy's battering artillery, which conſiſted of 109 pieces of cannon and 36 mortars, are incloſed. I ſhall wait here until I ſee the laſt man of my noble garriſon ſafely and commodiouſly embarked. If my accompanying them in a tranſport to England could be of the ſmalleſt ſervice to any of them, I would chearfully go with them by ſea; but as I can be of no further uſe to them after they are on board ſhip, I truſt his majeſty will approve of my going to Leghorn to bring home with me my wife and my children, who fled to Italy in the evening of the day the Spaniſh army landed on the iſland.

My aid de camp, Capt. Don, will have the honour to preſent this letter to your lordſhip; he is well acquainted with the moſt minute circumſtance relative to the ſiege, is an intelligent, diſtinguiſhed officer, and is furniſhed with copies of all the papers I have, which he will lay before your lordſhip, if requiſite.

The captains Savage, Boothby, and Don, of the 51ſt regiment, Lieut. Mercier, of ditto, Lieut. Botticher, of Goldacker's regiment, and Lieut. Douglas the engineer, are exchanged for the officers we made priſoners at Cape Mola.

Colonel Pringle and his nephew Lieut. Pringle are to be left hoſtages until the tranſports return agreeable to the capitulation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES MURRAY.

P. S. It would be unjuſt and ungrateful was I not to declare, that from the beginning to the laſt hour of the ſiege, the officers and men of the royal regiment of artillery, and likewiſe the ſeamen, diſtinguiſhed themſelves: I believe the

he world cannot produce more xpert gunners and bombadiers han those who ſerved at this ege, and I am ſure the ſailors hewed uncommon zeal. It is neeſſary likewiſe to declare, that no arriſon was ever nouriſhed with etter ſalt proviſions of all kinds, han we had ſent to us from Engand; freſh vegetables we could ot have; but we had plenty of eaſe, good bread and rice, with urrants and raiſins; and left in he fort ſix months full allowance f all kinds, although a magazine, ontaining ſix months more, was urnt by the enemy's ſhells.

JAMES MURRAY.

Articles of Capitulation propoſed by his Excellency the Hon. James Murray, Lieutenant General of his Britannic Majeſty's forces, Colonel of the 13th regiment of foot, Captain-General and commander in chief of Fort St. Philip's, to his Excellency Louis Berton de Balls, Duc de Crillon, Lieutenant General of the French and Spaniſh forces, and commander in chief of the combined army.

St. Philip's Caſtle, Feb. 4, 1782, *at nine o'clock in the morning.*

ARTICLE I. THAT all acts of hoſtility ſhall ceaſe till the articles of capitulation are agreed upon and ſigned.

ART. II. That the garriſon, upon their ſurrender, ſhall be allowed all the honours of war, viz. To march out with ſhouldered arms, drums beating, colours flying, twenty-four rounds per man, matches lighted, four pieces of cannon, two mortars, with twenty-four rounds of ammunition for each piece, four covered boats not to be ſearched upon any account.

ART. III. That the whole garriſon, comprehending all his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects, civil as well as military, and the Corſican corps and Greeks, &c. ſhall have their baggage and effects ſecured to them, with leave to move or diſpoſe of it as they ſhall think proper; and that his Britannic Majeſty's ſubjects ſerving in the garriſon, who poſſeſſed houſes and grounds in Mahon and George-Town, ſhall have leave to diſpoſe of them to any of his Catholic Majeſty's ſubjects.

ART. IV. That the garriſon, including officers, artificers, ſoldiers, and other Britiſh ſubjects and their families, ſhall be provided with convenient tranſports at the rate of one ton and a half per man, and to be carried to the firſt port in Great Britain, and landed there as ſoon as they arrive, at the expence of the crown of Spain; and that proviſions ſhall be allowed to them, out of ſuch as remain in the magazines of the garriſon at its ſurrender, for the time they remain in the iſland, and for their voyage by ſea for ten weeks, in the ſame proportion as they now receive it; and the officers with their families, who have the governor's permiſſion, ſhall have paſſports granted to them to go to England or Germany by land; that the Corſicans, Greeks, &c. now ſerving in the garriſon, who do not exceed ſeventy men, ſhall be tranſported to Leghorn, and landed there likewiſe at the expence of the crown of Spain, but their proviſions for the paſſage to be taken from the magazines of the garriſon. That the tranſports are to be provided, for the accommodation of the troops during the voyage, with the bedding of the garriſon. That a proper hoſpital

for the ſick and wounded, during the time that the tranſports are getting ready, (which time ſhall not exceed one month from the ſigning of this) ſhall be provided; and ſuch as may not then be in a condition to embark, ſhall be allowed to ſtay behind, and be properly taken care of, till they ſhall be able to be ſent to Great Britain by another conveyance.

ART. V. That while the garriſon continues in the iſland, permiſſion ſhall be granted to purchaſe vegetables and freſh meat in the markets, for the ſick in the hoſpital.

ART. VI. Until the garriſon quits the place, it ſhall not be permitted to corrupt the ſoldiers, and try to make them deſert from their regiments, and the officers ſhall have acceſs to them at all times; for which purpoſe no communication betwixt the ſoldiers of his Catholic Majeſty and the troops of the garriſon ſhall be admitted of.

ART. VII. That exact diſcipline ſhall be kept up on both ſides.

ART. VIII. That the four inhabitants of the iſland, viz. Paul Guiard, Marc Reure, Michael Amengual, and Lewis Roca, who have joined in the defence of the garriſon, ſhall be permitted to remain and enjoy their properties in the iſland unmoleſted.

ART. IX. That all priſoners of war made ſince the landing the Spaniſh army, ſhall be delivered up on both ſides.

ART. X. Hoſtages being delivered on both ſides for the faithful execution of the preceding conditions, his Excellency the Hon. Lieut. Gen. Murray conſents to deliver up the place, with all the military ſtores and ammunition, cannon and mortars, except what is reſerved in the ſecond article, to his Catholic Majeſty; likewiſe to direct that all mines and underground works ſhall be ſhewn to his Catholic Majeſty's engineers; plans of the galleries, mines, and other ſubterraneous works, ſhall be likewiſe delivered up.

(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

Duke de Crillon's Anſwer to General Murray's firſt Propoſal to capitulate.

THE order which I have from my court, forbidding me to liſten to any capitulation, except under the expreſs condition that the garriſon of Fort St. Philip's ſhall be priſoners of war, I am under the obligation to return his Excellency General Murray the articles which he propoſes to me; but I am very ſorry I have not an opportunity to make known to him my deſire for the preſervation of his men, and particularly the eſteem with which his perſon and his brave garriſon have inſpired me.

B. B. DUC DE CRILLON.

Mahon, February 4, eleven o'clock in the morning.

Further Articles of Capitulation propoſed by his Excellency General Murray to his Excellency the Duke de Crillon, dated Fort St. Philip's, February 2, 1782, at eight o'clock at night, he having objected to thoſe formerly ſent to him: with the Anſwers of the Duke de Crillon to the laſt Articles propoſed by General Murray, dated Mahon, February 4, 1728, at ten at night.

ART. I. As his Excellency the Duke de Crillon, by the expreſs orders of his Sovereign, cannot receive

receive the garriſon but as priſoners of war, his Excellency the Hon. Lieutenant General James Murray conſents to ſurrender the garriſon agreeable to the Duke de Crillon's inſtructions from his court; but he expects the Duke de Crillon will allow the garriſon to march out of it with all the honours of war he has required in the ſecond article of thoſe ſent to the Duke, which is by no means incompatible with his Excellency's inſtructions, and will tend more to his glory; for certainly no troops ever gave greater proofs of heroiſm than this poor worn out garriſon of St. Philip's Caſtle, who have defended themſelves almoſt to the laſt man.

Anſwer. The garriſon ſhall be priſoners of war; but in conſideration of the conſtancy and valour which General Murry and his men have ſhewn in their brave defence, they ſhall be permitted to go out with their arms ſhouldered, drums beating, lighted matches, and colours flying, till having marched through the midſt of the army, they ſhall lay down their arms and colours; and moreover, being deſirous of giving a proof of my high eſteem for the General, he ſhall be allowed a covered boat.

ART. II. General Murray deſires the garriſon may be allowed to return to England, priſoners of war, in tranſports furniſhed by the King of Spain, but paid for by the King of England; and that the troops ſhall be victualled, while they remain on the iſland, till the tranſports are got ready for them, and during the paſſage to Great Britain, out of the ſtores of the garriſon, at the ſame allowance for each man they have been accuſtomed to receive; the troops of the garriſon are likewiſe to be allowed to take their bedding with them into the tranſports. Granted.

ART. III. That the Corſicans, Greeks, &c. are to be tranſported to Leghorn, and likewiſe victualled out of the ſtores of the garriſon at the uſual allowance: the tranſports at the expence of England. Granted.

ART. IV. That the General thinks that the officers ſhould follow the fate of their men, and therefore will not permit any officer to go home by land, but thoſe whoſe health requires it: that his own will not admit of a long ſea voyage, and therefore he hopes the Duke de Crillon will allow him and his ſuite to go to Marſeilles, and from thence to England, for which purpoſe he has the King of France's paſſport. Granted.

ART. V. That the Duke de Crillon may depend upon it the garriſon of Fort St. Philip's ſhall not ſerve during the war, unleſs they are regularly exchanged, or a cartel ſettled betwixt the belligerent powers, which may liberate them from the obligations of not ſerving during the war.

Anſwer. The confidence which I have in the honour of all the officers of the garriſon of St. Philip does not ſuffer me to doubt of their keeping their promiſe not to ſerve againſt Spain and her allies, until they have been exchanged by Spain, either man for man, or by means of a cartel, in caſe any ſhould be eſtabliſhed by their Catholic and Britannic Majeſties, for the officers ſhall be priſoners of war on their parole of honour,

given in writing under their hands; with regard to the ſoldiers, a liſt of their names muſt be made out, their officers ſhall explain to them the obligation they have contracted of not ſerving during the war, till they have been exchanged, and ſhall warn them of the penalty of death they will be puniſhed with if guilty of breaking this obligation.

ART. VI. That the Duke de Crillon's known humanity leaves General Murray no doubt that his Excellency will be happy to allow vegetables and every poſſible refreſhment, to be bought in the markets of the iſland, which can contribute to the recovery of the ſick of the garriſon. Granted.

ART. VII. That he has as little doubt that his Excellency's generoſity will not admit of allowing the officers, ſoldiers, and artificers of the garriſon, to be plundered of their baggage, and maltreated by the beſieging army; for which purpoſe he propoſes to put the Duke de Crillon immediately in poſſeſſion of Marlbro', Charles Fort, Queen's Redoubt, and the Kane Lunette. Granted.

ART. VIII. That the Engliſh garriſon ſhall remain poſſeſſed of the other out-works till the day they embark; and that no inſults may be offered them by the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

Anſwer. The whole garriſon ſhall early to-morrow morning quit the place, to be conducted to Alcor, where they ſhall remain till they are embarked, and every attention ſhall be paid them, which their defence and valour deſerve.

ART. IX. Hoſtages to be delivered on both ſides for the faithful performance of the preceding articles.

Anſwer. In conſequence of the 2d and 3d preceding articles, which treat of the tranſports that are to be furniſhed by Spain, his Excellency General Murray ſhall name ſome principal officers, who ſhall remain as hoſtages till the return of the ſaid tranſports.

Mahon, Feb. 6, 1782.

(Signed) J. Murray. (Signed) B. B. Duc de Crillon. Le Baron de Falkenhayn, Mar. de Camp. Comm. les Troupes Franc. Felix Buch. El. Marq. de Caſa Cagigal. Dn. Orazio Borgheſe. El Conde de Aſuentes.

Return of the Killed and Wounded during the Siege of Fort St. Philip's, from the 19th of Auguſt, 1781, to the 4th of February, 1782, inclusive.

Killed. Marine corps, Lieutenants Davis and Crew, 3 ſerjeants, 54 rank and file. Total 59.

Wounded. 51ſt regiment, Colonel Capt. Savage, Lieutenants Fuller and Hull, Enſign Naper. 61ſt ditto, Capt. Muet. Goldacker's, Lieutenant Bottiche. Royal Artillery, Capt. Fade, Lieutenants Irwin and Woodward. Engineers, Lieutenants D'Arcy and Johnſton. Marine corps, Capt. Harman, Lieut. Hodges. Corſicans, Captain Colie. 10 ſerjeants, 124 rank and file. Total 149.

GEO. DON, Adj. Gen.

State

State of the Guns and Mortars at St. Philip's Caſtle, Minorca, February, 5, 1782.

Iron Garrison Guns.	Service-able.	Unſer-viceable.	To-tal.
Thirty-two pounders	10	14	24
Twenty-four ditto	1	2	3
Eighteen ditto	32	21	53
Twelve ditto	32	16	48
Nine ditto	46	6	52
Six ditto	34	19	53
Four ditto	1	—	1
Total	156	78	234

N. B. Three twenty-four pounders, and three eighteen-pounders, were received from Mr. Robinſon.

Iron Ship Guns.			
Minorca's	nine pounders	10	— 10
	ſix ditto	1	— 1
Cornwallis's, ſix ditto		19	1 20
Eagle's four ditto		12	2 14
Chance's	four ditto unſize-able.	2	2 4
	three ditto	2	
Porcupine's three ditto		2	2 4
St. Ant. de Padua, nine do.		2	— 2
Total		46	9 55

Mortars.				
13 Inches	Iron	2	2	4
	Braſs	2	—	2
8 ditto		7	1	8
5½ or royal ditto		3	12	15
2 4-5ths, or cohorn ditto		4	16	20
Total		18	31	49

Braſs Field Pieces.				
Light ſix pounders		17	5	22
Howitzers	8 inch	6	—	6
	4 2-5ths	5	1	6
Total		28	6	34

Two travelling carriages unſerviceable.

Jacob Schalch, Capt.
R. Artillery F. O.

N. B. Many of the guns which are returned ſerviceable have been ſtruck by the enemies ſhot and ſhells, and may prove dangerous to be further uſed.

Moſt of the braſs mortars, though returned ſerviceable, are run by frequent firing.

Hoſpital, St. Philip's Caſtle, Feb. 1, 1782.

FROM the extraordinary increaſe of the ſick in the garriſon, and the little progreſs we make in reducing that evil, we judge it neceſſary, both on account of the public ſervice, as well as our own credit, to inform your Excellency, that the prevailing diſeaſe, the ſcurvy, amongſt the troops, is got to ſuch an alarming height, as ſeems to us to admit of no remedy in our preſent ſituation. Every means has been tried to palliate this formidable malady; but the daily, and we may ſay, the hourly falling down of the men, baffles all our endeavours. The different returns of the ſick, will ſhew your Excellency the truth of this aſſertion. We are ſorry to add, that it does not appear to us, that any one now in the hoſpital, will be able to do the ſmalleſt duty under the preſent circumſtances, where no vegetable food is to be had, or free air.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

Geo. Monro, Phyſician General.
Will. Fellows. Surg. General.
D. M'Neille, Surg. to Nav. Hoſ.
B. I. Grimſchel, Surg. P. Erneſt's,
Rabille, Goldacker's.
S. Ford, Royal Artillery,
James Hall, 51ſt Regiment.

To his Excellency the Governor.

St. Philp's Caſtle, Feb. 1, 1782.

FROM the repreſentation made by the faculty of the increaſe of the ſick, the Governor judges it neceſſary that the men who are even doing duty, ſhould be exa-

mined by the faculty, and a report of the ſtate of their health, particularly with regard to the ſcurvy, to be made to me, for his excellency's information.

(Signed) G. Don, Adj. Gen.

Dr. Monro, Phyſician-general, and Director of the Hoſpital.

St. Philip's Caſtle, February 3, 1782.

AGREEABLE to his excellency's orders of the 1ſt inſtant, we have made a moſt careful examination, with reſpect to the health of the men doing duty; in conſequence of which, the incloſed return is tranſmitted to you for his excellency's information. We judge it neceſſary to add, that thoſe men ſpecified in the returns, will, in all probability, be, in a few days, incapable of performing any duty, from the rapid progreſs the ſcurvy makes amongſt them: neither is it in our power to check this prevailing malady. The conſtant duty the men are obliged to perform, the impoſſibility of procuring any kind of vegetables, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, to which we may add the damp, foul air thoſe men conſtantly breathe in the ſubterraneans, are cauſes ſufficient to dread the conſequences. We are, &c.

Geo. Monro, Phyſician Gen.
W. Fellows, Surg. to the Hoſp.
D. M'Neille, Surg. to the Hoſp.
John Red, Surg. to the Hoſp.
James Hall, Surg. to the 51ſt.
B. J. Grimſchel, Surgeon Pr. Erneſt's.
Rabille, Surg. to Goldacker's.

To Capt. Geo. Don, Adj. Gen.

Return of the Scorbutic Men (in the four Regiments) now doing Duty in the Garriſon of St. Philip's, February 3, 1782.

Corps.	*No. of Men.*
51ſt regiment —	120
61ſt ditto —	111
Prince Erneſt's 2d battalion	153
Goldacker's —	176
Total	560

(Signed)
Geo. Monro, Phyſician Gen.
D. M'Neille, Surg. to Naval Hoſpital.
John Red, Surg. to the Hoſp.
James Hall, Surg. to 51ſt regt.
S. M'Cormie, Surgeon's Mate.
B. J. Grimſchel, Surgeon Pr. Erneſt's.
Rabille, Goldacker's.

Returns made by the Commanding Officers of the Four Regiments, of the Number of Men doing Duty in each, of the Number they furniſh daily for Guard, and of the Number deficient for one Relief.

St. Philip's February 1, 1782.

Regiments.	*No. of men doing duty.*	*No. for guard.*	*No. deficient for 1 relief.*
51ſt —	158	86	14
61ſt —	177	104	27
Pr. Erneſt's 2d bat.	184	106	28
Goldacker's ditto	247	129	11
Total	766	415	80

N. B. From the 1ſt inſtant to the 3d, 106 men were carried to the hoſpitals; ſo there only remained doing duty 660.

Remarkable Actions at Sea, &c.

London Gazette.

Admiralty Office, April 27, 1782.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Vice Admiral Barrington *to Mr.* Stephens,

Stephens, *dated on Board the* Britannia, *at* St. Helens, *the 25th of April*, 1782.

I HAVE the pleaſure to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that on the 20th inſtant, Uſhant bearing N. E. half E. 23 leagues, at one P. M. I perceived the Artois, Captain Macbride, with a ſignal out for diſcovering an enemy's fleet, but at ſuch a diſtance that it was with the utmoſt difficulty I could diſtinguiſh the colour of the flag; it was then calm, but a breeze ſpringing up, I made the ſignal for a general chace; the enemy at ſuch a diſtance that I could but juſt diſcover them from the Britannia's maſt head at three o'clock. At the cloſe of the evening ſeven of our ſhips had got a good diſtance a head of me, the Foudroyant, Captain Jervis, the foremoſt; and in the night, it coming to blow ſtrong with hazy weather, after having loſt his companions, at 47 minutes after 12, brought the Pegaſe of 74 guns and 700 men to a cloſe action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when the Foudroyant, having laid her on board on the larboard quarter, the Frenchman ſtruck. My pen is not equal to the praiſe that is due to the good conduct, bravery and diſcipline of Capt. Jervis, his officers and ſeamen on this occaſion: let his own modeſt narrative, which I herewith incloſe, ſpeak for itſelf.

The next morning ſoon after day-break, the wind then ſouth, blowing ſtrong, it ſhifted in an inſtant to weſt, and with ſuch violence that it was with difficulty I could carry my courſes to clear Uſhant and get the Channel open, which being accompliſhed by noon, I brought to and remained ſo until the evening of the 22d to collect the ſquadron.

By the accounts of the priſoners there was 18 ſail, laden with ſtores, proviſions, and ammunition, under the convoy of the Protecteur of 74, Pegaſe 74, L'Andromache 32, together with L'Actionaire, a two-decker, armed en flute, all bound for L'Iſle de France. They left Breſt the 19th inſtant.

I cannot pretend to give their lordſhips a particular account of the number of prizes, but muſt refer them to that they may receive as they arrive in port, though I believe there are ten at leaſt.

Proceedings of his Majeſty's Ship under my command from the 20th inſtant.

Near ſun-ſet on the 20th, I was near enough to diſcover that the enemy conſiſted of three or four ſhips of war, two of them at leaſt of the line, with 17 or 18 ſail under their convoy, and that the latter diſperſed by ſignal. At half paſt nine I obſerved the ſmalleſt of the ſhips of war to ſpeak with the headmoſt, and then bear away. At a quarter paſt ten, the ſternmoſt line of battle ſhip, perceiving we came up with her very faſt, bore up alſo. I purſued her, and at 47 minutes after twelve brought her to cloſe action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when, having laid her aboard on the larboard quarter, the French ſhip of war Le Pegaſe, of 74 guns and 700 men, com-

commanded by the Chevalier de Cillart, ſurrendered.

The diſcipline and good conduct of the officers and men under my command will beſt appear by the ſtate of the killed and wounded, and of the damages ſuſtained in each ſhip.

I am happy to inform you that only two or three people, with myſelf, are ſlightly wounded; but I learn from the Chevalier de Cillart, that Le Pegaſe ſuffered a very great carnage, and was materially damaged in her maſts and yards, the mizen-maſt and fore-top-maſt having gone away ſoon after the action ceaſed.

It blew ſo ſtrong yeſterday morning, that I with difficulty put eighty men on board the prize, but received only forty priſoners in return, in performing which I fear two of our boats were loſt. The diſabled ſtate of the prize, together with the ſtrong wind and heavy ſea, induced me to make the ſignal for immediate aſſiſtance, which Commodore Elliot ſupplied, by making the Queen's ſignal to aſſiſt the diſabled ſhip.

At eight o'clock laſt night they bore S. S. W. four miles diſtance of us: we lay-to till ten, in hopes of their joining, but not perceiving them, we bore up, and ran N. E. twenty-three miles till day-light, when, ſeeing nothing of them, we brought-to, and at half paſt eight made ſail to join the ſquadron.

By all I can learn from the priſoners, this ſmall ſquadron, compoſed of Le Protecteur, Monſieur de Soulange, Commodore, Le Pegaſe, and L'Andromache frigate, was making a ſecond attempt to proceed on an expedition to the Eaſt Indies, ſome of the troops having been before captured under that deſtination, by the ſquadron under the command of Rear-Admiral Kempenfelt, in the preſence of the above-mentioned ſhips of war.

JOHN JERVIS.

Poudroyant, April 23.

N. B. Advice has been received, that the Pegaſe of 74 guns is arrived at Spithead, and the following ſhips, part of the above-mentioned captures, at Plymouth.

La Fidelite, with 178 troops and ſtores,
La Bellone, 147 troops and ſtores.
La Lionne, 180 troops and ſtores,
Duc de Chartres, ſtores and arms.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Admiralty Office, April 2, 1782.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Pole, *of his Majeſty's Ship the* Succeſs, *of* 32 *Guns and* 220 *Men, to Mr.* Stephens, *dated at* Spithead *the* 30*th of March* 1782.

I HAVE the honour to deſire you will inform my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that on the 16th inſt. at day light, in lat. 35 : 40 N. Cape Spartel bearing E. N. E. eighteen leagues, the wind at S. W. ſtanding for the gut, with the Vernon ſtoreſhip, we diſcovered a ſail right a head, cloſe hauled on the larboard tack: as ſoon as I could diſcover her hull from the maſt-head, which the haze and lofty poop magnified, I made the Vernon's ſignal to haul the wind on the ſtarboard tack, and make all ſail; ſoon after hauled our wind, the ſtrange ſail tacked and gave chace; at half paſt two, P. M. finding the chaſe gained on the Vernon, I ſhortened ſail to let her go a-head, and then brought-to, in hopes at leaſt

to

to make him ſhorten ſail, and divert his attention from the ſhip under my convoy. We ſoon after diſcovered him to be only a large frigate with a poop: at a little after five he hoiſted a Spaniſh enſign, with a broad pendant, and fired a gun: at ſix, being within random ſhot, aſtern of me, I wore, and ſtemmed for his lee bow, till we had juſt diſtance ſufficient to weather him; then hauled cloſe athwart his forefoot, giving him our whole fire within half piſtol ſhot; paſſed cloſe to windward engaging, while the enemy expecting us to leeward, were firing their lee guns into the water; the diſorder our firſt fire threw them into they did not recover. We then wore, and placed ourſelves to great advantage, which our ſuperiority of ſailing allowed us to do, ſupporting without intermiſſion, a moſt aſtoniſhing cloſe and well ſerved fire, at never more than half a cable diſtance, till the enemy ſtruck, which was about twenty minutes paſt eight. She proved to be the Santa Catalina, Don Mig. Jacon, commander, of thirty four guns, twenty-ſix long Spaniſh twelves on the main deck, and eight ſix pounders on the quarter deck. The number of men I have not been able to aſcertain. We have on board 286 priſoners. The captain and officers ſay they had between 25 and 30 killed, and only 8 wounded. Don Mig. Jacon is a captain in the line, hath a diſtinguiſhing pendant as ſuch, and is ſenior officer of the frigates cruiſing off the Straits; had a very particular deſcription of the *Succeſs* ſent him, whom he was particularly directed to look out for; had been cruiſing three weeks for us; had ſeen us four times; chaced us twice with a ſquadron of four and ſix ſail, from whom he parted two days before. He ſpeaks with much diſpleaſure of the behaviour of his ſhip's company. Lieutenant Oakely, whom I had appointed to take charge of the prize, was indefatigable in clearing the wreck. Her mizen-maſt fell ſome time before ſhe ſtruck; the main-maſt in a ſhort time after, and her fore maſt muſt have ſhared the ſame fate, if the water had not been remarkably ſmooth: in ſhort, without aſſuming much preſumption, I may add, our guns did as much execution in the little time as could have been done; her hull was like a ſieve, the ſhot going through both ſides, From this ſtate of the prize, their lordſhips may imagine my hopes of getting her to port were not very ſanguine. Whilſt we were endeavouring to ſecure her foremaſt, and had juſt repaired our own damages, which were conſiderable in our yards, maſts, and ſails, at day-light of the 18th, ſix ſail appeared in ſight, two frigates from whom had chaſed, and were reconnoitering us; I inſtantly ordered the Vernon to make all ſail, hoiſted all my boats out, ſent on board for Lieutenant Oakley and the ſeamen, with orders to ſet fire to the Santa Catalina before he left her. She blew up in a quarter of an hour. The wind being at S. E. I made all ſail from the ſix ſail, and determined on proceeding with the Vernon to Madeira, ſhe being now in want of proviſions and water. We had now 286 priſoners on board, whoſe intention to attempt riſing we had fortunately diſcovered, encouraged

by the ſuperiority of numbers, which appeared very ſtriking to them.

The ſpirited behaviour of every officer, and of the ſhip's company, is ſuperior to my praiſe; their real value and merit upon this occaſion hath ſhewn itſelf in much ſtronger and more expreſſive terms than I am maſter of; but ſtill it becomes a duty incumbent on me to repreſent them to their lordſhips as deſerving their favour and protection; I have particular pleaſure in ſo doing. Lieut. M'Kinley, (2d) aſſiſted by Mr. James, maſter, were very aſſiduous in getting the Succeſs's damages repaired, as well as they could admit. Lieutenant Pownal of the marines, by the greateſt attention and good example, formed a party that would do honour to veteran ſoldiers. Indeed, Sir, the warrant, petty, able, &c. did their duty in ſo noble a manner, that I feel myſelf happy in rendering them my public thanks. I ſhall hope, if their lordſhips are pleaſed to conſider the conduct of the Succeſs on this occaſion as deſerving their notice, that they will permit me to recommend the firſt lieutenant to their favour. From the reports given me ſince, it adds to my ſatisfaction to know, that, had I not been obliged to ſet fire to the Catalina, ſhe could not have ſwam, a gale of wind coming on immediately after, which obliged us to lay to under a ſtorm ſtay ſail: ſhe was the largeſt frigate in the King of Spain's ſervice: her exact dimenſions I have received from the captain; they were taken three months ſince when ſhe was coppered at Cadiz. I am ſorry to add, that amongſt the liſt of our wounded is Mr. George Hutchinſon Boatſwain, who loſt his arm: the ſervice will loſe a very valuable man.

Dimenſions of the Santa Catalina.

	Ft.	In.
Length of keel —	138	11
Length of deck —	151	10
Extreme breadth —	39	4
Height of middle port when victualled for four months —	8	0

My thanks are due to Colonel Gladſtanes and the other officers, paſſengers on board the Vernon ſtore-ſhip, for their attention, particularly in aſſiſting to ſecure the priſoners.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
CHA. M. POLE.

Killed in the Succeſs, 1; wounded, 4.

Admiralty Office, May 18, 1782.

Lord Cranſton, one of the captains of his majeſty's ſhip the Formidable, and Capt. Byron of the Andromache, in which ſhip his lordſhip came paſſenger, arrived early this morning with diſpatches from Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, Bart. to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are copies.

SIR,

Formidable at Sea, April 14, 1782.

IT has pleaſed God, out of his divine Providence, to grant to his majeſty's arms a moſt complete victory over the fleet of his enemy, commanded by the Count de Graſſe, who is himſelf captured with the Ville de Paris, and four other ſhips of the fleet, beſides one ſunk in the action.

This important victory was obtained the 12th inſt. after a battle which

which lasted with unremitting fury from seven in the morning till half past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest.

Both fleets have greatly suffered; but it is with the highest satisfaction I can assure their lordships, that though the masts, sails, rigging, and hulls of the British fleet are damaged, yet the loss of men has been but small, considering the length of the battle and the close action they so long sustained, and in which both fleets looked upon the honour of their king and country to be most essentially concerned.

The great supply of naval stores lately arrived in the West Indies will, I flatter myself, soon repair all the damages his majesty's fleet has sustained.

The gallant behaviour of the officers and men of the fleet I had the honour to command, has been such as must for ever endear them to all lovers of their king and country.

The noble behaviour of my second in command Sir Samuel Hood, who in both actions most conspicuously exerted himself, demands my warmest encomiums; my third in command, Rear Admiral Drake, who, with his division led the battle on the 12th instant, deserves the highest praise; nor less can be given to Commodore Affleck, for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre division.

My own captain, Sir Charles Douglas, merits every thing I can possibly say; his unremitted diligence and activity, greatly eased me in the unavoidable fatigue of the day.

In short, I want words to express how sensible I am of the meritorious conduct of all the captains, officers, and men, who had a share in this glorious victory, obtained by their gallant exertions.

The enemy's whole army, consisting of 5500 men, were on board their ships of war: the destruction among them must be prodigious, as for the greatest part of the action every gun told; and their lordships may judge what havock must have been made, when the Formidable fired near eighty broadsides.

Inclosed I have the honour to send for their lordships inspection, the British and French lines of battle, with an account of the killed and wounded, and damages sustained by his majesty's fleet.

Lord Cranston, who acted as one of the Captains of the Formidable during both actions, and to whose gallant behaviour I am much indebted, will have the honour of delivering these dispatches. To him I must refer their lordships for every minute particular they may wish to know, he being perfectly master of the whole transaction.

That the British flag may for ever flourish in every quarter of the globe, is the most ardent wish of him, who has the honour of being, with great regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant,
G. B. RODNEY.

A list of the French ships taken.

La Ville de Paris	110	Had on board in the action 1300 men.
Le Gorieux	74	753 men 150 soldiers
Le Cæsar	74	750 men 150 ditto
L'Hector	74	750 men 150 ditto
L'Ardent	64	650 men 100 ditto

One sunk, name unknown.

LINE

LINE of BATTLE.

Royal Oak to lead on the Starboard Tack, and the Marlborough on the Larboard.

Frigates.		*Ships.*	*Commanders.*	*guns.*	*men.*	*kd.*	*wd.*	*tot.*
	Rear Admiral Sir SAMUEL HOOD's Division.	Royal Oak	Thomas Burnett	74	600	8	30	38
		Alfred	William Bayne	74	600	12	40	52
* Lizard		Montagu	George Bowen	74	600	12	31	43
		Yarmouth	Anthony Parry	64	500	14	33	47
* La Nymphe		Valiant	S. G. Goodall	74	650	10	28	38
Champion to repeat signals.		Barfleur	Sir Sam. Hood, Bart. / John Knight	90	767	10	37	47
Zebra		Monarch	Francis Reynolds	74	600	16	33	49
		Warriour	Sir James Wallace	74	600	5	21	26
		Belliqueux	Alex. Sutherland	64	500	4	10	14
		Centaur	John Inglefield	74	650	*No returns.*		
Alecto		Magnificent	Robert Linzee	74	600	6	11	17
		Pr. William	George Wilkinson	64	500	0	0	0
* Convert	Sir GEO. B. RODNEY, Bart. Commander in Chief's Division.	Bedford	Com. Edm. Affleck / Thomas Graves	74	617	0	17	17
Endymion		Ajax	N. Charrington	74	550	9	40	49
Alarm		Repulse	Thomas Dumaresq	64	500	3	11	14
		Canada	Hon. W. Cornwallis	74	600	12	23	35
Andromache		St. Albans	Captain Inglis	64	500	0	6	6
* Fortunee		Namur	Robert Fanshawe	90	750	6	25	31
Flora to repeat signals		Formidable	Sir G. B. Rodney, Bt. / Sir Ch. Douglas, Bt. / John Symonds / Lord Cranston	90	750	15	39	54
Alert		Duke	Allan Gardner	90	750	13	60	73
		Agamemnon	Benjamin Caldwell	64	500	14	24	38
		Resolution	Lord Rob. Manners	74	600	4	35	39
Sybil		Prothee	Charles Buckner	64	500	5	25	30
* Pegasus		Hercules	Henry Savage	74	600	7	19	26
* Salamander		America	Samuel Thompson	64	500	1	1	2
* Germain	Rear Admiral FRANCIS S. DRAKE's Division.	Russel	James Saumarez	74	600	10	29	39
		* Prudent	Andrew Barklay	64	500	Not in action.		
* Blaft		Fame	Robert Barber	74	600	3	12	15
		Anson	William Blair	64	500	3	13	16
		Torbay	John Lewis Gidoin	74	600	10	25	35
Triton		Pr. George	James Williams	90	750	9	24	33
Eurydice to repeat signals.		Princessa	Fr. Sam. Drake, Esq. / Cha. Knatchbull	70	577	3	22	25
		Conqueror	George Balfour	74	600	7	23	30
* Santa Monica		Nonsuch	William Truscott	64	500	3	3	6
		Alcide	Charles Thompson	74	600	*No returns.*		
		Arrogant	Samuel Cornish	74	600	0	0	0
		Marlborough	Taylor Penny	74	600	3	16	19
					Total	237	766	1003

All accidental frigates to be opposite the centre division.

N. B. Those marked * not with the fleet during the actions.

[*The Gazette by some mistake makes only* 230 *killed and* 759 wounded, *though the total when summed up is* 1003.]

Returns

Returns of Officers Killed and Wounded, the 9th and 12th of April 1782, included in the above Liſt.

Royal Oak.—Mr. Gwatkin, firſt lieutenant, killed; captain of marines, wounded.

Alfred.—Captain Bain, killed.

Montagu.—Mr. William Cade, maſter, killed; Lieutenants Breedon and Buchan of marines, wounded.

Valiant.—Mr. Richard Wimbleton, ſecond lieutenant killed; Mr. William Brown, fifth lieutenant, and Mr. Backhouſe, maſter, wounded.

Warriour.—Mr. Stone, maſter, wounded.

Centaur.—*No return, having a prize in tow, and not joined.*

Magnificent.—Capt. Bagg of the marines, wounded.

Ajax.—Mr. John Elliot, firſt lieutenant, Mr. Thomas Roſſiter, pilot, wounded.

Repulſe.—Captain of marines, and maſter, wounded.

Formidable.—Lieutenant Hele, killed; Captain Bell and Lieut. Harris of marines, wounded.

Duke.—Lieut. Corniſh, Mr. Cooper maſter, Mr. Scott boatſwain, wounded.

Agamemnon.—Lieuts. Incledon and Brice, wounded; the latter ſince dead.

Reſolution.—Capt. Right Hon. Lord Robert Manners, wounded, and ſince dead.

Prothee.—Mr. Thomas Love, maſter, wounded.

Hercules.—Lieut. Hobart killed; Captain Savage, wounded.

America.—Lieut. Collowhill, killed; Lieutenant Trelawney, wounded.

Anſon.—Captain Blair, killed.

Torbay.—Lieut. Mounier of marines, killed.

Princeſſa.—Lieuts. Dundas and M'Douall, and Lieut. Laban of marines, wounded.

Alcide.—*No returns, having a prize in tow, and not joined.*

Liſt of the French Fleet in Fort Royal Harbour, April 2, 1782.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
La Ville de Paris	110	* Deſtin	74
L'Auguſte	80	† Le Dauphin Royal	74
Le Duc de Burgogne	80	† Le Magnifique	74
Le Languedoc	80	* Le Reflechi	74
* Le St. Eſprit	80	Le Bien Aimé	74
† La Couronne	80	Le Sceptre	74
Le Neptune	80	Le Northumberland	74
‡ Le Triumphant	80	Lo Conquerant	74
Le Zelé	74	Le Marſeillois	74
Le Glorieux	74	Le Palmier	74
Le Citoyen	74	L'Ardent	64
Le Souverain	74	L'Eveillé	64
Le Magnanime	74	Le Caton	64
Le Céſar	74	Le Jaſon	64
Le Hector	74	Le Fier, armée en flute	54
‡ Le Brave	74	Le Minotaur, ditto	74
Le Pluton	74	Le Sagittaire	54
Le Hercule	74	L'Experiment	50
Le Scipion	74		
Le Bourgogne	74		

Total, 36 ſail of the line, two 50 gun ſhips, 13 frigates, ſeven armed brigs of the kings, 2 fireſhips, 1 cutter.

* Out of repair.

† Joined at St. Kitts.

‡ Arrived with the Breſt convoy.

SIR,

Formidable at Sea, April 14, 1782.

I muſt deſire you will pleaſe to acquaint their lordſhips, that notwithſtanding the diſpoſition I had made of his majeſty's fleet under my command, which were ſtationed to windward of the French iſlands, in a line ſtretching from the latitude of Deſiada to the latitude

tude of St. Vincent, with a line of frigates to windward, which their lordſhips may perceive, by the diſpoſition of the fleet I have the honour to incloſe, and which diſpoſition was thought by every officer of the fleet to be ſuch, as to render it impoſſible for any convoy bound to the French iſlands to eſcape, yet notwithſtanding the vigilance of every captain and officer, the enemy found means to eſcape by making the iſland of Deſiada, and creeping cloſe in under Gaudaloupe and Dominique, they arrived ſafe in the bay of Fort Royal on the 20th and 21ſt of March.

Information having been given me of this unlucky event, I thought it my duty to return to the bay of Gros Iſlet, St. Lucia, where I had ordered the ſtoreſhips, victuallers, and trade bound to Jamaica, to rendezvous.

On my arrival in that bay, every diſpatch poſſible was made in refitting the fleet, and taking in ſtores and proviſions for five months of all ſpecies for the whole fleet. A watchful eye being kept the whole time on the French fleet in the bay of Fort Royal, as I knew that Count de Graſſe would haſten the refitting his fleet, and take the firſt opportunity of proceeding to the place of his deſtination.

On the 5th of April I received intelligence that the enemy were embarking their troops on board the ſhips of war, and concluded they intended to ſail in a very few days.

Captain Byron of the Andromache, an active, briſk, and diligent officer, watched their motions, with ſuch attention, that on the 8th inſtant at day light, he made the ſignal of the enemy's coming out, and ſtanding to the North Weſt; I inſtantly made the ſignal to weigh, and having looked into the bays of Fort Royal and St. Pierre's, where no enemy's ſhips remained, I made the ſignal for a general chace, and before day light of the 9th, came up with the enemy under Dominique, where both fleets were becalmed, and continued ſo for ſome time. The enemy firſt got the wind and ſtood towards Gaudaloupe; my van diviſion under that gallant officer Sir Samuel Hood, received it next and ſtood after them. At nine the enemy began to cannonade my van, which was returned with the greateſt briſkneſs.

The baffling winds under Dominique did not permit part of the centre diviſion to get into action with the enemy's rear till half paſt eleven, and then only the ſhip next to me in the line of battle.

Their lordſhips may eaſily imagine the mortification it muſt have been to the ſixteen gallant officers commanding the ſhips of the rear, who could only be ſpectators of an action in which it was not in their power to join, being detained by the calms under Dominique.

The enemy's cannonade ceaſed upon my rear's approach, but not before they had done conſiderable damage to the ſhips of the van, and diſabled the Royal Oak and Montagu, and his majeſty had loſt a gallant officer, viz. Capt. Bayne of the Alfred, and a number of officers and ſeamen, as mentioned in the account tranſmitted to their lordſhips; but ſuch was the ſteady behaviour of Sir Samuel Hood and the ſhips of the van, that the enemy received more damage than they occaſioned.

The

The night of the 9th inſtant the fleet lay to, to repair their damages. The 10th they continued to turn to windward under an eaſy ſail, the enemy's fleet continuing to do the ſame, and always had it in their power to come to action, which they moſt cautiouſly avoided, and rendered it impoſſible for me to force them in the ſituation they were in, between the Saints and iſland of Dominique. On the 11th of April, the enemy having gained conſiderably to windward, and the wind blowing a freſh and ſteady gale, I made the ſignal for a general chace to windward, which continued the whole day. Towards ſun-ſet, ſome of the headmoſt ſhips of the fleet had approached near to one of the enemy's ſhips that had received damage in the late action, and had certainly taken her, if Count de Graſſe had not bore down with his whole fleet for her protection, which brought him ſo near, that I flattered myſelf he would give me an opportunity of engaging him the next day. With that view I threw out the ſignal for the form of ſailing, and ſtood with the whole fleet to the ſouthward till two o'clock in the morning; then tacked, and had the happineſs at day-light to find my moſt ſanguine deſire was near being accompliſhed, by my having it in my power to force the enemy to battle. Not one moment was loſt in putting it into execution: the conſequences have been ſuch as I have had the honour to repreſent in my former letter of this day; and can ſay no more, than that too much praiſe cannot be given to the gallant officers and men of the fleet I had the honour to command.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. B. RODNEY.

N. B. Lord Cranſton and Capt. Byron relate, that the Cæſar, one of the captured ſhips, ſoon after ſhe was taken poſſeſſion of, took fire by accident and blew up, and a conſiderable number of the people on board her unfortunately periſhed; and that Lord Robert Manners died in his paſſage home in the Andromache.

Paris, July 9.

Extract of a Letter from Count de Guichen, to the Marquis de Caſtries, Secretary of State for the Marine Department; dated at Sea, on board the Terrible, June 27.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the combined fleet has had very little wind ſince its departure from Cadiz, which, however, would not have retarded us much had it not become quite contrary at the entrance of the bay. We were a little recompenſed afterwards by meeting with a fleet of the enemy's ſhips, which we deſcried the 25th of June, in lat. 47. 36. N. and 15. 20. W. from the meridian of Paris.

This fleet, compoſed of 18 ſail, was eſcorted by the Portland, of 50 guns; the Oiſeau, of 32; the Danæ, of 24; and the Merlin ſloop: it was deſtined for Canada and Newfoundland. Our frigates have taken the 18 ſhips, but could not come up with the ſhips that convoyed them. At the departure of the courier from Breſt, the prizes appeared off Uſhant.

Liſt of Ships taken.

The Jenny, 250 tons, Captain John

John Stewart, laden with ſpirits, ſalt, &c. 12 men; the Commerce, 250 tons, Capt. Edward Prichard, laden with proviſions, 10 men; The Eagle, 300 tons, Capt. William Crones, laden with proviſions, 36 men; the John, 170 tons, proviſions, 22 men; the Fogo, 40 tons, Capt. Joſeph Bickguen, proviſions, 7 men; the Canada, Capt. John Karokins, 250 tons, laden with proviſions; the Maria, three maſts, laden with proviſions; the Jenny, three maſts, Capt. Williams, proviſions, 24 men; the Kingſton, 16 men, proviſions; the Garland, Capt. Robert Plout, 120 tons, laden with proviſions; the Lively, proviſions and wine, 9 men; the Charak, Capt. James Wallarche, 150 tons, laden with proviſions; the Providence, Capt. John Ebiter, proviſions; the Nancy, Capt. Thomas Cawley, laden with proviſions, 12 men; the Magdalen, Capt. Boukay, proviſions, 12 men; the St. George, 100 tons, proviſions, 12 men; the Admiral Campbell, 70 tons and 8 men, laden with proviſions; the Hermit, Capt. David Nunny, 11 men, laden with proviſions and wine.

Whitehall, Nov. 16.

The letters, of which the following are copies and extract, from the Right Hon. General Elliot, Governor of Gibraltar, were received on Thurſday laſt at the office of the Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State for the home department.

(C O P Y.)

Gibraltar, Sept. 15, 1782.

My Lord,

THE enemy having collected his whole force by ſea and land; 44 ſail of the line, beſides 3 inferior two-deckers; 10 battering ſhips, 5 bomb-ketches, ſeveral frigates and xebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed veſſels, and near 300 boats, purpoſely conſtructed for carrying troops:

Their land batteries mounted with above 100 pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers:

An army of near forty thouſand men:

On the 13th inſtant, at eight in the morning, all the battering ſhips, commanded by Don Buenventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion, and came forward to the ſeveral ſtations previouſly determined they ſhould take up. The admiral being placed upon the capital of the King's Baſtion, the other ſhips extending three to the ſouthward of the flag, as far as the Church Battery; five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole; and one a very little to the weſtward of the admiral; by a quarter before ten, they were anchored in line at the diſtance of 1000 to 1200 yards: immediately a heavy cannonade began from all the ſhips, ſupported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches. At the ſame inſtant our batteries opened with hot and cold ſhot from the guns; and ſhells from the howitzers and mortars. This firing continued, without intermiſſion, on both ſides, until noon, when that of the enemy, from their ſhips, ſeemed to ſlacken, although but little. About two o'clock the admiral's ſhip was obſerved to ſmoke, as if on fire, and a few

a few men busy upon the roof, searching for the cause. Our batteries never discontinued; the enemy's fire from the ships gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired from a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly discovered beginning to burn; an hour after it was completely in flames; eight more of the ships took fire in succession. Signals of distress being now made, the launches, feluccas, and boats of the whole fleet began to take out the men from on board the burning ships. Many shot were still fired from those in which the flames had yet made no considerable progress; and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore did not in the least diminish. Brigadier Curtis, who with his squadron of gun-boats, lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstance, left the New Mole, at two o'clock, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition; which so astonished and disconcerted the enemy, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoning the ships, in which some officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to perish. This unavoidably must have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidst the flames by the personal intrepidity of Brigadier Curtis, at the utmost hazard of his own life, a life invaluable to his majesty's service. For some time I felt the utmost anguish, seeing his pinnace close to one of the largest ships at the instant she blew up, and spread her wreck to a vast extent all round. The black cloud of smoke being dispersed, I was again revived by the sight of his pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmost danger of sinking, some pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat, (killing the cockswain, and others of the men) scarce any hope left of reaching the shore. Providentially he was saved by stopping the hole with the seamen's jackets, until boats arrived to their relief. One of our gun-boats was sunk at the same moment.

In the course of the day the remaining eight ships severally blew up with violent explosions; one only escaped the effects of our fire, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no possibility of preserving her.

The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ship till she was totally consumed.

Your lordship will be pleased to inform his majesty, that the royal artillery additional gunners and marine brigade only could be employed on this service, which they executed with the deliberate coolness and precision of school practise; but their exertion was infinitely superior. The fire was incessant, and the batteries abundantly supplied with ammunition; every soldier in the garrison, not on duty, eagerly pressing to share in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by sea was effectually defeated by the constant and well supported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and spirited attack made by Brigadier Curtis, rendered this success a complete victory.

The enemy's loſs, killed, burnt, drowned, and wounded, muſt have been great indeed.

I incloſe a liſt, No. 1. of the ſhips deſtroyed, No. 2. of priſoners taken, all by Brigadier Curtis, except one Spaniſh officer, and eleven French ſoldiers, who, out of fourſcore, eſcaped on the wreck of their boat. Two large launches from the fleet were taken with the officers and men belonging to them. The ſincere gratitude all the priſoners of war expreſſed for their deliverance from the various horrors that ſurrounded them, afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to humanity.

I am happy to ſay, my lord, that notwithſtanding the enemy's violent effort, our loſs has not been great in numbers; yet ſuch gallant individuals muſt ever be regretted.

Capt. Reeves, of the royal artillery, was the only officer killed, and is much to be lamented for his knowledge and conſtant unwearied attention to every duty. Our wounded officers will all do well, and we are hopeful not to loſe many of the ſoldiers.

The Duke de Crillon, a general of the higheſt reputation, having the chief command of the allied forces, princes of royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, firſt nobility of Spain, and great military officers, being preſent with the beſieging army, an amazing concourſe of ſpectators, that filled the camp, and covered the adjacent hills on this occaſion, induce us to believe, the combined powers had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs from their battering ſhips, deemed perfect in deſign, completed by dint of prodigious labour, and unlimited profuſion of expence; and, by common report, pronounced invincible.

I am, my lord, with reſpect, &c.

G. A. Elliott.

To the Earl of Shelburne, &c. &c. &c.

(COPY.)

Gibraltar, Sept. 28, 1782.

My Lord,

THE public diſpatches will be delivered by Capt. Vallotton, my firſt aid-de-camp, who is ſufficiently well informed to anſwer any farther particulars your lordſhip may wiſh to have minutely explained.

Capt. Vallotton is an active, intelligent, and zealous officer: if his majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow any mark of favour upon him, I am ſure he will never prove undeſerving.

I am, my lord, &c. &c.

G. A. Elliott.

The Earl of Shelburne, &c. &c. &c.

(EXTRACT.)

Gibraltar, Oct. 2, 1782.

THE night of the 30th inſtant, betwen 10 and 12, the enemy's mortar boats threw a number of ſhells for the town, incampments, and hoſpital: at the ſame time the land batteries increaſed the quantity of their fire; but no injury was done to our works, ſtores, or magazines.

Extract of the Returns of Killed and Wounded in the ſeveral Corps at Gibraltar, from Auguſt 9th to October 17th, 1782, incluſive.

6 ſerjeants, 1 drummer, 58 rank and file killed.

2 Majors, 2 captains, 2 captain-lieutenants, (one ſince dead) 6 lieu-

lieutenants, (one ſince dead) 20 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 366 rank and file, wounded.

Names of Officers wounded.

78th Reg. Lieut. Whittam.

72d Reg. Major Horsfall.

73d Reg. Capt. Mac Kenſie, Lieut. Wharton, Lieut. Kennith M'Kenſie.

Artillery. Major Lewis, Capt. Grove, Capt.-lieutenant Seward, Lieut. Boag, Lieut. Godfrey.

Wounded and ſince dead.

Artillery. Captain-lieutenant Reeves, Lieut. Grumly.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Friday, November 8.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 7, 1782.

CAPTAIN Henry Duncan, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Victory, arrived this morning with diſpatches from Lord Viſcount Howe, and alſo with diſpatches from Capt. Curtis, of the Brilliant, who commanded the brigade of ſeamen at Gibraltar, of which the following are extracts.

Extract of Triplicate of a Letter from Lord Viſcount Howe to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Victory, October 21, 1782, Cape Spartel E. N. E. 40 leagues.

RESERVING the more particular account of my proceedings to be delivered on my return to England, I ſend the Peggy cutter now to acquaint you, for the information of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, that after much delay by contrary winds and very unfavourable weather, the fleet arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the 9th inſtant.

According to the advices previouſly obtained, I had reaſon to expect to find the enemy off Cape St. Mary's; but by authentic intelligence I had then an opportunity to procure, I learnt that the combined fleets, conſiſting of fifty ſail of three and two decked ſhips, had taken a ſtation, ſome time before, in Gibraltar Bay.

In the morning of the 11th the fleet entered the Straits, and the van arriving off Gibraltar Bay a ſhort time after the cloſe of the day, a very favourable opportunity offered for the ſtore-ſhips to have reached their deſtined anchorage without moleſtation from the enemy; but, for want of timely attention to the circumſtances of the navigation, pointed out in the inſtructions communicated by Capt. Curtis, only four of the thirty-one, which had kept company with the fleet on the paſſage, effected their purpoſe.

Very tempeſtuous weather in the night of the 10th had put two of the enemy's two-decked ſhips on ſhore, a third loſt her foremaſt and bowſprit, and a fourth had been driven under the works of the garriſon and captured: two more went out of the bay to the eaſtward. With the reſt of their force they put to ſea the evening of the 13th, to interupt the introduction of the remaining ſtore-ſhips; and having the wind at W. N. W. they bore down upon the fleet then off Fangerole*, in order of battle. Upon ſight of the fleet (ſtanding to the ſouthward) about nine that night, they appeared to haul to the wind on

* FUNGEROLA is ſituated fifteen leagues north eaſt of Gibraltar, exactly between Marvella and Malaga.

the larboard tack. In the morning of the 14th, the fleet being to the ſouthward of the enemy ſix or ſeven leagues, and the wind changing ſoon after to the eaſtward, the opportunity was taken to paſs ſuch of the ſtore-ſhips as were then with the fleet into the bay.

On the night of the 18th, the reſt of the ſtore-ſhips, which had been ordered to a ſpecial rendezvous with the Buffalo, on ſight of the enemy on the 13th (the Thompſon victualler, that had parted company in the mean time, excepted) were likewiſe anchored in Roſia Bay. The troops, embarked in the ſhips of war, together with a large ſupply of powder, being landed at the ſame time, and the wants of the garriſon amply provided for in every reſpect, I propoſed taking advantage immediately of the eaſterly wind, which had prevailed the two or three preceding days, for returning through the Straits to the weſtward.

At break of day on the 19th, the combined force of the enemy was ſeen at a little diſtance to the N. E. The fleet being at that time ſo nearly between Europa and Ceuta Points, that there was not ſpace to form in order of battle on either tack, I repaſſed the Straits, followed by the enemy.

The wind changing next morning (the 20th) to the northward, the combined fleets (conſiſting of forty-five or forty-ſix ſhips of the line) ſtill retained the advantage of the wind.

The Britiſh fleet being formed to leeward to receive them, they were left, uninterruptedly, to take the diſtance at which they ſhould think fit to engage. They began their cannonade at ſun-ſet on the van and rear, ſeeming to point their chief attack on the latter, and continued their fire along the whole line, at a conſiderable diſtance, and with little effect, until ten at night. It was returned occaſionally from different ſhips of the fleet, as their nearer approach at times afforded a more favourable opportunity for making any impreſſion upon them.

The enemy hauling their wind, and the Britiſh fleet keeping on all night with the full ſail directed before the commencement of their fire, the fleets are now much ſeparated; but as I conceive the knowledge of the relief of Gibraltar may be of much conſequence at this time, I take the opportunity, while it is now almoſt calm, and the ſhips are refitting the damages they have ſuſtained in their maſts and rigging by the enemy's fire, to forward this diſpatch without further delay.

P. S. The Minerva naval tranſport, with the baggage of the regiments embarked in the ſhips of war, ſeparated from the fleet in the night of the 13th, and was, I hear, ſince taken by the enemy.

Extract of a Letter from Lord Viſcount Howe to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Victory, at ſea, Oct. 24, 1782.

SIR,

DEEMING it eſſential to his Majeſty's ſervice, that the debarkation of the troops and ſtores at Gibraltar ſhould be communicated to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty as ſoon as poſſible, I ſent the Peggy cutter the 21ſt inſt. with

with a general report of my proceedings, in execution of my orders, to that period.

A duplicate of that report went in the Buffalo, ordered for England the next day on account of the ſtate of her wounded maſts; and I encloſe a triplicate of the ſame by this conveyance, to connect the relation of the different circumſtances reſpecting the employment of the fleet, which have ſince occurred. Some of the ſhips having ſuſtained more damage in their maſts and yards by the fire of the enemy on the 20th than was at firſt obſerved, the neceſſary repairs were not completed until the 22d. But as it was moſtly calm in the mean time no advantage could have been made of an opportunity to follow the enemy, (who, when laſt ſeen on the 21ſt, were ſtanding off to N. N. W. by the wind on the ſtarboard tack) if the maſts had been earlier ſecured.

A liſt of the killed and wounded will likewiſe accompany this diſpatch. I have only to expreſs my regret, that the little confidence the enemy ſhewed in their ſuperiority, by keeping always as near as they could haul to the wind, prevented the full effect of the animated exertions, which, I am ſure, would have been made by every officer and ſeaman in the fleet under my command, if they could have cloſed with their opponents: but as I judged ſuch nearer approach could not then be ſeaſonably attempted, I made no change in the diſpoſition of the ſhips as formed at firſt to receive the enemy.

For ſimilar reaſons I do not dwell more particularly on the merits of the flag officers of the fleet on the ſame occaſion, being certain they would diſregard any commendations of their efforts againſt an enemy who declined giving them an opportunity to diſcharge the duty of their ſtations, in repelling a more ſerious attack: but, at the ſame time, I am reminded of the advantages derived to his majeſty's ſervice, from the extenſive knowledge of the difficult navigation within the Straits acquired by, and the unremitting aſſiduity of my firſt captain, Leveſon Gower.

Having had but very little wind from the N. E. chiefly ſince the 21ſt, I cannot much longer, with prudence, (under the reduced ſtate of the water and ſtores in many of the ſhips) make the purſuit of the enemy's fleet, which I ſuppoſe are on their return to Cadiz, the firſt object of my attention.

Capt. Duncan, of the Victory, taking his paſſage in the Latona, is charged with this diſpatch; and as Capt. Curtis, who was ſent off to me for the laſt time the 19th, with Gen. Eliott's confidential ſentiments, could not be put on ſhore again, in conſequence of the return of the enemy from the eaſtward that morning, I have appointed him to command the Victory for the time being, until their lordſhip's pleaſure is ſignified for his future conduct.

Return of the Killed and Wounded, from the Fire of the Combined Fleets, Oct. 20, 1782.

LINE OF BATTLE.

Van Squad. or of Commander in 2d poſt, Firſt or Starboard Diviſion.

Ships Names.	*Seam. or Mar. killed.*	*wd.*	*Officers. killed.*	*wd.*
Goliah	4	14	0	2
Ganges	6	22	0	1

Ships Names.	Seam. or Mar. killed.	Seam. or Mar. wd.	Officers. killed.	Officers. wd.
Royal William	2	11	0	2
Britannia, *V. A. Barrington.*	8	12	0	1
Atlas	2	3	0	0
Ruby	6	0	0	0
Second or Larboard Diviſion.				
Panther	2	14	1	0
Foudroyant	4	7	0	1
Edgar, *Commod. Hotham.*	0	6	0	0
Polyphemus	0	1	0	3
Suffolk	0	0	0	0
Vigilant	1	2	0	0
Center Squad. or of Commander in Chief. Firſt or Starboard Diviſion.				
Courageaux	0	4	1	0
Crown	0	1	0	0
Alexander	2	4	0	0
Sampſon	2	0	0	0
Princeſs Royal	1	0	0	0
Victory, *Commander in Chief.*	0	0	0	0
Second or Larboard Diviſion.				
Blenheim	2	3	0	0
Aſia	0	0	0	0
Egmont	1	0	0	0
Queen, *R. A. Hood.*	1	4	0	0
Bellona	0	0	0	0
Rear Squad. or of Commander in 3d poſt. Second or Starboard Diviſion.				
Raiſonable	1	0	0	0
Fortitude	2	9	0	0
Princeſs Amelia, *Rear Ad. Sir R. Hughes.*	4	5	0	0
Berwick	0	5	1	0
Bienfaiſant	2	4	0	0
Firſt or Larboard Diviſion.				
Dublin	0	0	0	0
Cambridge	3	4	1	2
Ocean, *Vice Ad. Milbank.*	0	0	0	0
Union	5	15	0	0
Buffalo	6	14	0	2
Vengeance	2	11	0	3

Total, 68 killed; 208 wounded.

Frigates, &c. as before, except the Tiſiphone, diſarmed, and laden with powder, left at Gibraltar the 19th inſtant.

Officers Names killed and wounded.

Goliah. Mr. Wheatly, third lieutenant, and Mr. Wooden, maſter, ſlightly wounded.

Ganges. Capt. Fielding wounded in the arm.

Royal William. Mr. Willis, ſecond lieutenant, loſt his right thigh, the third lieutenant wounded in leg and arm.

Britannia. Boatſwain wounded, loſt his leg.

Panther. Mr. Robert Sturges, midſhipman, killed.

Courageaux. Mr. Auguſtus Hervey, midſhipman, killed.

Berwick. Mr. John Lampen, fourth lieutenant, killed.

Cambridge. Mr. Baxter, midſhipman, killed.

Buffalo. Boatſwain and maſter's mate wounded.

Vengeance. Second lieutenant Eaſtly, wounded.

Howe.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis, of his Majeſty's ſhip Brilliant, to Mr. Stephens, dated Camp at Europa, Gibraltar, September 15, 1782.

BE pleaſed to acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners that the combined fleet of France and Spain, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſail of the line, arrived in this bay on the 12th inſtant; ſix ſail of the line were here before.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the ten battering ſhips of the enemy lying at the head of the bay, under the command of Admiral Moreno, began to get under ſail in order to come againſt the garriſon; every thing was

was in readineſs for their reception. At ten the admiral's ſhip was placed about one thouſand yards from the King's Baſtion, and commenced his fire. The others were very ſhortly afterwards poſted to the north and ſouth of him, at ſmall diſtances aſunder, and began their cannonade. They were all fixed to the ſtations allotted them in a maſterly manner. Our batteries opened as the enemy came before them: the fire was very heavy on both ſides: the red-hot ſhot were ſent with ſuch preciſion from the garriſon, that in the afternoon the ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the upper part of the Admiral, and one other, and men were perceived to be uſing fire engines and pouring water into the holes, endeavouring to extinguiſh the fire. Their efforts proved ineffectual; by one o'clock in the morning the two before-mentioned were in flames, and ſeveral others actually on fire, though as yet not in ſo great a degree. Confuſion was now plainly obſerved among them, and the numerous rockets thrown up from each of the ſhips, was a clear demonſtration of their great diſtreſs: their ſignals were anſwered from the enemy's fleet, and they immediately began to take away the men, it being impoſſible to remove the ſhips. I thought this a fit opportunity to employ my gun-boats, and I advanced with the whole, (12 in number, each carrying a twenty-four or eighteen-pounder) and drew them up ſo as to flank the line of the enemy's battering ſhips, while they were annoyed extremely by an exceſſive heavy and well directed fire from the garriſon. The fire from the gun-boats was kept up with great vigour and effect. The boats of the enemy durſt not approach; they abandoned their ſhips and the men left in them to our mercy, or to the flames. The day light now appeared, and two felucas, which had not yet eſcaped, endeavoured to get away; but a ſhot from a gun-boat, killing five men on board one of them, they ſubmitted. The ſcene at this time before me was dreadful to a high degree: numbers of men crying from amidſt the flames, ſome upon pieces of wood in the water, others appearing in the ſhips where the fire had as yet made but little progreſs, all expreſſing by ſpeech and geſture the deepeſt diſtreſs, and all imploring aſſiſtance, formed a ſpectacle of horror not eaſily to be deſcribed. Every exertion was made to relieve them; and I have inexpreſſible happineſs in informing my lords, that the number ſaved amounts to 13 officers and 344 men. One officer and 29 wounded, (ſome of them dreadfully) taken from among the ſlain in the holds, are in our hoſpital, and many of them in a fair way. The blowing up of the ſhips around us, as the fire got to the magazines, and the firing of the cannon of others, as the metal became heated by the flames, rendered this a very perilous employment; but we felt it as much a duty to make every effort to relieve our enemies from ſo ſhocking a ſituation, as an hour before we did to aſſiſt in conquering them. The loſs of the enemy muſt have been very conſiderable. Great numbers were killed on board, and in boats. Several launches were ſunk. In one of them were fourſcore men, who were all drowned, except an officer and twelve of them, who were floated

floated under our walls upon the wreck. It was impoſſible that greater exertions could have been made to prevent it, but there is every reaſon to believe that a great many wounded periſhed in the flames. All the battering ſhips were ſet on fire by our hot ſhot except one, which we afterwards burnt. The admiral left his flag flying, and it was conſumed with the ſhip.

A large hole was beat in the bottom of my boat; my coxſwain was killed, and two of the crew were wounded by pieces of timber falling on her when one of the battering ſhips blew up. The ſame cauſe ſunk one of my gun boats, and damaged another.

Two of the enemies bomb-ketches were brought forward, and continued to throw ſhells into the garriſon during the attack of the battering ſhips.

A conſiderable detachment of ſeamen did duty as artilleriſts upon the batteries, and gave great ſatisfaction.

The officers and men of the brigade of ſeamen under my command, in whatever ſituations they were placed, behaved in a manner highly becoming them.

I have the honour to encloſe herewith a liſt of the battering ſhips. They were of different ſizes, from 1400 to 600 tons burthen. Their guns, in all 212, were braſs twenty-ſix pounders, and entirely new.

The enemy had collected, from different ports, between two and three hundred large boats, beſides a vaſt number belonging to this vicinity, to be employed in carrying troops, or any other ſervices connected with their operations againſt this fortreſs.

The loſs in the brigade of ſeamen on the 13th and 14th, conſidering the nature of the attack, has been very trifling, having only one killed and five wounded.

State of the combined force of the enemy in the Bay of Gibraltar at the time of the attack of the ten battering ſhips, on the 13th of September, 1782.

Spaniſh ſhips of three decks		2
Of the line	- - -	28
French ſhips of three decks		5
Of the line	- - -	9
		44
Spaniſh ſhips from 50 to 60 guns		3
Battering ſhips	- -	10
Floating battery	- -	1
Bomb ketches	- -	5

Beſides frigates, zebecks, many ſmaller cruizers, a great number of gun and mortar boats, and a multitude of other boats.

ROGER CURTIS.

A Liſt of the Spaniſh battering ſhips burnt before Gibraltar, on the 14th of September, 1782.

	Guns in uſe.	*Guns in reſerve.*
Paſtora, the Admiral	21	10
Paula, Prima - -	21	10
Talla Piedra - -	21	10
El Roſario - -	19	10
St. Chriſtoval -	18	10
Principe Carlos -	11	4
Paula, Secunda -	9	4
Saint Juan - -	9	4
Santa Anna - -	7	4
Los Dolores -	6	4
	142	70
	70	
Total of guns -	212	

The proportion of men on board them was thirty-ſix for each of the guns

guns in uſe, excluſive of officers and marines for working the ſhips.

ROGER CURTIS.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis, of his Majeſty's ſhip Brilliant, to Mr. Stephens, dated Camp at Europa, Oct. 16, 1782.

ON the evening of the 8th inſt. it being deemed proper to uſe all means to ſend home an account of the late events at this place, which had hitherto been impoſſible, the Governor purchaſed a ſmall veſſel, and ſhe was ſent off for Leghorn, or any other port in Italy, with our diſpatches.

On the afternoon of the 10th, it blew very freſh from the ſouth weſt. The enemy made many ſignals along ſhore, and two frigates and a cutter arrived from the weſtward. Towards the following morning the gale increaſed, and the guns of diſtreſs were heard from the combined fleets in the bay. Juſt at the break of day, the St. Michael, a Spaniſh ſhip, mounting 72 guns, was diſcovered very near the garriſon in a crippled ſtate, and after having two men killed and two wounded from the fire of our batteries, ſhe fell on ſhore near to the ſouth baſtion. As the day advanced, the fleet of the enemy appeared to have ſuffered conſiderably by the gale. A ſhip of the line and a frigate were on ſhore near the Orange Grove; a French ſhip of the line had loſt her fore-maſt and bowſprit. A ſhip of three decks and another of the line were forced from their anchors, and ran to the eaſtward; ſeveral others were driven far over towards the garriſon, but withal to the northward. I took poſſeſſion of the St. Michael as ſoon as poſſible, landed the priſoners, and carried out anchors to prevent her going further on ſhore. I have no doubt of ſaving her: ſhe is a very fine ſhip, and was commanded by Don Juan Moreno, a Chef D'Eſcadre, and had on board about 650 men.

At three in the afternoon of the 11th, the ſignals made by the enemy indicated the approach of the Britiſh fleet. The Latona anchored in the bay ſoon after ſunſet. Only four of the convoy fetched into anchorage, the remainder were driven to the back of the rock, to which place the fleet alſo repaired.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Curtis, to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Victory, at Sea, October 22, 1782.

THE Admiral, Lord Howe, having conducted the remaining ſhips of his convoy into the Bay of Gibraltar on the evening of the 18th, and landed the troops at the ſame time, General Eliott charged me with the final communications his Excellency had to make to his lordſhip, and I embarked on board the Latona frigate, for the purpoſe of repairing to the Victory, and left the Bay about midnight. The ſituation of the enemy's fleet the next morning, cut off my return to Gibraltar, and I was put on board this ſhip in the evening, when the fleet brought to, after it had gained the Atlantic.

I have great pleaſure in acquainting my lords, that the St. Michael, a Spaniſh man of war of 72 guns, which being driven from her anchors in a gale of wind very early on the morning of the 11th, and captured under the walls of

Gibraltar

Gibraltar as mentioned in my letter of the 16th, was got off on the 17th, and has not received the leaſt damage. She is a very fine ſhip of large dimenſions; and I am ſorry that having loſt her mizen-maſt, and the moſt of her ſtores being taken out to lighten her, it was impoſſible to ſend her home with the fleet.

The enemy threw a prodigious number of ſhells at the Saint Michael, while ſhe was on ſhore, with the intent to deſtroy her; and they annoyed us exceſſively in the getting her off, but without any obſtruction to our work, or doing us any material damage.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 30, 1782.

Lieutenant Alexander Allen (commander of his majeſty's armed tranſport the Royal Charlotte) arrived at this office yeſterday, with diſpatches from Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knt. of the Bath, and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips in the Eaſt Indies, of which the following are extracts.

Extracts of a Letter from Sir Edward Hughes *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated on Board his Majeſty's Ship* Superbe, *at Sea, April* 4, 1782.

I SAILED on the 31ſt of January from Trincamale for Madras Road, in order to get a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores, of both which the ſhips were then in want.

On the 8th of February I anchored in Madras Road, and the ſame day received advice from Lord Macartney, the governor of that place, that a French ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſail of ſhips and veſſels, was at anchor about twenty leagues to the northward of that port. In the afternoon of the 9th, Captain Alms, in his majeſty's ſhip Monmouth, with the Hero, Iſis, and the armed tranſport Manilla, joined me in the road. I continued to uſe all poſſible diligence in getting the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions on board the ſeveral ſhips until the 15th of February, when the enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of 12 ſail of line of battle ſhips, 6 frigates, 8 tranſports, and 6 captured veſſels, came in ſight to the northward, ſtanding for Madras Road, and about noon, the ſame day, anchored about four miles without the road. In the mean time I placed his majeſty's ſhips in the moſt advantageous manner to defend themſelves, and the other ſhips in the road with ſprings on their cables, that they might bring their broadſides to bear more effectually on the enemy, ſhould they attempt an attack.

At four in the afternoon the enemy weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward, when I immediately made the ſignal to weigh, and ſtood after them, having received on board a detachment of 300 officers and men of his majeſty's 98th regiment, who were diſtributed to the ſhips of the ſquadron that were the worſt manned. I ſtood with the ſquadron, as per margin *, to the ſouthward all that night under an eaſy ſail, and in the morning at day light found

* Superbe, Exeter, Monarca, Hero, Worceſter, Burford, Monmouth, Eagle, Iſis, Seahorſe, Combuſtion.

the enemy's ſhips had ſeparated in the night; their 12 line of battle ſhips and a frigate bearing eaſt of me, diſtant about four leagues, and 10 ſail of their frigates and tranſports bearing S. W. diſtant about three leagues, and ſteering a direct courſe for Pondicherry; on which I inſtantly made the ſignal for a general chace to the S. W. in order, if poſſible, to come up with and take their tranſports, well knowing the enemy's line of battle ſhips would follow to protect them, all in their power. In the courſe of the chace, our copper bottomed ſhips came up with and captured ſix ſail of ſhips and veſſels, five of which were Engliſh, taken by the enemy when to the northward of Madras, out of which I ordered the Frenchmen to be taken, and the veſſels to proceed with their own crews to Negapatam; the ſixth was the Lauriſton, a tranſport, having on board many French officers, 300 men of the regiment of Lauſanne, and laden with guns, ſhot, powder, and other military ſtores: this ſhip, ſo valuable to us, and of ſo much conſequence to the enemy, was taken by Captain Lumley, of his majeſty's ſhip Iſis.

So ſoon as the enemy's ſquadron diſcovered my intention to chace their tranſports, they put before the wind, and made all the ſail they could after me; and, by three o'clock in the afternoon, four of their beſt ſailing line of battle ſhips were got within two or three miles of our ſternmoſt ſhips, and the ſhips in chace were very much ſpread by the enemy's ſhips they were chacing ſteering different courſes, ſome to the S. E. others to the S. and ſeveral to the S. W. I therefore judged it neceſſary to make the ſignal for the chacing ſhips to join me, which they all did about ſeven o'clock in the evening, and I continued ſtanding to the S. E. under an eaſy ſail, all that night, the enemy's ſquadron in ſight, and making many ſignals.

At day light in the morning of the 17th, the body of the enemy's ſquadron bore N. by E. of ours, diſtant about three leagues, the weather very hazy, with light winds and frequent ſqualls, of ſhort duration, from the N. N. E. the enemy crouding all the ſail they could towards our ſquadron.

At ſix in the morning I made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form the line of battle a-head; at 25 minutes paſt eight, our line a-head being formed with great difficulty, from the want of wind and frequent intervals of calms, I made the ſignal for the leading ſhip to make the ſame ſail as the admiral, and made ſail formed in the line a-head, intended to weather the enemy, that I might engage them cloſely. At ten the enemy's ſquadron having the advantage of the ſqualls from the N. N. E. (which always reached them firſt, and in conſequence continued longeſt with them) neared us very faſt, and I made the ſignal for our line to alter the courſe two points to leeward, the enemy then ſteering down on the rear of our line, in an irregular double line a-breaſt. At half paſt noon, I made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form the line of battle a-breaſt, in order to draw the rear of our line cloſer to the centre, and prevent the enemy from breaking in on it, and attacking

it

it when ſeparated. At three in the afternoon, the enemy ſtill puſhing on to our rear in a double line a-breaſt, I again altered my courſe in the line, in order to draw our ſhips ſtill cloſer to the center; and, at 40 minutes after three, finding it impoſſible to avoid the enemy's attack, under all the diſadvantages of little or no wind to work our ſhips, and of being to leeward of them, I made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form at once into the line of battle a-head. At four the Exeter (which was the ſternmoſt ſhip in our rear when formed in line of battle a-head on the larboard tack) not being quite cloſed to her ſecond a-head, three of the enemy's ſhips in their firſt line bore right down upon her, whilſt four more of their ſecond line, headed by the Hero, in which ſhip Monſ. Suffrein had his flag, hauled along the outſide of the firſt line towards our center. At five minutes paſt four, the enemy's three ſhips began their fire on the Exeter, which was returned by her, and her ſecond a-head. At ten minutes paſt four I made the ſignal for battle, and at 12 minutes paſt, the action became general from our rear to our centre, the commanding ſhip of the enemy, with three others of their ſecond line, leading down on our center, yet never at any time advancing farther than oppoſite to the Superbe, our center ſhip, with little or no wind, and ſome heavy rain during the engagement.

Under theſe circumſtances the enemy brought eight of their beſt ſhips to the attack of five of ours, as the van of our line, conſiſting of the Monmouth, Eagle, Burford, and Worceſter, could not be brought into action, without tacking on the enemy; and although the ſignal for that purpoſe was at the maſt head ready for hoiſting, there was neither wind ſufficient to enable them to tack, nor for the five ſhips of our center and rear, then engaged with the enemy, hard preſſed, and much diſabled in their maſts, ſails, and rigging, to follow them, without an almoſt certainty of ſeparating our van from our rear.

At ſix in the afternoon a ſquall of wind from the S. E. took our ſhips, and paid their heads round on the enemy to the north eaſtward, when the engagement was renewed by our five ſhips, with great ſpirit and alacrity, from our ſtarboard guns; and at 25 minutes paſt ſix, juſt before dark, the enemy's ſhips engaged with ours, having viſibly ſuffered ſeverely, the whole of them hauled their wind, and ſtood to the N. E.

At this time the Superbe had loſt her main-yard, ſhot into two pieces in the ſlings, had five feet water in her hold, and continued for ſome time to gain on all her pumps, until ſeveral of the largeſt ſhot-holes under water were plugged up, and neither brace nor bow-line left entire; and the Exeter, reduced almoſt to the ſtate of a wreck, had made a ſignal of diſtreſs. The other three ſhips in our rear, the Monarca, Iſis, and Hero, had ſuffered leſs, as the enemy's fire appeared plainly to be directed principally againſt the Superbe and Exeter.

It is with particular pleaſure I have to acquaint their lordſhips, that the officers and men of the

five ships, engaged against so superior a force of the enemy, behaved through the whole action with the greatest steadiness and bravery.

After the action I stood to the southward under little sail all night; and in the morning, at day light, found the Superbe's main-mast, foremast, and bowsprit so much wounded, as to render it exceedingly dangerous to carry sail on them; the Exeter's masts were also much damaged, and the shot-holes, in all the ships that had been engaged, so far under water, as to render it impossible to stop them, but by giving the ships deep heels in smooth water; all which, and the wind continuing to blow from the northward, determined me to proceed to Trincamale, as the only proper place to refit the disabled ships, and I accordingly arrived there on the 24th; and having done, with the utmost expedition, what repairs were absolutely necessary to put the disabled ships into a condition for service, I sailed from that place with the squadron on the 4th of last month. On the 12th I arrived at Madras with the squadron, having seen nothing of the enemy's squadron on my passage from Trincamale to that place. The accompanying enclosure contains an exact list of their squadron, and the number of troops embarked on it at the Mauritius. This squadron was commanded by M. D'Orve when it left the islands; but he dying a few days after its arrival on this coast, the command devolved on Monsieur Souffrein. On their passage from the islands to this coast they fell in with his majesty's ship the Hannibal, Capt. Christie, off the West coast of Sumatra, and took her: this ship raised the number of their line of battle to twelve, against nine under my command; had she joined me, our disparity both in number and force would not have been so great.

I am much concerned to inform their lordships, that his majesty's sloop the Chaser, commanded by Captain Parr, was captured by the enemy's frigate the Bellona, in her way to Madras Road, from a cruize on the northern part of this coast.

April 4, 1782.

A list of the names, force, and commanders of the French squadron, now on the Coromandel coast, and of the land forces embarked on them and transports at the Mauritius, the 7th of December last, and now landed to join Hyder Ally.

Ships of line.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Men.*
L'Hero	74	Mr. du Souffrein, Chief D'Escadre	625
L'Orient	74	Capt. Du Pallaire	625
L'Annibal	74	Tromelin	625
Le Brilliant	64	St. Felix	515
L'Ajax	64	Bouvet	516
La Severe	64	Sultier	516
Le Sphynx	64	Duchaleau	516
Le Artesien	64	L'Androis	516
Le Vengeur	64	Forbin	516
La Flamand	50	De Queberville	430
Eng. Hannib.	50		
Frigates.			
La Purvoyuse	40	Capt. Du Galle	400
La Fine	40	Perier de Salvert	400
La Bellona	36	Bovard 1st officer	350
La Subtile	22	De Reaulieu	240
La Silphide	18		200
La Diligente	8		80

Flutes and Transports.

Lauriston, Bon Amis, Maurepas, Brison, Deux Amis, Fille Unique, St. Ann, Ducide, Tuscany.

Land

Land Forces.	*Men.*
Regiment D'Auſtraſie	650
De L'Iſle de France	800
De Legion du Lauſane	445
Voluntiers de Bourbon	139
De Regiment D'Artillierie	200
Caſtres of the Iſlands	1157
Sepoys — —	47
	3457

Abſtract of the Killed and Wounded on Board his Majeſty's ſhips.

Ships.	*Kd.*	*Wd.*	*Tot.*
Superbe	11	25	36
Exeter	10	45	55
Monarca	1	5	6
Hero	9	17	26
Iſis	1	3	4
	32	95	127

Among whom were the under mentioned Officers, viz.

Superbe. — Captain Stephens, wounded, (ſince dead). Lieutenants, Hughes and Newcombe, wounded.

Exeter. — Captain Reynolds, killed; Lieutenant Charles Jones, wounded.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Edw. Hughes *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated on Board his Majeſty's Ship* Superbe *in* Trincamale Bay, *May* 10, 1782.

I HAD the pleaſure to addreſs you by letter on the 4th of laſt month, and have now that of communicating to you, for their lordſhips further information, an account of the tranſactions of his majeſty's ſquadron as per margin*, and of the enemy's to this time.

In my laſt, I mentioned the junction of his majeſty's ſhips Sultan and Magnanime with the ſquadron on the 30th of March; both ſhips were then very ſickly, and much reduced by the ſcurvy; but as I had on board the ſquadron a reinforcement of troops for this garriſon, and a quantity of military ſtores, I judged it moſt for the public ſervice, eſpecially as I knew the enemy's ſquadron was to the ſouthward, not to return to Madras to land the ſick and ſcorbutic of theſe two ſhips, but to proceed directly for Trincamale, and there to land the reinforcement and military ſtores, as well as the ſick of the Sultan and Magnanime, without either ſeeking or ſhunning the enemy.

In purſuance of this reſolution I ſtood with the ſquadron to the ſouthward, and on the 6th of April fell in with a French ſhip, laſt from Mauritius, having on board diſpatches from France for their commanders in chief by ſea and land; this ſhip was chaſed on ſhore and burnt near Tranquebar, the officers and men eſcaping with the diſpatches.

On the 8th, about noon, I came in ſight of the enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of 18 ſail, in the N.E. quarter, and continued my courſe for this place. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the enemy ſtill in ſight. On the 11th, having made the coaſt of Ceylon, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincamale, I bore away for that place. On the 12th, at day light, the poſition of the enemy's ſquadron being altered by my bearing away, ſo as

* Superbe, Sultan, Hero, Monarca, Burford, Exeter, Magnanime, Monmouth, Worceſter, Eagle, Iſis, Seahorſe, Combuſtion fire-ſhip.

to

to give them the wind of ours, I diſcovered them crouding all the ſail they could ſet after us; and their coppered bottomed ſhips coming faſt up with the ſhips in our rear, I therefore determined to engage them.

At nine in the forenoon I made the ſignal for the ſhips in our ſquadron to form the line of battle a-head on the ſtarboard tack, at two cables length diſtance from each other, the enemy then bearing N. by E. diſtant about ſix miles, and the wind at N. by E. they continued manœuvring their ſhips, and changing their poſitions in their line, till fifteen minutes paſt noon, when they bore away to engage us; five ſail of their van ſtretching along to engage the ſhips of our van, and the other ſeven ſail ſteering directly on our center ſhips, the Superbe, the Monmouth her ſecond a-head, and the Monarca her ſecond a-ſtern. At half paſt one the engagement began in the van of both ſquadrons; three minutes after I made the ſignal for battle. The French admiral in the Hero, and his ſecond a-ſtern the L'Orient, bore down on the Superbe within piſtol ſhot. The Hero continued her poſition, giving and receiving a ſevere fire for nine minutes, and then ſtood on greatly damaged to attack the Monmouth, at that time engaged with another of the enemy's ſhips, making room for the ſhips in his rear to come up to the attack of our center, where the engagement was hotteſt. At three the Monmouth had her mizen-maſt ſhot away, and, in a few minutes after, her main-maſt, and bore out of the line to leeward. And at 40 minutes paſt three, the wind unexpectedly continuing far northerly, without any ſea breeze, and being careful not to entangle our ſhips with the ſhore, I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, ſtill engaging the enemy. At 40 minutes paſt five, being in fifteen fathom water, and apprehenſive leſt the Monmouth might, in her diſabled ſtate, drift too near the ſhore, I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to prepare to anchor. At 40 minutes paſt ſix the enemy's ſquadron drew off in great diſorder to the eaſtward, and the engagement ceaſed, their admiral having ſhifted his flag from the Hero to the French Hannibal, on account of the Hero's diſabled ſtate; and ſoon after I anchored with the ſquadron, the Superbe cloſe to the Monmouth, in order to repair our damages, which on board the Superbe and Monmouth were very great in the hulls, maſts, ſails and rigging; and almoſt all the ſhips had ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts, ſails and rigging.

Much about this time the French frigate La Fine, being ordered, I ſuppoſe, to tow and aſſiſt their diſabled ſhip the Hero, fell on board his majeſty's ſhip Iſis, and had actually ſtruck his colours to her; but taking advantage of the darkneſs of the night, and the ſtate the Iſis was in, juſt come out of action, in which ſhe had a number of men killed and wounded, and otherwiſe ill manned, the frigate got clear of the Iſis, and eſcaped.

An account of the number of officers and men killed and wounded on board the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron, is here encloſed.

On the morning of the 13th, at day light, I found the enemy's

ſquadron had anchored about five miles without us, in much diſorder and apparent diſtreſs, but they had loſt no lower maſts: both ſquadrons were buſily employed in repairing damages, drawing into order for defence, the enemy ſeeming to apprehend an attack from us, and I myſelf uncertain if they would not renew the engagement, in order to get hold of the Monmouth. In theſe ſituations both ſquadrons continued at anchor till the 19th in the morning, when the enemy's got under ſail with the land wind, and ſtood out to ſea cloſe hauled, and at noon tacked with the ſea breeze, and ſtood in for the body of our ſquadron, as if with intent to attack; but after coming within two miles of us, finding us prepared to receive them, they again tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward by the wind; and I have not ſince been able to learn certainly where they are gone. Having refitted the Monmouth in the beſt manner our ſituation would admit, with jury, main and mizen-maſts, I ſailed with his majeſty's ſquadron for this place on the 22d, and anchored here on the evening of the ſame day, immediately landing the reinforcement and military ſtores deſtined for the garriſon, and the ſick and wounded.

In this ſituation of the ſquadron and its men, I thought it beſt for his majeſty's ſervice to remain at anchor here, and to ſet about the repairs of the hull, maſts and rigging of the ſeveral ſhips, whilſt the ſick enjoy every benefit of freſh meat, vegetables and wine, on ſhore, for their recovery.

I have the ſatisfaction to inform their lordſhips, that I ſhall be able to re-maſt the Monmouth by the end of this month, from the ſpare ſtores on board the ſeveral ſhips; and that the damage they ſuſtained in the laſt engagement will be every way made good about that time.

Abſtract of the Killed and Wounded on board his Majeſty's ſhips.

Ships.	*Killed.*	*Wd.*	*Tot.*
Superbe	59	96	155
Exeter	4	40	44
Magnanime	—	7	7
Monmouth	45	102	147
Monarca	7	28	35
Worceſter,	8	26	34
Burford	6	36	42
Eagle	—	22	22
Hero	2	13	15
Sultan	—	9	9
Iſis	6	51	57
	137	430	567

Among the Killed were the following Officers, viz.

Superbe. — Two Lieutenants, Maſter.

Monmouth. — One Lieutenant of Marines.

Worceſter. — One Lieutenant.

Burford. — One Lieutenant of Marines.

Names not mentioned.

Admiralty Office, December 24, 1782.

Extract of a Letter from James Luttrel, *Eſq. Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the* Mediator, *to Mr.* Stephens, *dated in* Plymouth Sound, *December* 19, 1782.

YOU will pleaſe to acquaint their lordſhips with my arrival here with the Menagere, one of my prizes, having left the Alexander to follow two days ago. It was my intention to have returned to England as ſoon as poſſible,

ſible, for the reaſons given in my letter, dated off Ferrol the 6th inſtant: but, having received intelligence from a neutral veſſel, that an American frigate was ready to ſail from Bourdeaux, the wind being eaſterly, I returned to the ſouthward to be able to fall into her track; and,

On the 12th of December, at ſeven A. M. we diſcovered five ſail on our lee beam, made ſail and gave chace.

At eight their hulls were above water; they were forming in a cloſe line of battle, and ſhortened ſail to their topſails to wait for us; the headmoſt was L'Eugene, frigate built, of 36 guns, 133 men, commanded by Monſ. Le Capitaine Baudin, laden for the French king, and bound to Port au Prince; ſhe lay with a French pendant and enſign flying; next to her was an American brig, of 14 guns, and 70 men, with American colours; next to her a two-decked ſhip, the length of a 64, armed en flute, called the Menagere, French pendant and enſign flying, commanded by Monſ. de Foligne, Capitaine de Brutot, of the department of Rochfort, mounting on her main deck 26 long twelve-pounders, and 4 ſix-pounders on her quarter deck and forecaſtle, with a complement of 212 men, laden with gunpowder, naval ſtores, and bale goods, for the French king's ſervice, at Port au Prince; next to her lay the Alexander, of 24 nine-pounders, and 102 men, with a French pendant and an American enſign, commanded by a Capt. Gregory, who appears to have been an Iriſhman, but has a Congreſs commiſſion, laden with ſtores, proviſions, &c. for the French king's uſe at Port au Prince; next to her lay the Dauphin Royal, of 28 guns, 120 men, bound to the Eaſt Indies, having a French pendant and enſign flying: and having determined, without loſing a moment's time, to endeavour to throw their ſquadron into confuſion, and, if poſſible, to take advantage of ſome of them; and relying on the good ſailing of the Mediator to bring her off, if I could not ſee a probability of ſucceſs after a few broadſides; I continued bearing down, with all ſail ſet, on the enemy, except ſuch ſails as might be in the way of quick manœuvres.

At ten received a few ſhot from the Menagere's upper deck, which convinced me ſhe had no lower deck guns, though ſhe had all the ports complete to the eye; continued to approach the enemy, and receive fire from their line, and employed occaſionally in tacking, wearing, bearing down, &c.

At half paſt ten, having very much approached the rear of their line, it broke, the brig and Dauphin Royal crouding ſail away from the reſt; upon which the Menagere, Eugene, and Alexander wore under an eaſy ſail.

At eleven I bore down, and cut off the Alexander from her conſorts, employed fighting both ſides occaſionally; and the firſt broadſide, when very cloſe to the Alexander, made her ſtrike her American colours, and let fly her ſheets; the Menagere and Eugene, after firing at us for ſome time, crouded all ſail, and went away before the wind; boarded the prize, and laid her head towards the enemy, under an eaſy

ſail, to permit us to take out 100 priſoners, meaning to chace the Menagere.

At half paſt twelve made all ſail in chace, leaving the prize to follow, or bear away for England, if we ran her hull down.

At three the Eugene hauled her wind away from the Menagere.

At five began firing at the Menagere, to prevent her aiming at our maſts, by covering ourſelves with ſmoke.

At half paſt five had gained very conſiderably on the Menagere, and occaſionally fired broadſides at each other.

At ſix a ſudden ſquall caught me, with three of my lower deckers run out, and obliged me to put before the wind, the water ruſhing in till knee deep on the deck, but with the chain pumps we ſoon cleared our ſhip, and as ſoon as ſhe was ſafe I hauled towards the enemy, crouding ſail to regain her.

At ſeven began again to fire at each other, and our main top gallant maſt and fore top gallant yard were ſhot away: continued conſtantly firing at each other,

Till nine, when I had got within piſtol ſhot of the Menagere's quarter, and put my helm a-weather to pour in a broadſide of round and grape ſhot from all my guns, which ſhe, being aware of, threw up in the wind, hauled down her colours, and hailed that ſhe had ſtruck. I inſtantly ordered my people to deſiſt firing, ſhortened ſail, and judging myſelf then within about five miles of the entrance of Ferrol, where they muſt have heard our guns, I haſtened to get both ſhips from off the land.

At eleven P. M. my prize the Alexander joined us. The fore ſhrouds and a great deal of running rigging being ſhot away, detained us, but in two hours we received 200 priſoners more, and were able to make a little ſail together to weſtward off ſhore.

At day-break we ſaw the Iſland Siſargo, diſtant about 5 or 6 leagues, and in the offing the Dauphin Royal, with her main top-maſt gone, and otherways diſabled; and the brig with all her maſts gone, except part of her lower maſts: I thought it however improper to riſk the king's ſhip, by leaving ourſelves with fewer men; for having ſent 50 on board the large ſhip, and 20 on board the Alexander, beſides manning the Spaniſh prize, I had remaining only 190; half of whom muſt ſleep at nights, and the reſt were few to work the ſhip and guard 340 priſoners; for this reaſon I hope their lordſhips will approve of my not chacing the Dauphin Royal and brig; the former ſtood in towards the land, the brig ſeemed returning to Bourdeaux, from whence this armed convoy ſailed on the 9th inſtant.

On the 14th of December, at ten P. M. Capt. Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, laid a plot to occaſion the priſoners to riſe, and hoped to have taken the Mediator from me; but through the indefatigable attention of Lieutenant Rankin of the marines, in the diſpoſal and regulation of centries, &c. as a guard, and the lucky precaution we had taken of ordering the gratings of all the hatches in the lower gun deck to be battoned down with capſtan bars, leaving room for only one man at a time to come up abaft, where,

where, in case of an alarm, we had fixed our rendezvous, the desperate scheme of Gregory was prevented without bloodshed, the prisoners finding no passage where they could get up. The alarm he fixed on was to fire an eighteen pounder gun in the gun room where he lay, for he messed with my lieutenants, and had received every friendly attention.

At ten at night I felt a terrible shock from some explosion, and heard a cry of fire: I was soon after informed, that the lee port was blown away by the gun into the sea, and the water making in. As soon as I had wore ship on the other tack, to get the port hole covered with tarpaulins, and secured, I went down, found the gun room on fire, and every thing shattered that was near the explosion; Gregory, with his accomplice, dressed, though they had pretended to go to bed; and in their cot was found gunpowder, which they had provided to prime the gun with; and in short, every proof necessary for a conviction of Gregory's having fired it for an alarm to make the prisoners rise: he had also endeavoured to provide himself with a sword, but being disappointed in his project, he begged his life. A cry of fire forwards was heard among the prisoners when the signal gun was fired; but all being discovered and settled, I ordered Gregory, together with those of his officers and men, whom I suspected concerned in the plot, to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. I think it my duty to trouble their lordships with this narrative, in justice to his majesty's colours, under which no prisoners are undeservedly treated with rigour. The officers of the Menagere having always conducted themselves like men of honour, I was happy to have the pleasure of continuing them at my table, with the usual confidence in their parole; and the prisoners in general have had every mark of humanity and attention shewn to them that our own safety would admit of. When their lordships consider the force offering us battle, and at first united to oppose us, they will, I trust, be convinced, that our success was chiefly owing to the exertions and activity of the officers and men in working the ship, as well as in fighting her.

The enemy's shot having been entirely aimed with a view to dismast us, fortunately prevented my officers and men from receiving any hurt; my lower rigging forwards and some abaft was shot away: also the main top gallant mast, studding sail and yard, and fore top gallant yard, top mast, rigging, sails, and running rigging in general much cut, which, with a few shot in the bows, is all the damage we have as yet discovered to have happened to his majesty's ship Mediator in the action.

Killed and wounded on board the Menagere.

Monsr. Darmaignac, a gentleman of property in the island of St, Domingo, and three seamen killed. Seven or eight seamen wounded.

Killed and wounded on board the Alexander.

Six seamen killed. Eight or nine seamen wounded.

This list is taken from the report of their officers, not having had

had time as yet to examine the prisoners by list.

N. B. An account is received from the purser of the Mediator, of his arrival at Portsmouth with the Alexander.

Articles of Capitulation of the islands of St. Christophers *and* Nevis, *between his Excellency the Count de Grasse, and the Marquis de Bouille; and his Excellency Major General Shirley, Governor, and Brigadier General Fraser.*

ART. I. THE Governor, the Commander of the troops, the regular officers and soldiers, the officers and privates of militia, shall march through the breach on the fort of Brimstone Hill, with all the honours of war, with drums beating, colours flying, one mortar, two brass field pieces, ten rounds each, arms and baggage, and then lay down their arms at a place appointed, the officers excepted.

ART. II. The regular troops shall be prisoners of war, and sent to England in safe and good vessels, which shall be furnished with provisions for the voyage, but they shall not serve against the King of France until they shall be exchanged. The officers are permitted to reside in any of the islands, upon their parole. The militia and armed negroes shall return to their respective homes.

ART. III. The inhabitants or their attorneys shall be obliged to take the oaths of fidelity to the King of France, within the space of one month, before the governor of the said islands, and those that are prevented from it by sickness, shall obtain a delay.

ART. IV. They shall observe an exact neutrality, and shall not be compelled to take arms against his Britannic Majesty, or any other power. They are at liberty to retain their arms for the internal police and better subjection of their negroes; but they are to make a return of them to the justices of the peace, who shall be responsible for any bad use that may be made of them, contrary to the tenor of the present capitulation.

ART. V. They shall enjoy, until a peace, their laws, customs, and ordinances. Justice shall be administered by the same persons who are actually in office. All expences attending the administration of justice, shall be defrayed by the colony.

ART. VI. The Court of Chancery shall be held by the council of the island, and in the same form as heretofore, and all appeals from the said court shall be made to his most Christian Majesty in council.

ART. VII. The inhabitants and clergy shall be supported in the possession of their estates and properties, of whatsoever nature and denomination, and in their privileges, rights, titles, honours, and exemptions, and in the possession of their religion, and the ministers in the enjoyment of their livings. The absentees, and those who are in the service of his Britannic Majesty, shall be maintained in the possession and enjoyment of their estates and properties, which shall be managed by their attornies. The inhabitants may sell their estates and possessions to whom they shall think proper, and they are at liberty to send their children to England to be educated, and from whence they

they may return when they judge proper.

ART. VIII. The inhabitants ſhall pay monthly into the hands of the treaſurer of the troops, in lieu of all taxes, the value of two thirds of the articles that the iſlands of St. Chriſtophers and Nevis paid to the King of Great Britain; which ſhall be eſtimated according to the valuation of the revenues made in the year 1781, and which ſhall ſerve as a baſis.

ART. IX. The ſtores which may have been taken during the ſiege ſhall be religiouſly reſtored, and they may alſo be reclaimed in any of the French windward or leeward iſlands.

ART. X. The inhabitants ſhall not be obliged to furniſh the troops with quarters, except in extraordinary caſes; but they are to be lodged at the expence of the king, or in houſes belonging to the crown.

ART. XI. In caſes where the king's buſineſs may require negroes to work, they ſhall be furniſhed by the inhabitants of the ſaid iſlands, to the number of five hundred, but they ſhall be paid at the rate of two bills per day each, and victualled at the expence of the king.

ART. XII. The veſſels and droghers belonging to the inhabitants at the capitulation ſhall be reſtored entire to their owners.

The veſſels which the ſaid inhabitants expected from the ports of England, or from any of his Britannic Majeſty's poſſeſſions, ſhall be received in the ſaid colonies during the ſpace of ſix months; and they may load them to return under neutral colours even for the ports of Great Britain, with the particular permiſſion of the governor; and if any of the veſſels expected ſhall ſtop at any of the Engliſh iſlands, the governor ſhall be authorized to grant permiſſion for them to come to either of the ſaid iſlands.

ART. XIII. The inhabitants and merchants ſhall enjoy all the privileges of commerce granted to the ſubjects of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, throughout all the extent of his dominions.

ART. XIV. Whatever may have been furniſhed for the French army during the ſiege, and to this day by the ſaid iſlands, and the loſſes that the inhabitants have ſuſtained by the burning of plantations, and by every other means, ſhall be eſtimated by a meeting of the inhabitants, and the amount equally borne by the two iſlands, under the head of contribution or indemnity for the expences of the war, but in ſuch a manner, that this article ſhall not diminiſh the taxes above-mentioned, which are to take place from the date of the capitulation; but the aſſembly of the inhabitants may apply to it the arrears of the general taxes which remain in their hands at the date of the capitulation.

ART. XV. The ſailors of merchant ſhips, thoſe of privateers, and other individuals, who have no property in the ſaid iſlands, ſhall depart from the ſame in the ſpace of ſix weeks, if they are not employed in droghers, or avowed by two proprietors, who will anſwer for them, and means ſhall be furniſhed them to depart for the neutral iſlands.

ART. XVI. The General of the French troops ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of all the artillery, all

the effects, depending on the colonies, belonging to his Britannic Majesty, all powder, arms, ammunition, and king's vessels shall be given to the commander of the French troops, and an inventory of them presented to the govenor.

ART. XVII. Out of respect to the courage and determined conduct of Generals Shirley and Fraser, we consent that they shall not be considered as prisoners of war; but the former may return to his government of Antigua, and the latter continue in the service of his country, being happy to testify this mark of particular esteem for those brave officers.

At St. Christopher's, Feb. 12, 1782.

LE MARQUIS DE BOUILLE.
THOMAS SHIRLEY,
(Governor and Major General in his Majesty's army.)
THOMAS FRASER, Brig. Gen.

It is moreover covenanted, that the inhabitants of these islands, with the permission of the governor, may export their merchandize in neutral vessels, for all the ports of France and America.

(Signed as above.)

Copies of two Letters which passed between the Duke de Crillon and General Eliott during the Siege of Gibraltar.

Camp of Buenavista, Aug. 19, 1782.

SIR,

HIS Royal Highness Comte d'Artois, who has received permission from the King his brother to assist at this siege, as a volunteer in the combined army, of which their most Christian and Catholic Majesties have honoured me with the command, arrived in this camp the 15th instant. This young prince has been pleased, in passing through Madrid, to take charge of some letters, which had been sent to that capital from this, and which are addressed to persons belonging to your garrison: his royal highness has desired that I would transmit them to you, and that to this mark of his goodness and attention I should add the strongest expressions of esteem for your person and character. I feel the greater pleasure in giving this mark of condescension in this august prince, as it furnishes me with a pretext, which I have been anxiously looking for these two months that I have been in this camp, to assure you of the high esteem I have conceived for your excellency; of the immense desire I feel of deserving yours; and of the pleasure to which I look forward of becoming your friend, after I shall have learnt to render myself worthy of the honour of facing you as an enemy. His Highness the Duke de Bourbon, who arrived here twenty-four hours after Comte d'Artois, desires also that I should assure you of his particular esteem. Permit me, dear general, to offer you a few little trifles for your table, of which I am sure you must stand in need: as I know you live entirely on vegetables, I should be glad to know what kind you like best. I shall add a few partridges for the gentlemen of your household, and some ice, which I presume will not be disagreeable, in the excessive heat of this climate, at this season of the year. I hope you will be obliging enough to accept the small portion which I send with this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

His Excellency Gen. Eliott, &c.

SIR,

SIR, *Gibraltar, Aug.* 20.

I FIND myſelf highly honoured by your obliging letter of yeſterday, in which your excellency was ſo kind as to inform me of the arrival in your camp of his Royal Highneſs the Comte d'Arteis, and the Duke de Bourbon, to ſerve as volunteers at the ſiege. Theſe princes have ſhewn their judgment in making choice of a maſter in the art of war, whoſe abilities cannot fail to form great warriours. I am really overwhelmed with the condeſcenſion of his royal highneſs, in ſuffering ſome letters for perſons in this town, to be conveyed from Madrid in his carriages; I flatter myſelf that your excellency will give my moſt profound reſpects to his royal highneſs and to the Duke de Bourbon, for the expreſſions of eſteem with which they have been pleaſed to honour ſo inſignificant a perſon as I am.

I return a thouſand thanks to your excellency for your handſome preſents of fruits, vegetables, and game: you will excuſe me, however, I truſt, when I aſſure you, that in accepting your preſent, I have broken through a reſolution, which I had faithfully kept ſince the beginning of the war; and that was, never to receive, or procure by any means whatever, any proviſions or other commodity for my own private uſe; ſo that, without any preference, every thing is ſold publicly here, and the private ſoldier, if he has money, can become a purchaſer, as ſoon as the governor. I confeſs I make it a point of honour to partake both of plenty and ſcarcity, in common with the loweſt of my brave fellow ſoldiers: this furniſhes me with an excuſe for the liberty I now take, of entreating your excellency not to heap any more favours on me of this kind, as in future I cannot convert your preſents to my own private uſe. Indeed, to be plain with your excellency, though vegetables at this ſeaſon are ſcarce with us, every one of us has got a quantity proportioned to the labour he has beſtowed in raiſing them: the Engliſh are naturally fond of gardening and cultivation; and here we find our amuſement in it, during the intervals of reſt from public duty.

"The promiſe which the Duke de Crillon makes to honour me, in proper time and place, with his friendſhip, lays me under infinite obligations: the intereſts of our ſovereigns being once ſolidly ſettled, I ſhall with eagerneſs embrace the firſt opportunity to avail myſelf of ſo precious a treaſure.

I have the honour to be, &c.

His Excellency the Duke de Crillon, &c.

Copy of a Note from the Right Hon. Lord George Gordon to the Right Hon. the Earl of Shelburne.

LORD George Gordon preſents his compliments to the Earl of Shelburne, and begs his lordſhip will do him the favour to inform him whether his majeſty's preſent cabinet approve of the declaration made in the letter, ſaid to be written by Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby to General Waſhington: "That his majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace which he ſo ardently

dently wiſhes to reſtore, has commanded his miniſters to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the Thirteen Provinces ſhould be propoſed by him, in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it a condition of a general treaty?

Lord George would not have aſked this queſtion to ſatisfy any private curioſity; but he thinks it his duty to the king to acquaint Lord Shelburne, as prime miniſter, that great bodies of the people in the united kingdom of Scotland, are daily preſſing Lord George, in the ſtrongeſt terms, and in the moſt affectionate expreſſions, to write his ſentiments to them on the preſent ſtate of public affairs in the united kingdoms; and Lord George finds, among other ſerious matters, that the late letter, ſaid to be written by his majeſty's commiſſioners at New York, not being publicly authenticated in the London Gazette, alarms the ſuſpicions of thoſe who ardently wiſh for peace with their brethren, that that letter is a forgery, and that peace with America is not intended:—and on the other hand, not being contradicted by the king's preſent ſervants, it cauſes the greateſt anguiſh and diſguſt to thoſe who have conſcientiouſly approved and ſupported the American war.

The people of Scotland are much diſtracted and diſturbed with this apparent miſunderſtanding in the cabinet of the united kingdoms, thinking the honour of the united kingdoms is trifled with; and they are anxious in the higheſt degree to receive ſome information that they may depend upon in ſo affecting a concern as the independency of America is to their own national, particular, and immediate intereſt: Lord George, therefore, hopes Lord Shelburne will condeſcend to inform him whether the propoſal of independency, in the letter ſaid to be written by the king's commiſſioners, is, or is not, a meaſure to be adhered to by his majeſty's preſent adminiſtration?

Lord George has the honour to aſſure Lord Shelburne, that he wiſhes he could underſtand and approve of the meaſures of the king's counſellors, that he, and thoſe who act with him, might have an opportunity of demonſtrating the uprightneſs, and loyalty of their proceedings and intentions, and of exerting themſelves, according to their vocations, to the uttermoſt of their power, in ſupport of good government, the true intereſt of the people, the honour and happineſs of the king's majeſty and his poſterity, and the true public liberty, ſafety, and peace of the three kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.

Welbeck-ſtreet, Oct. 16, 1782.

Letter from the Rev. Mr. Wyvill to Lord Shelburne, incloſing the ſecond Addreſs to the Electors of Great Britain, agreed to by the Committee of Aſſociation for the County of York, Oct.* 17, 1782, *with his Lordſhip's Anſwer thereto.*

MY LORD, *York, Oct.* 17, 1782.

I TAKE the liberty to incloſe for your lordſhip's peruſal, a manuſcript copy of the ſecond addreſs to the electors of Great Bri-

* For the copy of this Addreſs, ſee the State Papers.

tain,

tain, agreed to by the committee of association for the county of York, at a most numerous and respectable meeting held here this day. It contains their just acknowledgments of your lordship's distinguished exertions in the general cause of parliamentary reformation; and expresses their grateful sense of your generous endeavours to accomplish a coalition on the principles adopted by this association, and other respectable bodies in different parts of the kingdom.

These, I beg leave to assure you, are the genuine sentiments of this committee; and not more warmly felt by any one member of it than by, My Lord, &c.

Earl of Shelburne. C. WYVILL.

SIR, *Bowood Park, 24 Oct. 1782.*

I WAS yesterday honoured with your letter of the 17th instant;—The repeated approbation of the committee of the county of York, gives me personally the greatest satisfaction: and I am happy to find nearly the same opinions, which I expressed to this county last year, more ably, as well as more fully, inculcated in the address you do me the honour to inclose to me. Their perseverance must command general respect, and will, I trust, finally conquer every difficulty in so sound a cause. As to myself, I am still ready to enter into the strictest and most unequivocal union with any public man, or public body of men, who may be deemed, in point of national weight and opinion, competent to the effecting those important ends.

Words cannot express how much I am alarmed at the public situation at home and abroad; or my apprehensions for what may be the result.

The disinterested zeal, as well as temporate conduct, which you have shewn in the public service, has impressed me with a respect with which I must always remain, yours, &c.

SHELBURNE.

The Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Chairman, &c.

The

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register, are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of* January, 1783.

EXPORTED.

1782.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
ENGLAND.			£. s. d.
Wheat	6,497	1,040	
Wheat Meal and Flour	123,495	2,332	
Rye	3,994	9	
Barley	28,351	45	42,281 3 11¼ Bo.
Malt	79,324	Nil	
Oats	10,555	7,018	55 7 1 Dr.
Oatmeal	2,113	40	
Beans	19,493	226	
Peaſe	5,133	860	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat	552		
Wheat Flour	11,235		
Barley and Bear	12,935		
Barley Meal	28		
Malt	7,062	- - - - -	5,633 3 5½ Bo.
Oats	1,089		
Oatmeal	2,501		
Peaſe and Beans	416		

IMPORTED.

1782.	Quarters.	Duties received.
ENGLAND.		£. s. d.
Wheat	76,079	
Wheat Flour	3,700	
Barley	11,954	2,270 2 7
Oats	33,758	
Beans	3,619	
Peaſe	4,553	
SCOTLAND.		
Wheat	666	
Wheat Flour	250	
Barley	1,638	79 14 6
Oats	3,929	
Oatmeal	875	
Peaſe	386	

The

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter buſhel, for the year 1782.

Wheat		Rye		Barley		Oats		Beans	
s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
5	11¾	3	7¼	2	9¾	1	10¾	3	3

N. B. The prices of the fineſt and coarſeſt ſorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per buſhel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

PRICES

PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1782.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices which each Stock bore during the courſe of any Month, is put down oppoſite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Conſol.	3½ pr Ct 1758.	4 pr Ct. Conſol.	Long Ann.	Ann. 1778.	India Stock.	India Bonds.	O. S. S. Ann.	N. S. S. Ann.	Navy Bills.	Exchequ. Bills.	Omn. Prem.
January —	111	56 7/8	55 7/8	55 7/8	71 1/2	16 1/8	12 1/16	135	12	56 3/4	55 1/2	11	5	6
	110 3/4	56 5/8	55 5/8	—	71 3/8	16	12	134 3/4	11	56 1/4	55	10 7/8	4	5
February	—	—	—	—	70 7/8	—	12 1/8	133 3/4	—	62 1/4	—	12 7/8	—	—
	109 7/8	55	54 1/4	54 3/8	70 1/4	15 7/8	11 7/8	131 1/4	par.	—	52 1/2	—	1	—
March —	113 1/2	55 3/4	55 1/2	55 5/8	71 1/2	16 5/8	12 1/2	136 1/2	10 p.	55 3/8	55	11 7/8	1 pr.	8
	111 1/4	55 1/2	—	54 1/4	—	16	12 1/4	134 1/2	par.	—	54 1/2	11 1/2	6 dif.	5
April —	118	57 1/2	60	58 1/4	75 1/8	17 3/8	13 1/8	139	11	57 3/8	58	12	6	15
	—	—	55 1/2	55 5/8	71 5/8	16 5/8	12 1/2	135 1/2	1	55	55	10 1/2	2 dif.	—
May —	115	59 1/8	—	—	73 1/2	17 1/2	—	139 1/4	15	58 1/2	59	11 1/8	—	—
	114	58 1/4	57 1/2	—	72 5/8	17 1/4	13	138 1/4	7	57	58	10 1/4	—	—
June —	116 1/4	59 1/2	61	—	74	—	—	—	—	58 7/8	59 7/8	—	—	—
	114 3/4	58 3/4	59 7/8	—	73 1/4	—	—	137 1/2	3	58 3/8	—	10 3/4	—	—
July —	115 3/4	59 7/8	60 3/8	—	73 3/4	—	—	137 1/2	—	—	—	11 1/2	—	—
	113 1/4	57 7/8	58 1/8	—	72 1/8	17	—	128	—	57	—	11	3 s. p.	—
August —	115	58 1/4	57 7/8	—	73	16 7/8	12 5/8	129 3/4	4	57 1/4	57	11 3/8	7	—
	113 3/8	—	56 1/8	—	72	16 1/2	12 3/8	127 3/4	1	56 3/4	56	10 5/8	4	—
September	117 1/4	57 3/4	58 7/8	—	74 7/8	17 3/8	12 7/8	130 3/4	2	58 7/8	57 7/8	10 7/8	5	—
	114 1/4	—	56 1/2	—	72 7/8	16 3/4	12 1/2	—	par.	57 3/8	56 1/2	10	3	—
October —	117 7/8	58	58 3/4	—	74 1/2	17 1/4	—	136 1/2	—	—	—	11 5/8	5	—
	113	57 3/4	57 7/8	—	72 1/8	17 1/8	—	129	—	56 7/8	57	10 5/8	1	—
November	117	60	61 7/8	—	—	18	13 1/2	135 1/4	12	57	60	12	14	—
	113	56	58	—	71	17	12 7/8	131	2	60	67	11 3/4	2	—
December	124	66	66 1/4	—	78	19 5/8	13	139	18	64 1/2	64 1/2	13	18	—
	120	60	61	—	73	17	13	133	14	60	61	12	14	—

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1782.

NAVY.	£.	s.	d.
100,000 men, including 21,305 marines	4.940,000	0	0
Ordinary of the navy	409,766	12	9
Buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ships	953,519	0	0
For the debt of the navy	1.500,000	0	0
	7.803,285	12	9
ORDNANCE.			
Ordnance, sea service	260,000	0	0
Do — land service	696,001	13	5
Do — extraordinary expence in 1781	899,723	15	7
For compensation to proprietors of lands near Plymouth	16,364	10	5
	1.872,089	19	5
FORCES.			
49,455 men, including 4175 invalids, guards, and garrisons	1.242,835	2	3
Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar, &c.	1.315,523	5	10
Pay of general and staff officers	43,840	6	0
Charge of embodied militia, with 4 regiments of fencibles, for 1782	677,497	15	10
Cloathing for the embodied militia, in 1782	100,594	17	1
An additional company, and additionals to the militia, including cloathing, 1781	542	14	1
Additionals to 3 regiments of foot, and for Major General Stuart Douglas	1,675	10	4
Reduced officers of land forces and marines	77,595	19	2
Horse guards reduced	574	18	4
1 regiment light dragoons, and 2 regiments of foot, from 24 Sept. to 24 December, 1781	21,329	18	8
Out pensioners of Chelsea Hospital	92,881	17	1
1 regiment light dragoons, 7 battalions and a detachment of foot, in East Indies, 1782	36,280	10	8
Pay and subsidy for 13,472 Hessians	367,203	9	10
Deficiency in vote for Hessians, from 6 April to 24 December, 1781	15,499	17	5

Pay and subsidy for 4300 men of the troops of Brunswick					93,947 15 8
2094 men of the troops of Hanau					61,108 11 .0½
Charge of 5 Hanoverian battalions					56,074 19 4½
For the troops of the Prince of Waldeck					17,498 3 2¾
Charge of 933 men of the troops of Anhalt Zerbst, including artillery					23,818 11 11¼
Deficiency in votes for troops of Anhalt Zerbst, from 18th April to 24th December, 1781					4,942 19 0
Charge of 1559 men of Anspach, including artillery, with subsidy					43,665 12 3
Deficiency in sums voted for troops of Anspach, from 2d March to 24th December, 1781					3,282 12 5
Charge of provisions for foreign troops in North America					55,469 0 0
Charge of artillery for ditto					27,683 14 0
			£.	s. d.	
Extraordinary expences of the forces			3:436,399	6 0½	
Deduct					
Savings by the respited pay of sundry regiments,	£.	s. d.			
for - - 1776	9,323	6 8			
Ditto of ditto - 1777	28,346	5 0			
Ditto of ditto - 1778	17,448	0 0			
Ditto of ditto - 1779	37,300	0 0			
Ditto of the grant for 80 independent companies - - 1781	63,928	2 6			
			156,345	14 2	
					3.280,053 11 10½
					7.661,421 13 4¼

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

To pay off exchequer bills on next aids			1.900,000 0 0
Ditto	on next aids		1.500,000 0 0
Ditto	on vote of credit		1.000,000 0 0
			4.400,000 0 0

DEFICIENCIES.

To make good deficiency of land tax			256,964 8 7½
Ditto	of malt duty		163,035 11 4½
Ditto	of coinage duty		8,113 16 11½
Ditto	of annuity fund, 1758		35,149 8 0½
Ditto	of annuity fund, 1778		183,380 3 8
Ditto	of annuity fund, 1779		102,806 9 0
Ditto	of annuity fund, 1780		153,193 8 11
Ditto	of ways and means, 1781		19,667 5 11¼
			922,310 12 6¼

MISCEL.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Levant company					5000	0	0
For roads and bridges in Scotland					5830	1	6
Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-houſe					25,000	0	0
Towards rebuilding Newgate					10,000	0	0
For the Britiſh Muſeum					3000	0	0
For the American ſufferers (to be replaced to civil liſt)		73,704	8	0			
Money paid on addreſſes		8908	9	1¼	97,332	1	1½
Ditto to Duncan Campbell for expence of convicts, ditto		14,719	4	0			
Civil eſtabliſhment of Nova Scotia					5021	10	5
Ditto of Eaſt Florida					3950	0	0
Ditto of Weſt Florida, for the year ended 24th June, 1779					2700	0	0
Ditto of Georgia					2536	0	0
Ditto of St. John in America					3000	0	0
For the commiſſioners of public accounts					19,000	0	0
For the ſupport of the Britiſh forts and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa					15,000	0	0
To pay the prizes in the lottery					405,000	0	0
					602,369	13	0¼
Total of the ſupplies					23.261,477	11	1¼
Vote of credit					1.000,000	0	0
					24.261,477	11	1

WAYS and MEANS.

	£.	s.	d.
Malt duty	750,000	0	0
Land-tax	2.000,000	0	0
Loan	13.500,000	0	0
Lottery	405,000	0	0
Exchequer bills	1.500,000	0	0
Ditto	1.9000,00	0	0
Caſh in the hands of the deputy treaſurer of the 1s. per lb. for Chelſea Hoſpital	23,645	2	7
Diſpoſible money in the Exchequer	10,251	18	11
Sinking fund, part of 255,476l. 1s. 10d¾, ſurplus on 10th October, 1781 — £. 200,000 0 0			
Ditto, remains of ditto, ditto — £. 55,476 1 10¾			
Ditto, ſurplus on 5th April, 1782 - £. 615,284 9 4 — £. 670,760 11 2¾	870,760	11	2¾
Ditto, future produce	2.284,715	10	8
	23.244,373	3	4¾
Vote of credit	1.000,000	0	0
Total of Ways and Means	24.244,373	3	4¾

Total of { Supplies		24.261,477	11
Ways and means		24.244,373	3
Deficiency of ways and means		17,104	7
The loan for the year 1782, is	£.	13.400,000	0 0
The intereſt of which, at 5*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* per cent. is		793,125	0 0

TAXES *for the Year* 1782.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
An additional duty of *one ſhilling* a barrel on all ſmall beer, above *ten ſhillings* per barrel, and withholding the 6*d.* drawback on malt	42,000	0	0
Ditto of 4*d.* per pound on tobacco	141,333	0	0
Ditto of one farthing per pound on ſalt	60,000	0	0
Ditto on medicinal ditto, 2*s.* the cwt.	5,000	0	0
Spaniſh and Flemiſh brandies to pay ſame duties as French	5,000	0	0
Additional tax of 5 per cent. on all exciſe and cuſtoms	235,000	0	0

New TAXES.

On every 100*l.* inſured 1*s.* 6*d.*	100,000	0	0
A ſtamp duty of 3*d.* on every inland bill of exchange under 50*l.* and 6*d.* on ditto above 50*l.*	50,000	0	0
One farthing per ton per mile on all freight, by *inland water carriage*	163,410	0	0
On coaſting, ditto, 3*d.* per ton on all freight (excepting coals)	12,000	0	0
Total of taxes	813,743	0	0
Intereſt of the loan	793,125	0	0
Exceſs of Taxes	20,618	0	0

STAT

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, on the 27th of November, 1781.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN I laſt met you in parliament, I acquainted you with the arduous ſituation of public affairs at that time, and I repreſented to you the objects which I had in view, and the reſolution with which I was determined to perſevere in the defence of my dominions againſt the combined power of my enemies, until ſuch a pacification could be made as might conſiſt with the honour of my crown, and the permanent intereſt and ſecurity of my people. The war is ſtill unhappily prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which firſt excited our enemies to commence it, and which ſtill continues to diſappoint my earneſt deſire and diligent exertion to reſtore the public tranquillity; but I ſhould not anſwer the truſt committed to the ſovereign of a free people, nor make a ſuitable return to my ſubjects for their conſtant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to my perſon, family, and government, if I conſented to ſacrifice, either to my own deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and relief, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which, the future ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend.

The favourable appearance of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies, and the ſafe and proſperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of my kingdoms, muſt have given you ſatisfaction; but in the courſe of this year, my aſſiduous endeavours to guard the extenſive dominions of my crown have not been attended with ſucceſs equal to the juſtice and uprightneſs of my views; and it is with great concern that I inform you, that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loſs of my forces in that province.

No endeavours have been wanting on my part to extinguiſh that ſpirit of rebellion which our enemies have found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to reſtore to my deluded ſubjects in America that happy and proſperous condition which they formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; but the late misfortune in that quarter calls loudly for your firm concurrence and aſſiſtance, to fruſtrate the deſigns of our enemies, equally pre-

judicial to the real intereſts of America, and to thoſe of Great Britain.

In the laſt ſeſſion you made a conſiderable progreſs in your enquiries into the ſtate and condition of our dominions and revenues in the Eaſt Indies. — You will, I am perſuaded, reſume the proſecution of that important deliberation with the ſame ſpirit and temper in which it was begun, and proceed with the ſame attention and anxiety to conſider how thoſe remote provinces may be held and governed with the greateſt ſecurity and advantage to this country, and by what means the happineſs of the native inhabitants may be beſt promoted.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I will order the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. I rely on your wiſdom and public ſpirit for ſuch ſupplies as the circumſtances of our affairs ſhall be found to require. Among the many ill conſequences which attend the continuation of the preſent war, I moſt ſincerely regret the additional burthens which it muſt unavoidably bring upon my faithful ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In the proſecution of this great and important conteſt in which we are engaged, I retain a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the juſtice of my cauſe; and I have no doubt but that, by the concurrence and ſupport of my parliament, by the valour of my fleets and armies, and by a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and reſources of my people, I ſhall be enabled to reſtore the bleſſing of a ſafe and honourable peace to all my dominions.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Martis, 27 Novembris, 1781.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

It is with equal concern and indignation that we ſee the war prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which firſt excited your majeſty's enemies to commence it, and which ſtill continues to diſappoint your majeſty's earneſt deſire and diligent exertion to reſtore the public tranquillity.

We acknowledge, with the ſincereſt and warmeſt gratitude, your majeſty's wiſdom and conſtant attention to the real welfare of your people, equally conſpicuous in your earneſt deſire of peace, and in your fixed and unalterable reſolution never to ſacrifice, either to that deſire, or to the temporary eaſe and relief of your ſubjects, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which the future ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend.

We feel great ſatisfaction in the favourable appearance of our affairs

fairs in the East Indies, and in the safe and prosperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of these kingdoms; but we regret that in the course of this year your majesty's assiduous endeavours to guard the extensive dominions of your crown have not been attended with success equal to the justice and uprightness of your majesty's views; and we lament that the events of war have been so unfortunate to your majesty's arms in Virginia.

We are gratefully sensible of the parental solicitude your majesty has shewn for the general happiness of your people, in the endeavours your majesty has used to extinguish that spirit of rebellion which our enemies have found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to restore to your deluded subjects in America that happy and prosperous condition which they formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; and we beg leave to assure your majesty of our firm concurrence and assistance to frustrate the designs of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real interests of America, and to those of great Britain.

We will, without loss of time, resume the deliberation upon the state and condition of the British possessions and revenues in the East Indies, will carry it on with the same spirit and temper in which it was begun, and proceed with the same attention and anxiety to consider how these remote provinces may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted.

Firmly resolved to decline no difficulty or hazard in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of its essential rights and interests, we shall continue to give our most hearty concurrence and support in the prosecution of the great and important contest in which we are engaged.

We rely upon the protection of Divine Providence in so just a cause, and fully trust that, by the concurrence and support which we shall most chearfully give, by the valour of our fleets and armies, and by the vigorous, animated, and united exertions of the faculties and resources of your people, your majesty will be enabled to disappoint the ambitious designs of your enemies, and to restore the blessing of a safe and honourable peace to all your dominions.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I thank you for this very dutiful and affectionate address.—The assurances of your chearful concurrence and support in the prosecution of the great and important contest in which we are engaged, give me the highest satisfaction, and must have the most salutary effects. It shall be my constant endeavour to make the best use of this support for the attainment of the sole end which I have ever in view, a safe and honourable peace.

The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the com-

commons of Great Britain in parliament aſſembled, return your majeſty the thanks of this houſe, for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

We aſſure your majeſty, that we ſee with concern that the war is ſtill unhappily prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which firſt excited our enemies to commence it, and which ſtill continues to diſappoint your majeſty's earneſt deſire and diligent exertion to reſtore the public tranquillity.

We are ſenſibly affected by your majeſty's paternal expreſſions of concern for the real welfare of your ſubjects: and we receive with the ſtrongeſt emotions of duty and gratitude, your majeſty's gracious and endearing declaration, that you ſhould not anſwer the truſt committed to the ſovereign of a free people, nor make a ſuitable return to your ſubjects for their conſtant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to your perſon, family, and government, if you conſented to ſacrifice; either to your own deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and relief, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which the future ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend.

We declare on our part, that we know no means of making to your majeſty any return ſo ſuitable and ſo juſt, and of anſwering the great truſt committed to us by thoſe whom we repreſent, as by giving your majeſty this firm aſſurance, that we are reſolved to aſſiſt and ſupport your majeſty to the utmoſt of our power, in maintaining and preferring the eſſential rights and permanent intereſts o your crown and people.

The favourable appearance o affairs in the Eaſt Indies, and th ſafe and proſperous arrival of th numerous commercial fleets of you kingdom, have given us great ſa tisfaction: but we ſincerely regre that your majeſty's aſſiduous en deavours to guard your extenſiv dominions have not in all place been attended with ſucceſs; an we learn with the deepeſt concern that the events of war have bee very unfortunate to your majeſty' arms in Virginia, and have ende in the loſs of your forces in tha province.

We are fully perſuaded, tha the principal view of the confede racy of our enemies was to fomen and maintain the rebellion i North America; and, under th ſpecious deluſion of the eſtabliſh ment of an independent empire, t render your majeſty's colonies ſub ſervient to the power and influenc of the crown of France: but you majeſty may rely on our ſteady a ſiſtance to ſecond your majeſty endeavours to defeat the dangerou deſigns of our enemies, equall prejudicial to the real intereſts o America, and to thoſe of Grea Britain.

We will not fail to reſume th great and momentous conſidera tion of the ſtate and condition o the dominions and revenues whic this country poſſeſſes in the Ea Indies; and we truſt that, in ou deliberation on theſe importan matters, we ſhall proceed with th ſame ſpirit and temper in whic they were begun, and with th ſame care and anxiety to conſide how thoſe remote provinces ma be held and governed with th

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greateſt ſecurity and advantage to this nation, and by what means the happineſs of the native inhabitants may be beſt promoted.

In this arduous conjuncture, we conſider it as our firſt duty to our country, to grant your majeſty ſuch ſupplies as the circumſtances of affairs ſhall be found to require. We cannot but feel that the war is burthenſome and expenſive; but we are convinced, at the ſame time, that it is juſt and neceſſary; and nothing on our part ſhall be wanting, to give efficacy and ſucceſs to the valour of your majeſty's fleets and armies; and we ſhall have a firm confidence, that by a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the reſources and faculties of the nation, and of the ſpirit of a free people, your majeſty will be enabled, under the protection of Divine Providence, to reſtore the bleſſing of a ſafe and honourable peace to all your dominions.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my moſt cordial thanks for this very loyal, dutiful, and affectionate addreſs.

It breathes the ſpirit and firmneſs of a brave and free people. Nothing could afford me ſo much ſatisfaction, or tend ſo effectually to the public ſafety and welfare in this critical ſituation.

LORDS PROTESTS.

The following is entered againſt the Proceedings in the Houſe of Lords on Tueſday, Nov. 27th.

IT was propoſed to leave out, after the ſecond paragraph of the motion for the addreſs, the remaining part of the motion, and to inſert, "And we will, without delay, apply ourſelves with united hearts to propoſe and digeſt ſuch counſels, to be laid at his royal feet, as may excite the efforts, point the arms, and command the confidence of all his ſubjects."

After long debate, the queſtion was put thereupon.

It was reſolved in the negative.

Contents	—	31
Non Contents	— 65	75
Proxies	— 10	

Then the queſtion was put, that the motion at firſt propoſed do ſtand part of the queſtion.

It was reſolved in the affirmative.

DISSENTIENT,

For reaſons too often urged in vain for theſe laſt ſeven years againſt the ruinous proſecution of the unjuſt war carrying on by his majeſty's miniſters againſt the people of North America, and too fatally confirmed by repeated experience, and the late diſgraceful loſs of a ſecond army, to ſtand in need of repetition.

Richmond.
Fitzwilliam.
Rockingham.

February 18.

THIS day the following motion was made in the Houſe of Lords, viz.

"That it is highly reprehenſible in any perſon to adviſe "the crown to exerciſe its indiſputable right of creating a "peer in favour of a perſon labouring under the heavy cenſure of a court martial; viz.

'This court, upon due conſi'deration of the whole matter be-

'fore them, is of opinion, That 'Lord George *Sackville*, is guilty 'of having diſobeyed the orders 'of Prince *Ferdinand* of *Brunſ-* 'wick, whom he was by his com- 'miſſion and inſtructions directed 'to obey, as commander in chief, 'according to the rules of war: 'and it is the further opinion of 'this court, that the ſaid Lord 'George *Sackville* is, and he is 'hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve 'his majeſty in any military ca- 'pacity whatever.'

'Which ſentence his majeſty 'has been pleaſed to confirm.

'And public orders given out 'in conſequence thereof.

'It is his majeſty's pleaſure, 'that the above ſentence be given 'out in public orders, that offi- 'cers, being convinced, that nei- 'ther high birth nor great em- 'ployments can ſhelter offences 'of ſuch a nature; and, that 'ſeeing they are ſubject to cen- 'ſures much worſe than death, to 'a man who has any ſenſe of ho- 'nour, they may avoid the fatal 'conſequences ariſing from the 'diſobedience of orders.'

This motion being rejected by a majority of 93 to 28, the following proteſt was entered:

DISSENTIENT,

"Becauſe we cannot look upon the raiſing to the peerage a perſon ſo circumſtanced, in any other light, than as a meaſure fatal to the intereſts, as well as the glory of the crown, and to the dignity of this houſe, inſulting to the memory of the late ſovereign, and likewiſe to every ſurviving branch of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick; repugnant to every principle of military diſcipline, and directly contrary to the maintenance of that houſe, which has for ages been the glorious characteriſtic of the Britiſh nation, and which, as far as can depend on us, we find ourſelves called upon, not more by duty than inclination, to tranſmit pure and unſullied to poſterity."

Oſborne,	Derby,
Rutland,	Egremont,
Pembroke,	Devonſhire,
Craven,	Abingdon.
Chatham,	

Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty, againſt the further Proſecution of the American War; with his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

RESOLVED, Wedn. Feb. 27, in the houſe of commons, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, moſt humbly to repreſent to his majeſty that the further proſecution of offenſive war on the continent of North America, for the purpoſe of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, tends, under the preſent circumſtances, dangerouſly to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America, and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to fruſtrate the earneſt deſire graciouſly expreſſed by his majeſty to reſtore the bleſſings of public tranquillity."

Reſolved, "That the ſaid addreſs be preſented to his majeſty by the whole houſe."

Ordered, "That ſuch members of this houſe, as are of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, do humbly know his majeſty's pleaſure when he will be attended by this houſe."

March 4. *His Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to return the following Anſwer to the abovementioned Addreſs of the Houſe.*

" Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

" THERE are no objects nearer to my heart than the eaſe, happineſs, and proſperity of my people.

" You may be aſſured that, in purſuance to your advice, I ſhall take ſuch meaſures as ſhall appear to me to be moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both; and that my efforts ſhall be directed in the moſt effectual manner againſt our European enemies, till ſuch peace can be obtained as ſhall conſiſt with the intereſts, and permanent welfare of my kingdoms."

Beſides the addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, the following were alſo preſented to his Majeſty, at the ſame time, praying for a ſpeedy concluſion of the American war.

The addreſs, remonſtrance, and petition of the county of Middleſex, preſented by John Wilkes and George Byng, Eſqrs.

Ditto of Surrey, by Admiral Keppel and Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Bart.

Ditto of London, by the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

Ditto of Weſtminſter, by the Hon. Charles James Fox.

Ditto of Southwark, by N. Polhill, Eſq. and Sir Richard Hotham, Bart.

An Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty by the Houſe of Commons for the foregoing moſt gracious Anſwer to their Addreſs.

IT was reſolved *nemine contradicente.*

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, to return his majeſty the thanks of this houſe for his moſt gracious anſwer to their addreſs, preſented to his majeſty on Friday laſt, and for the aſſurances his majeſty has been pleaſed to give of his intention, in the purſuance of the advice of this houſe, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhall appear moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts ſhall be directed, in the moſt effectual manner, againſt our European enemies, until ſuch peace can be obtained, as ſhall conſiſt with the permanent welfare and proſperity of his kingdom, this houſe being convinced nothing can, in the preſent circumſtances of this country, ſo eſſentially promote thoſe great objects of his majeſty's paternal care for his people, as the meaſures which his moſt faithful commons have moſt humbly and earneſtly recommended to his majeſty."

The ſame being read, was ordered to be delivered to his majeſty by the privy counſellors members of the houſe.

Addreſs of the City of London to his Majeſty, with his Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

St. James's, April 12.

THIS day the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, Sheriffs, and Common Council of the City of London, waited

waited upon the King (being introduced by his Grace the Duke of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household) with the following Address, which was read by James Adair, Esq. Recorder.

To the King's most Excellency Majesty.

The humble Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled,

Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, beg leave to approach your throne with sentiments of the most sincere loyalty and attachment to your royal person and family, and humbly to express our warmest thanks to your majesty, for having graciously complied with the wishes of your people, in making a change in your majesty's councils, and taking those persons into your majesty's confidence, who are respected by their country for their constitutional principles, and distinguished abilities, and whose endeavours, we trust, with the blessing of providence, will restore the dignity of your majesty's crown, union among your people, and promote the interest and prosperity of all your dominions.

Signed by order of the court,

WILLIAM RIX."

To which his Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer.

"THE assurances given me by the city of London, of their loyalty and attachment to my person and family, cannot fail of giving me the highest satisfaction. The dignity of my crown, the union of my people, and the interests and prosperity of all my dominions, must ever be the principal objects of my care."

Memorial of Prince Gallitzin *and* Monf. de Marcoff, *Ministers of the Empress of all the Russias, presented to the States General; with Mr. Secretary* Fox's *Letter to* Monf. Simolin, *Russian Minister at the Court of London.*

Hague Gazette Extraordinary, April. 3.

PRINCE Gallitzin, and Monf. de Marcoff, joint Ministers of the Empress of all the Russias, have presented, this day, to the States General, the following memorial:

"The underwritten, joint ministers of the Empress of all the Russias, in consequence of the orders given them to accelerate, as much as in them lies, the salutary work of the mediation entrusted to her Imperial Majesty, think it their duty to lose no time to communicate to your High Mightinesses a copy of a letter written to Monf. Simolin, their sovereign's minister at the court of London, by Mr. Fox, secretary of state to his Britannic Majesty. It will convince your High Mightinesses of the intentions of his Britannic Majesty to be sincerely reconciled to the republic, on the conditions by yourselves established, in your resolution of the 14th ult. by which you again accept of the empress's mediation; the preliminary concession, made on the part of Great Britain, concerning the principal article of the treaty

of 1674, ſeems to level all the obſtacles which had hitherto prevented your entering upon a negociation for a final peace. If, in the interim, the propoſal made in the ſaid letter, of a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, ſhould be thought conformable to the intereſts of the nation, nothing could be more ſo to the principles of humanity in general, which actuate the empreſs, and to her private ſentiments, of benevolence and affection for this ſtate; eſpecially as ſuch a meaſure has the double advantage of preventing the uſeleſs effuſion of blood; and from this inſtant reſtoring to the republic, the enjoyments of the rights of freedom in trade and navigation, which fall to the ſhare of neutral nations, and eſpecially thoſe that have acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality.

Full of confidence in the diſpoſition equally peaceful, and conformable to the real welfare of the ſtate, which your High Mightineſſes have always manifeſted in the moſt ſolemn and poſitive manner; the under-written flatter themſelves, that you will not heſitate to make a proper uſe of the letter, they have the honour to communicate, in order to take a quick and deciſive reſolution, that may tend to reſtore peace and harmony with your old friend and ally, upon terms as honourable as they are advantageous.

(Signed)

P. GALLITZIN.

MARCOFF.

The following is a Copy of the Letter alluded to in the above Memorial:

"HAVING laid before his majeſty an extract of the letter which you did me the honour, Sir, of communicating from Prince Gallitzin, and Monſ. de Marcoff, I have his majeſty's commands to inform you, that the king, deſirous of teſtifying his intentions towards their High Mightineſſes, and of renewing that friendſhip which has been ſo unfortunately interrupted between old allies, who ought to be united in the bonds of mutual intereſt, is ready to enter into a negociation, for the purpoſe of ſetting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majeſty and the republic; and that the better to facilitate the execution of a plan which his majeſty has ſo much at heart, the king is willing to give immediate orders for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, if, on their part, the Lords the States General ſhould think ſuch a meaſure ſuitable to the object in view.

"I am commanded by his majeſty to explain to you, Sir, his ſentiments on ſo important a ſubject, and deſire you will impart the ſame to the miniſters of her Imperial Majeſty to their High Mightineſſes, that they may be conveyed, without the leaſt delay, to the miniſters of the republic; being of opinion that it is the moſt convenient ſtep, with the mediation and good offices of her Imperial Majeſty, to put an end to the ſcourge of that war, which unfortunately ſubſiſts between the two nations.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

C. J. Fox."

The

The following is a Copy of the Earl of Shelburne's Letter to the Lord Mayor relative to arming the People, together with the Heads of the Plan therein incloſed.

Whitehall, 7th of May, 1782.

CIRCULAR COPY.

SIR,

HIS majeſty has commanded me to expreſs his firm reliance upon the ſpirit and loyalty of his people, and his royal confidence, that, during this ſeaſon of difficulty, their utmoſt endeavours will not be wanting to give unqueſtionable proofs of their attachment and emulation for his ſervice; and foreſeeing that by wiſe, ſtrenuous, and timely preparations, he may not only diſappoint or defeat any hoſtile attempts, but, by appearing ſtrong and united at home, he may be enabled to make the more powerful efforts for maintaining his honour and the public intereſts abroad, and thereby lay the ſureſt foundations for a ſafe, an honourable, and a laſting peace; and as the populouſneſs of the principal towns and cities of Great-Britain, naturally offers the greateſt facility, as well for forming into corps, as for learning the military exerciſe, without loſs of time, interruption of labour, or any conſiderable fatigue, his majeſty has commanded me to tranſmit to you the incloſed propoſitions, which have been ſubmitted to his majeſty, as at leaſt a temporary plan for augmenting the domeſtic force of the nation, which being adopted or improved, according to the circumſtances and ſituation of the town, of which you are the chief magiſtrate, may tend to the immediate formation of a great and reſpectable addition to the national force at home, on the moſt natural and conſtitutional principles.

For this purpoſe, I have his majeſty's commands to ſignify to you his deſire and recommendation, that you ſhould take the ſame into immediate conſideration, and, after having conſidered it, report to me whatever obſervations may occur to you for the carrying into execution a plan, the purpoſe of which is to give ſecurity to your own perſons and property, and to the general defence of the kingdom.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
(Signed) SHELBURNE.

Heads of a Plan for raiſing Corps in the ſeveral Towns in Great Britain,

1ſt. The principal towns in Great Britain to furniſh one or more battalions each, or a certain number of companies each, in proportion to their ſize and number of inhabitants.

2d. The officers to be appointed from among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, or the inhabitants of the ſaid town, either by commiſſion from his majeſty, or from the lord lieutenant of the county, upon the recommendation of the chief magiſtrate of the town in which the corps are raiſed.

3d. They are to be poſſeſſed of ſome certain eſtate in land or money, in proportion to their rank.

4th. An adjutant or town mayor in

in each town, to be appointed by his majesty.

5th. A proper number of serjeants and corporals, from the army, to be appointed for the corps in each town, in proportion to their number.

6th. The said serjeants and corporals, as well as the adjutant, or town major, to be in government pay.

7th. The men to exercise frequently, either in battalion, or by companies, on Sundays, and on all holidays, and also after their work is over in the evenings.

8th. Arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be furnished at the expence of government, if required.

9th. Proper magazines or storehouses to be chosen or erected in each town for keeping the said arms, &c.

10th. The arms and accoutrements to be delivered out at times of exercise only, and to be returned into the stores as soon as the exercise is finished.

11th. The adjutant or town major to be always present at exercise, and to see that the men afterwards march regularly, and lodge their arms in the storehouses.

12th. Proper penalties to be inflicted on such as absent themselves from exercise, as also for disobedience of orders, insolence to their officers, and other disorderly behaviour.

13th. The above corps not to be obliged on any account, or by any authority whatever, to move from their respective towns, except in times of actual invasion or rebellion.

14th. His majesty shall then have power to order the said corps to march to any part of Great Britain, as his service may require.

15th. They are on such occasions to act either separately or in conjunction with his majesty's regular forces, and be under the command of such general officers as his majesty shall think proper to appoint.

16th. Both officers and men to receive full pay as his majesty's other regiments of foot, from the day of their march, and as long as they shall continue in service out of their towns.

17th. They are to be subject to military discipline in the same manner as his majesty's regular forces, during the said time of their being so called out and receiving government pay.

18th. All officers who should be disabled in actual service, to be entitled to half-pay; and all non-commissioned officers and private men disabled, to receive the benefit of Chelsea Hospital.

19th. The widows of officers killed in the service to have a pension for life.

A Letter from Sir Guy Carleton to his Excellency General Washington; the General's Answer, and Resolution of Congress thereupon.

Philadelphia, June 1.

Extract of a Letter from his Excellency General Washington *to Congress, dated Head Quarters, May* 10, 1782.

"JUST as I am closing these dispatches, a letter from Sir Guy Carleton is handed me, covering

covering ſundry printed papers, a copy of which, with the papers, I have now the honour to encloſe to your excellency, together with a copy of my anſwer to him; and I flatter myſelf my conduct herein will be agreeable to the wiſhes of Congreſs."

Head Quarters, New York,
May 7, 1782.

SIR,

HAVING been appointed by his majeſty to the command of the forces on the Atlantic Ocean, and joined with Admiral Digby in the commiſſion of peace, I find it proper in this manner to apprize your excellency of my arrival at New York.

The occaſion, Sir, ſeems to render this communication proper, but the circumſtances of the preſent time render it alſo indiſpenſible, as I find it juſt to tranſmit herewith to your excellency certain papers, from the peruſal of which your excellency will perceive what diſpoſitions prevail in the government and people of England towards thoſe of America, and what further effects are likely to follow; if the like pacific diſpoſitions ſhould prevail in this country, both my inclination and duty will lead me to meet it with the moſt zealous concurrence. In all events, Sir, it is with me to declare, that, if war muſt prevail, I ſhall endeavour to render its miſeries as light to the people of this continent as the circumſtances of ſuch a condition will poſſibly permit.

I am much concerned to find that private and unauthoriſed perſons have on both ſides given way to thoſe paſſions which ought to have received the ſtrongeſt and moſt effectual controul, and which have begot acts of retaliation, which, without proper prevention, may have an extent equally calamitous and diſhonourable to both parties, though as it ſhould ſeem more extenſively pernicious to the natives and ſettlers of this country.

How much ſoever, Sir, we may differ in other reſpects, upon this one point we muſt perfectly concur, being alike intereſted to preſerve the name of Engliſhmen from reproach, and individuals from experiencing ſuch unneceſſary evils as can have no effect upon a general deciſion; every proper meaſure which may tend to prevent theſe criminal exceſſes in individuals I ſhall be ever ready to embrace; and as an advantage on my part I have, as the firſt act of my command, enlarged Mr. Livingſton, and have written to his father upon the ſubject of ſuch exceſſes as have paſſed in New Jerſey, deſiring his concurrence in ſuch meaſures, as, even under the conditions of war, the common intereſts of humanity require.

I am further to acquaint you, Sir, that it was my intention to have ſent this day a ſimilar letter of compliment to Congreſs, but am informed it is previouſly neceſſary to obtain a paſſport from your excellency, which I therefore hope to receive, if you have no objection for the paſſage of Mr. Morgan to Philadelphia, for the above purpoſe.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

GUY CARLETON.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

SIR,

Head Quarters, May 10, 1782.

SIR,

I HAD the honour laſt evening to receive your excellency's letter of the 7th, with the ſeveral papers encloſed.

Ever ſince the commencement of this unnatural war, my conduct has borne invariable teſtimony againſt thoſe inhuman exceſſes which in too many inſtances have marked its various progreſs.

With reſpect to a late tranſaction, to which I preſume your excellency alludes, I have already expreſſed my fixed reſolution, a reſolution formed on the moſt mature deliberation, and from which I ſhall not recede.

I have to inform your excellency, that your requeſt of a paſſport for Mr. Morgan to go to Philadelphia, will be conveyed to Congreſs by the earlieſt opportunity, and you may reſt aſſured that I will embrace the firſt moment to communicate to you their determination thereon.

Many inconveniences and diſorders having ariſen from an improper admiſſion of flags at various poſts of the two armies, which have given riſe to complaints on both ſides—to prevent abuſes in future, and for the convenience of communication, I have concluded to receive all flags from within your lines at the poſt of Dobb's Ferry, and no where elſe, ſo long as the head quarters of the two armies remain as at preſent.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

By the United States in Congreſs, aſſembled May 14, 1782.

THE letter of the 10th, from the commander in chief, being read, incloſing a copy of a letter to him from Sir Guy Carleton, dated head quarters, New York, May 2, 1782.

Reſolved, That the commander in chief be, and hereby is directed to refuſe the requeſt of Sir Guy Carleton, of a paſſport for Mr. Morgan, to bring diſpatches to Philadelphia.

Publiſhed by order of the Congreſs,

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec.

RESOLUTION of CONGRESS.

By the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, October 4, 1782.

WHEREAS by the articles of confederation and perpetual union, the ſole and excluſive right of making peace is veſted in the United States in Congreſs aſſembled; and by the treaty of alliance between his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and theſe United States, it is declared, that neither of the contracting parties ſhall conclude peace nor truce with Great Britain, without the conſent of the other; and the miniſters plenipotentiaries of theſe United States in Europe, are veſted with full power and authority, in their behalf, and in concert with their allies, to negotiate and conclude a general peace: nevertheleſs, it appears, the Britiſh court ſtill flatters itſelf with the vain hope of prevailing on the United States to agree to ſome terms of dependence on Great Britain, at leaſt to a ſeparate peace; and there is reaſon to believe, that commiſſioners may be ſent to America to offer propoſitions of that

that nature to the United States, or that ſecret emiſſaries may be employed to delude and deceive. In order to extinguiſh ill-founded hopes, to fruſtrate inſidious attempts, and to manifeſt to the whole world the purity of the intentions, and the fixed unalterable determination of the United States,

Reſolved unanimouſly, That Congreſs are ſincerely deſirous of an honourable and permanent peace: that as the only means of obtaining it, they will inviolably adhere to the treaty of alliance with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and conclude neither a ſeparate peace nor truce with Great Britain; that they will proſecute the war with vigour, until, by the bleſſing of God on the united arms, a peace ſhall be happily accompliſhed, by which, the full and abſolute ſovereignty and independence of theſe United States having been duly aſſured, their rights and intereſts, as well as thoſe of their allies, ſhall be effectually provided for and ſecured.

That Congreſs will not enter into the diſcuſſion of any overtures for pacification, but in confidence and in concert with his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

That to guard againſt the ſecret artifices and machinations of the enemy, it be, and hereby is recommended to the reſpective States, to be vigilant and active in detecting and ſeizing all Britiſh emiſſaries and ſpies, that they may be brought to condign puniſhment: that it be enjoined on all officers of departments charged with perſons coming from the enemy under the protection of flags of truce, to take ſpecial care that ſuch perſons do not abuſe their privileges, but be reſtrained from all intercourſe with the country and inhabitants, which is not neceſſary for tranſacting the public buſineſs on which they may be ſent; and laſtly, it is recommended to the ſeveral States, that no ſubject of his Britannic Majeſty, coming directly or indirectly from any part of the Britiſh dominions, be admitted into any of the United States during the war.

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec.

A FRENCH STATE PAPER.

A Letter from Monſieur du Portail, *a* French *Officer in the ſervice of* America, *to Monſeigneur Le Comte de* St. Germain, *Secretary of State for the War Department in* France, *dated at* Waſhington's *Camp at* White Marſh, *twelve miles from* Philadelphia.

Nov. 12, 1778.

Monſeigneur,

I HAVE had the honour of giving you an account of the battles of Brandywine and German Town, and of ſending you the plans, with that of Philadelphia and its environs, within five leagues, to enable you to judge of the ſituation of General Howe. I hope you have received them. Till now General Howe has not taken the two forts on the river, which hinder veſſels coming up to the city, and deprive him of all communication with them, but by the little paſſage which I have marked on the map, and from which we can eaſily cut him off this winter, when we have received a reinforcement of victorious troops

troops from the north. We reckon on ſtriking a ſtroke on the other ſide of Schuylkil. There are already troops in the Jerſeys on the left-hand bank of the Delaware. On this plan, General Howe will be obliged to remain in Philadelphia, and run a great riſk of dying by hunger; but, in truth, we do not hope for ſo much. He will ſurely take the forts, if he attacks them well, and then he will have a communication with his fleet. You ſee, Monſeigneur, that for people that have been beat twice, we are in no very bad poſture; we owe this to the Engliſh having but little cavalry, ſo that they were incapable of purſuing their victory; we owe it yet more to the woods and obſtacles of every ſort, with which this country is defended.

In the mean time it is natural enough, after the experience of this campaign, to aſk this queſtion, Will the Americans ſucceed in making themſelves free or not? In France, without doubt, they can only judge by what is paſt; they will hold the affirmative; as for us, who have been witneſſes of the whole, it is another affair. *To make ſhort of the matter, it is not the good conduct of the Americans that enabled them to make a campaign on the whole ſufficiently fortunate.* IT IS THE FAULT OF THE ENGLISH. It was an enormous fault of the Britiſh government to require General Burgoyne to traverſe more than 200 leagues of a country, replete with difficulties, almoſt deſert, and of conſequence, very uſeleſs to take, and that only to join Generals Howe and Clinton in the middle of the country. This project might appear very magnificent in the cabinet of London, but to thoſe who know the country it was highly defective.

This judgment on my part is not after the event. You may remember, perhaps, Monſeigneur, that I was in very good humour with the Engliſh for oppoſing to us only ten thouſand men here, and that I greatly hoped General Burgoyne would not arrive here till the field could no longer be kept; that his army would be half deſtroyed by hunger, miſery, and deſertion, together with daily loſſes ſuffered from our militia, ſcattered through the woods, who fighting thus in a manner peculiar to themſelves, the event has been more happy than I could have even hoped.

If the Engliſh inſtead of making *ſo many diverſions*, which have been all too much *at the expence of the principal action*, had oppoſed General Waſhington with twenty thouſand men, I do not very well know, what would have become of us. As for us, in doubling our army, we ſhould have nearly redoubled his force, and we ſhould have tripled our own embarraſſment. Thus much for the plan of this campaign.

If we examine next the conduct of General Howe, we ſhall ſee that he has not done even what he had in his power to do. As I had the honour to write to you after the battle of Brandywine, *if the Engliſh had followed up their advantages that day, Waſhington's army would have been ſpoken of no more.* Since that time, likewiſe, General Howe has, in all his operations, exhibited ſuch ſlowneſs and timidity, as on every turn to prove the object of *my aſtoniſh-*

ment. But we muſt recollect, they may ſend another general, and then we ſhall not find ourſelves ſo fortunately circumſtanced. As for the reſt, the events, which depend on the ability of generals not being to be foreſeen, we cannot count on them in our ſpeculations on the future.

Having then a reference only to the number of troops, I think I may aſſert, if the Engliſh can have here thirty thouſand effective troops, THEY MUST REDUCE THIS COUNTRY.

A ſecond thing which muſt haſten this reduction, and even of itſelf nearly effect it, is *the want of warlike ſtores. They want almoſt every thing.* Another object is, they are in want of both linen and woollen cloths, leather, cordage, ſalt, ſpirituous liquors, ſugars, &c. Theſe laſt articles are more important than at firſt might be imagined. Before the war, the Americans, though deſpiſing luxury, had in abundance every thing that is neceſſary to an eaſy and agreeable life. To have no great matters to do, to paſs the greateſt part of their time in ſmoking or drinking ſpirituous liquors or tea, was the taſte of theſe countries. It is then very little with their inclinations, that they find themſelves transformed, at a ſtroke, into a warlike people, and reduced to the neceſſity of leading a hard and frugal life. *So much do they in general deteſt the war*, that it is eaſy to ſee, if their wants are but increaſed to a certain point, they would prefer the yoke of the Engliſh, to a liberty which coſts them the comforts of life.

This language aſtoniſhes you, Monſeigneur, but in truth, ſuch is the people. They are ſoft without reſort, without vigour, without paſſion, for a cauſe which they ſuſtain only, becauſe it is natural to them to follow the movement with which they have been impreſſed. *There is a hundred times more enthuſiaſm for this revolution in a coffee-houſe at Paris than in all the colonies united.*

It is neceſſary, therefore, for France, if ſhe wiſhes to ſupport this revolution, to furniſh the people with *every* neceſſary, nor ſuffer them to ſuſtain any conſiderable want. It will coſt France a great ſum, even ſome millions, *but ſhe will be amply repaid by the* ANNIHILATION *of the* MARINE *power of England, which having* NO LONGER ANY COLONIES *can in a little time have* NO MARINE. *Commerce will of conſequence paſs over to France, which can in that caſe have* NO RIVAL *among the powers of Europe.*

Some perſons have pretended, that France has no intereſt in ſeeing the Engliſh colonies form a free ſtate, and that we might thereby run the hazard of loſing our own colonies; but whoever knows this country ſees, that it will be ſome ages before they could ſend forth a ſquadron to make conqueſts, and long before that the jealouſies which one province entertains of another, (the appearances of which are already diſcernable) will have divided them into different ſtates, none of which will be to be feared. I may be aſked, whether France had not better make a treaty with the United States, and ſend twelve or fifteen thouſand men hither, to effect more readily this revolution. This would be the effectual method

thod of spoiling all. *This people, though at war with the English, hate the French more than them*; we prove this every day; *and notwithstanding every thing that France has done, or can do for them, they will prefer a reconciliation with their ancient brethren.* Should they for the moment consent to the coming of the French troops, their natural antipathy would soon shew itself, and produce the most fatal quarrels.

There is yet another project to examine. May not France, forced to make open war on England, seek to possess herself of Canada, in concert with the Congress.

After the observations in the preceding article, it appears, that Congress would utterly reject such an arrangement. They would not seek freedom in the neighbourhood of the French, for they would not expect to retain it long. *If they must needs be dependant, they had rather be so on England.*

If France does not declare war against England, she must by every means that policy can suggest, prevent the English from having more than from twenty-five to thirty-thousand men here at most. The American states will not have more this campaign. General Washington has never had more than 15,000, Gen. Gates 10,000, and Gen. Putnam from five to six thousand. Perhaps they would not be able to augment the whole by one quarter in case of necessity.

You have here, perhaps, Monseigneur, more than you have asked of me, but forgive me these dissertations, through a desire of fulfilling, at least, your intentions, and of rendering my abode here, if possible, useful to my country.

I am,
with the most perfect respect, &c.
(Signed)
DU PORTAIL.

To Monseigneur the Count de St. Germain, Minister of War, at the Court of France.

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain *in Parliament assembled.*

The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of York.

SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners, sensible of the original excellency of the constitution of this country, most ardently wish to have it maintained upon the genuine principles on which it was founded.

Your petitioners further shew, that it is necessary to the welfare of the people, that the Commons' House of parliament should have a common interest with the nation; and that in the present state of the representation of the people in parliament, the House of Commons do not sufficiently speak the voice of the people.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray this honourable house to take into their most serious consideration the present state of the representation of the people in parliament, and to apply such remedy to this great and alarming evil, as to this honourable house may seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

Heads of two principal ACTS of PARLIAMENT *passed during the present Session.*

An Act for better securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, by disabling certain Officers, employed in the Collection or Management of his Majesty's Revenues, from giving their Votes at such Elections.

FROM August 1, 1782, no commissioner or officer employed in collecting or managing the duties of excise, customs, &c. shall have any vote in the election of members of parliament.

The penalty on persons voting, who are disqualified by this act, is 100*l.* and rendered incapable of executing any office or place of trust, &c.

Clause, not to extend to commissioners of the land tax, or persons acting under them; nor to offices held by letters patent for any estate of inheritance; nor to persons who shall resign their offices before August 1, 1782.

Limitations of actions, viz. 12 months after the penalty is incurred.

An Act for restraining any Person concerned in any Contract, Commission, or Agreement, made for the Public Service, from being elected, or sitting and voting as a Member of the House of Commons.

AFTER the end of this session, all persons holding contracts for the public service, shall be incapable of being elected, or sitting in the House of Commons.

Any member accepting a contract, or continuing to hold any contract after the commencement of the next session, his seat shall be void.

Not to extend to incorporated trading companies.

Not to extend to contracts already made for one year.

Clause relative to contracts which are not to expire until a year's notice be given, viz. that where any contract, agreement, or commission, has been made, entered into, or accepted, with a provision that the same shall continue until a year's notice be given of the intended dissolution thereof, the same shall not disable any person from sitting and voting in parliament until one year after the said notice shall be actually given for the determination of the said contract, agreement, or commission, or till after twelve calendar months, to be computed from the time of passing this act.

Not to extend to contracts by descent, &c. until after twelve months possession.

Members holding contracts may be discharged therefrom on giving twelve months notice.

Clause relative to patentees for new inventions, viz. that if any person actually possessed of a patent for a new invention, or a prolongation thereof by act of parliament, and having contracted with government concerning the object of the said patent before the passing of this act, shall give notice of his intention to dissolve the said contract, the same shall be null and void from the time of giving such notice.

If any person hereby disqualified shall be elected, such election shall be void.

Disabled persons who shall sit in the House of Commons after this session,

ſeſſion, ſhall forfeit 500*l.* for each day.

A condition to be inſerted in all public contracts, that no member of the Houſe of Commons ſhall have any ſhare thereof.

Penalty on contractors who ſhall admit any member of the Houſe of Commons to any ſhare of their contracts.

Limitation of actions, viz. twelve months.

The fourth Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate the public Accounts of the Kingdom.

PROCEEDING in our inquiries into balances in the hands of thoſe accountants who appear upon the certificate of accounts depending in the office of the auditor of the impreſt, we find therein, next to the treaſurers of the navy, the names of ſeveral perſons whoſe accounts have not been proſecuted for upwards of ſeventy years. We could have no expectation of profiting by a purſuit of claims ariſing at ſo remote a period; and therefore paſſing on to the next claſs, namely, the paymaſters of the forces, we ſee ſtanding firſt in that claſs the name of Henry Earl of Lincoln; whoſe final account of the forces for ſix months, to the 24th of June, 1720, is therein deſcribed "to have been "delivered into auditor Aiſlabie's "office, but, being very imper-"fect, to have been long ſince "withdrawn, and not returned." We iſſued our precept to his grace the Duke of Newcaſtle, for an account of the public money in his hands, cuſtody, or power, as repreſentative of Henry Earl of Lincoln, late paymaſter-general of the forces. The Duke of Newcaſtle, in a letter dated the 24th of Auguſt laſt, informed us, that "he never had in his hands, cuſ-"tody, or power, any of the "public money which was poſ-"ſeſſed by his late father as pay-"maſter of the forces, nor any of "his accounts or vouchers rela-"tive thereto; nor could he in-"form us what balance, if any, "was due from him on that ac-"count; that his late father died "inteſtate, leaving him, and ſe-"veral other children, then in-"fants, and that Lucy Counteſs "of Lincloln, his widow, admi-"niſtered to him, and poſſeſſed "what effects he left, which ſhe "applied towards diſcharge of "his debts:" and in a ſubſequent letter, dated the 23d of November laſt, the duke informed us, that he took adminiſtration *de bonis non* to his late father, in May 1748. In conſequence of theſe letters from the Duke of Newcaſtle, we proceeded no further in this inquiry.

Having iſſued our precepts to John Powell, Eſq. the only acting executor of Henry Lord Holland; to Lady Greenwich, adminiſtratrix to the Right Hon. Charles Townſhend, late paymaſter of the forces, to Lord North, and to the Right Hon. Thomas Townſhend, late paymaſter of the forces, each jointly with George Cooke, Eſq. deceaſed, for an account of the public money in their reſpective hands, cuſtody, or power; the total of which amounts to 377,788*l.* 5*s.* 7*d.*

Having thus obtained a knowledge of the balances, our next ſtep was to examine whether they were liable to any ſuch ſervices,

or subject to any such payments, in the hands of these accountants, as rendered it necessary to permit them, or any part of them, to remain longer in their possession. For this purpose we examined John Powel, Esq. the cashier, and Charles Bembridge, Esq. the accountant to the paymaster-general of the forces; by whom we are informed that the money in the hands of the paymasters-general of the forces, after they are out of office, continues, as long as their accounts are kept open, liable to the payment of any claims of the staff or hospital officers, or of any warrants for contingencies and extraordinaries, which were voted during the time they were respectively in office, and have not been claimed; after the final accounts are closed, such claimants must apply for payment, either to the treasury or the war-office, according to the nature of the claim. These sums remaining in their hands are likewise subject to the payment of fees of divers natures, and of fees for passing their accounts and obtaining their quietus, together with the payment of a gratuity to the officers and clerks of the pay-office; who, at the same time that they transact the business of the paymaster in office, carry on also, make up, and finally close, the accounts of the paymasters after they are out of office; but, having no salary or reward whatever for this extra business, it has been customary for them, when the final account is ready to be passed, to present a memorial to the lords of the treasury, praying them to procure the king's warrant to the auditors of the imprest, to allow them a certain sum for their trouble, payable out of the balance remaining in the hands of that paymaster.

The sums now in the hands of these late paymasters of the forces, or of the representatives of those who are dead, are still liable to claims that may be made upon them under various heads of services, and subject likewise to the payment of sundry fees, and of the customary gratuities; but neither these claims, fees, or gratuities, do, in our opinion, furnish any objection to the payment of these balances into the Exchequer.

Lord Holland resigned this office in 1765; Mr. Charles Townshend in 1766; Lord North and Mr. Cooke in 1767; Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townshend in 1768; since which, sufficient time has elapsed for all the claimants upon these paymasters to have made their applications for payment. The public are not to be kept out of possession of large sums of their own money, nor public accounts to be kept open, because persons may have for so long a time neglected their own business: not that these claimants are without remedy after these accounts are closed; by applying either to the treasury, or to the war-office, as the case may require, their demands may be enquired into and satisfied, by proper warrants upon the paymaster in office.

The fees and gratuities become payable when the final accounts are ready to be passed in the office of the auditor of the imprest; how long it will be before the final accounts of these late paymasters will be in that situation, it is not easy to ascertain. John Lloyd, Esq. deputy auditor of the imprest

to

to Lord Sondes, informed us, that the final account of Lord Holland was delivered into that office in January, 1772; the final account of Mr. Charles Townſhend in July, 1777; the final account of Lord North and Mr. Cooke in October, 1779. John Bray, Eſq. deputy auditor to William Aiſlabie, Eſq. informed us, that the final and only account of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townſhend was delivered into that office in November, 1779. From an objection herein-after mentioned, made by the acting executor of Lord Holland, to the final cloſing of that account, and from the repreſentation given to us by theſe officers, of the ſituation in which the other accounts now are in the impreſt office, none of them appear to be in ſo advanced and perfect a ſtate as to give us reaſon to expect their ſpeedy completion; and therefore we do not think the payment of theſe balances into the Exchequer ought to be delayed until the accounts are ſettled, eſpecially as we ſee no reaſon why the paymaſter in office may not be authorized to pay, out of the public money in his hands, all the fees and gratuities, whenever they become payable.

Seeing, therefore, no objection to ariſe, from the ſervices or purpoſes to which theſe balances are ſtill applicable, to the payment of them into the Exchequer, we adverted to ſuch reaſons as might be ſuggeſted to us by the accountants themſelves, or by thoſe who have an intereſt or truſt in the funds out of which theſe balances muſt be paid. To this end we examined the Honourable Charles James Fox, Eſq. and John Powell, Eſq. executors of the late Lord Holland; Lady Greenwich, adminiſtratix to Mr. Charles Townſhend; Lord North, Mr. Thomas Townſhend, Col. George John Cooke, and Mr. Charles Molloy, deviſees of the eſtates of Mr. Geo. Cooke, late paymaſters-general of the forces.

Mr. Fox and Mr. Powell objected to the payment into the Exchequer of ſo much of the ſum of 256,456l. 8s. 2d. (being the balance in the hands of Mr. Powell as executor of the late Lord Holland) as may be affected by the deciſion of certain ſuits depending in the Court of Chancery. The ſum that may be ſo affected, according to Mr. Powell's account, amounts to 73,149l. 10s. 7d.

The ſtate of the proceedings in theſe ſuits is ſet forth in Mr. Powell's information to be as follows: ——The accounts of Mr. Robert Paris Taylor, one of the deputy paymaſters to Lord Holland, in Germany, during the late war, were examined in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, where he is ſurcharged with the ſum of 12,052l. 13s. 10d. halfpenny, which ſurcharge he controverts. In the beginning of laſt year, the executors of Lord Holland commenced two actions in the Court of King's-Bench againſt Mr. Taylor, and the executors and deviſees of Peter Taylor, his father, who was his ſurety, to recover the ſum of 28,185l. 9s. 5d¾, being the balance ſuppoſed to be due from him upon theſe accounts, in which ſum the ſurcharge is included. As the queſtion in theſe cauſes appears to be, whether Mr. Taylor was indebted to the executors of Lord Holland in this ſum, or any

part of it, the balance of public money in Mr. Powell's hands might be increaſed, but could not be diminiſhed by the event of theſe actions; and therefore Mr. Powell does not inſiſt upon retaining any part of this balance to ſecure him againſt ſuch event; but Mr. Taylor, and the deviſees of Peter Taylor, ſoon after filed two bills in the Court of Chancery againſt the executors of Lord Holland, ſuggeſting errors, and praying that theſe accounts may be taken in that court. Theſe cauſes have not yet come to a hearing; but the ground of Mr. Powell's claim to the detention of this ſum of 73,149l. 10s. 7d. as collected from his information, and the letter of his ſolicitor, appears to be this; that ſhould an account be decreed, every item in Mr. Taylor's accounts will be open to litigation; and Mr. Taylor having charged himſelf, before the auditors of the impreſt, with the ſum of 786,357 guilders, and 9 ſtivers, which is 73,149l. 10s. 7d. ſterling, as a profit to the public ariſing on money tranſactions in his department as deputy paymaſter, may ſuggeſt, in the progreſs of theſe cauſes, that he has erroneouſly charged himſelf with this ſum; and therefore Mr. Powell claims to retain it in his hands, to guard againſt the conſequences of a poſſible deciſion upon this ſum in Mr. Taylor's favour.

Subjects under litigation in a court of juſtice ſhould not be examined elſewhere without an abſolute neceſſity, and not even then but with great caution. This point coming thus incidentally before us, in the progreſs of an enquiry within our province, we may, without impropriety, venture to ſay, that in our opinion, the bare poſſibility that Mr. Taylor may, in the Court of Chancery, object to, and be diſcharged of a ſum he has charged himſelf with before the auditors of the impreſt, and which he was bound by his inſtructions to charge himſelf with, as a profit to the public, and to which, for aught that appears to us, he has never yet objected, but has, on the contrary, in part applied to the uſe of the public, is not a ſufficient reaſon for permitting the ſum of 73,149l. 10s. 7d. to continue in the hands of the executors of Lord Holland, until two ſuits in chancery, not yet heard, praying an account may be taken of the receipt of 913,405l. 6s. 2d$\frac{3}{4}$, and of the expenditure of 878,008l. 18s. 1d$\frac{1}{4}$, during upwards of four years of the late war in Germany, ſhall be finally determined in the court.

Lady Greenwich, Lord North, Mr. Thomas Townſhend, Colonel Cooke, and Mr. Molloy, do not object to the payment into the Exchequer of their balances; nor do Mr. Fox and Mr. Powell, as the reſidue of Lord Holland's balance, upon ſeverally receiving their quietus, or a ſecurity equivalent thereto.

Where accounts muſt be paſſed by the auditors of the impreſt, the payments into the Exchequer, made by the accountants, before the final adjuſtment, are payments upon account only; but ſhould theſe accountants be directed to pay in their full balances, they will be entitled to, and ought in juſtice to receive, a ſecurity and indemnification againſt all claims and payments whatever, to which the

the balances in their hands were subject; the fund poſſeſſed by the paymaſter in office being ſubſtituted in the place of theſe balances, to anſwer ſuch future claims and demands, the accountant himſelf will ſtand liable only to the errors and miſſions that may be diſcovered in the examination of his accounts, to the office appointed for auditing them: ſhould there be errors, he may either pay the balance to, or receive it from, the paymaſter in office, according as it may be determined; then, and not before, he will be entitled to his quietus, which being the formal official diſcharge of every public accountant, cannot but be ſubſequent to the complete examination, and the payment of the balance, if any, according to the final adjuſtment of his accounts.

Having, therefore, not heard, either from the accountants themſelves, or from thoſe who may be intereſted in our deciſions, any reaſons to alter our opinion, we conceive that the balance of public money now remaining in the hands of John Powell, Eſq. as the only acting executor of Lord Holland; and in the hands of Lady Greenwich, as adminiſtratix to Mr. Charles Townſhend, late paymaſter of the forces; and in the hands of Lord North, and of Mr. Thomas Townſhend, as late paymaſters of the forces, each jointly with Mr. George Cooke, deceaſed, ought to be paid into the Exchequer, to be applied to the public ſervice; and that ſuch payments ſhould be without prejudice, and a proper ſecurity and indemnification be given to each of them againſt any loſs or detriment that may accrue to them in conſequence of ſuch payment.

During the courſe of this enquiry, two circumſtances engaged our obſervation.

Firſt, the injury ſuſtained by the public from not having the uſe of the money remaining in the hands of the paymaſters of the forces after they have quitted the office. We procured from the pay-office, accounts of the balances and ſums received and paid every year, by each of theſe paymaſters, ſince they ſeverally went out of office. A computation of intereſt, at four per cent. per annum, upon theſe balances every year, from ſix months after they ſeverally reſigned the office, proves that the loſs by the money left in the hands of Lord Holland amounts, at ſimple intereſt, to 248,394l. 13s. of Mr. Charles Townſhend, to 24,247l. 3s. of Lord North and Mr. Cooke, to 18,775l. 3s. of Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townſhend, to 3,419l. 15s. Total, 294,836l. 14s.

Such has been the loſs ſuſtained by the public. Much does it behove them to guard againſt the poſſibility of the like evil for the future. If there exiſts in government no power to compel an accountant to diſcloſe his balance, and to deliver back to the public what their ſervice does not require he ſhould detain, it is time ſuch a power was created. If it does exiſt, the public good requires it ſhould be conſtantly exerted, within a reaſonable limited time after an accountant has quitted his office.

Secondly, The other circumſtance that claimed our attention is,

is, the delay in paſſing the accounts of the paymaſters of the forces.

The making up and paſſing theſe accounts is the concern of three different parties; the paymaſter, whoſe accounts they are; the pay-office, where they are made up; and the auditors office, where they are paſſed. The firſt ſtep muſt be taken by the pay-office; there the accounts muſt be made up, and from thence ſent with the vouchers to the auditors office, before they can be examined. Near forty-ſix millions were iſſued to Lord Holland; his final account was not delivered into the auditors office until ſeven years after his reſignation. Above two millions were iſſued to Mr. Charles Townſhend; his final account was not delivered until eleven years after his reſignation. Near two millions were iſſued to Lord North and Mr. Cooke; their final account was not delivered until twelve years after their reſignation. Five hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds were iſſued to Mr. Cooke and Mr. Thomas Townſhend; their only account was not delivered until eleven years after their reſignation.

In the office of the auditors of the impreſt, the cuſtom of not paſſing the accounts of a ſucceſſor, until the predeceſſors are completed, is a cauſe of delay. A diſpute with a deputy ſtops Lord Holland's accounts; but that can be no reaſon for delaying one moment the accounts of his ſucceſſors; they depend not upon, nor are connected with each other. It is regular to examine and paſs accounts in order of time; but in the caſe of the paymaſter's accounts, convenience, both public and private, will warrant a deviation from this rule. Every accountant has a material intereſt that his accounts ſhould be paſſed with diſpatch; the quiet of himſelf, his family, and fortune. It is not unreaſonable to preſume, that taking from an accountant his balance, may be a means of expediting the paſſing of his accounts; whilſt he holds a large ſum in his hands, he may be leſs anxious to come to a final adjuſtment, leſs eager to procure a quietus, the condition of which is the depriving himſelf of that balance.

We are proceeding to examine the ſum in the hands of the paymaſter general of the forces in office; but finding, from the variety and extent of his tranſactions, it will require a conſiderable time before we can obtain the knowledge neceſſary for forming a report, we judged it moſt conſonant to the ſpirit and intention of the act that regulates our conduct, to ſubmit, with all the diſpatch in our power, to the wiſdom of the legiſlature, the conſideration of a ſum of public money of ſuch magnitude as that now remaining in the poſſeſſion of the paymaſters general of the forces out of office.

GUY CARLETON, (L.S.)
T. ANGUISH, (L.S.)
A. PIGGOT, (L.S.)
RICHARD NEAVE, (L.S.)
SAM. BEACHCROFT, (L.S.)
GEO. DRUMMOND, (L.S.)

Office of Accounts, Bell-yard, 9th April, 1781.

Authentic

Authentic Copies of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King, his Most Catholic Majesty, and the United States of America, Signed at Versailles, the 20th of January, 1783.

Translation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majesty and the Most Christian King. Signed at Versailles, the 20th of January, 1783.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

THE King of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, equally animated with a desire of putting an end to the calamities of a destructive war, and of re-establishing union and good understanding between them, as necessary for the good of mankind in general as for that of their respective kingdoms, states, and subjects, have named for this purpose, viz. on the part of his Britannic Majesty Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, minister plenipotentiary of his said Majesty the King of Great Britain; and on the part of his Most Christian Majesty, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, counsellor in all his councils, commander of his orders, counsellor of state, minister and secretary of state, and of the commands and finances of his said Majesty, for the department of foreign affairs; who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

ARTICLE I. As soon as the preliminaries shall be signed and ratified, sincere friendship shall be re-established between his Britannic Majesty, and his Most Christian Majesty, their kingdoms, states, and subjects by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders shall be sent to the armies and squadrons, as well as to the subjects, of the two powers, to stop all hostilities, and to live in the most perfect union, forgetting what is passed, of which their sovereigns give them the order and example. And, for the execution of this article, sea-passes shall be given on each side for the ships which shall be dispatched to carry the news of it to the possessions of the said powers.

ART. II. His Majesty the King of Great Britain shall preserve in full right the island of Newfoundland, and the adjacent islands, in the same manner as the whole was ceded to him by the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, save the exceptions which shall be stipulated by the fifth article of the present treaty.

ART. III. His Most Christian Majesty, in order to prevent quarrels which have hitherto arisen between the two nations of England and France, renounces the right of fishing, which belongs to him by virtue of the said article of the treaty of Utrecht, from Cape Bonavista to Cape St. John, situated on the eastern coast of Newfoundland, in about 50 degrees of north latitude; whereby the French fishery shall commence at the said Cape St. John, shall go round by the North, and, going down the western coast of the island of Newfoundland, shall have for boundary the place called Cape Raye, situated in 47 degrees 50 minutes latitude.

ART. IV.

ART. IV. The French fishermen shall enjoy the fishery assigned them by the foregoing article, as they have a right to enjoy it by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht.

ART. V. His Britannic Majesty will cede in full right to his Most Christian Majesty the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

ART. VI. With regard to the right of fishing in the gulph of St. Laurence, the French shall continue to enjoy it conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris.

ART. VII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to France the island of St. Lucia, and shall cede and guarantee to her that of Tobago.

ART. VIII. The Most Christian King shall restore to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat; and the fortresses of those islands conquered by the arms of Great Britain and by those of France, shall be restored in the same condition in which they were when the conquest of them was made, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, shall be granted to the respective subjects of the Crowns of Great Britain and France, who may have settled in the said islands, and in other places which shall be restored by the definitive treaty, to sell their estates, recover their debts, and to transport their effects and retire without being restrained, on account of their religion, or any other whatever, except in cases of debt or of criminal prosecutions.

ART. IX. The King of Great Britain shall cede and guarantee in full right to his most Christian Majesty the river of Senegal and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin and Portendu. His Britannic Majesty shall restore, likewise, the island of Gorée, which shall be given up in the condition in which it was when the British arms took possession of it.

ART. X. The Most Christian King shall, on his side, guarantee to his Majesty the King of Great Britain the possession of Fort James and of the river Gambia.

ART. XI. In order to prevent all discussions in that part of the world, the two courts shall agree, either by the definitive treaty, or by a separate act, upon the boundaries to be fixed to their respective possessions. The gum trade shall be carried on in future as the English and French nations carried it on before the year 1755.

ART. XII. In regard to the rest of the coasts of Africa, the subjects of both powers shall continue to frequent them, according to the custom which has prevailed hitherto.

ART. XIII. The King of Great Britain shall restore to his Most Christian Majesty all the establishments which belonged to him at the commencement of the present war on the coast of Orixa, and in Bengal, with liberty to surround Chandernagor with a ditch for draining the waters; and his Britannic Majesty engages to take such measures as may be in his power for securing to the subjects of France in that part of India, as also on the coast of Orixa, Coromandel, and Malabar, a safe, free, and independent trade, such as

was

ss carried on by the late French East India company, whether it be carried on by them as individuals or as a company.

ART. XIV. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, ſhall likewiſe be reſtored, and guaranteed to France; and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall procure, to ſerve as a dependency round Pondicherry, the two diſtricts of Valanour and Bahour; and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans.

ART. XV. France ſhall again enter into poſſeſſion of Mahé, and of the Comptoir at Surat; and the French ſhall carry on commerce in this part of India conformably to the principles laid down in the thirteenth article of this treaty.

ART. XVI. In caſe France has allies in India, they ſhall be invited, as well as thoſe of Great Britain, to accede to the preſent pacification; and for that purpoſe a term of four months, to be computed from the day on which the propoſal ſhall be made to them, ſhall be allowed them to make their deciſion; and in caſe of refuſal on their part, their Britannic and Moſt Chriſtian Majeſties agree not to give them any aſſiſtance, directly or indirectly, againſt the Britiſh or French poſſeſſions, or againſt the ancient poſſeſſions of their reſpective allies; and their ſaid Majeſties ſhall offer them their good offices towards a mutual accommodation.

ART. XVII. The King of Great Britain, deſirous of giving his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty a ſincere proof of reconciliation and friendſhip, and of contributing to the ſolidity of the peace which is on the point of being re-eſtabliſhed, will conſent to the abrogation and ſuppreſſion of all the articles relative to Dunkirk, from the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht in 1713, incluſively to this time.

ART. XVIII. By the definitive treaty, all thoſe which have exiſted till now between the two high contracting parties, and which ſhall not have been derogated from either by the ſaid treaty, or by the preſent preliminary treaty, ſhall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts ſhall name commiſſioners to inquire into the ſtate of commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience. — The ſaid two courts ſhall together amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that buſineſs.

ART. XIX. All the countries and territories which may have been, or which may be, conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty, or by thoſe of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and which are not included in the preſent articles, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring compenſation.

ART. XX. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions and the evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, that the King of Great Britain ſhall cauſe to be evacuated the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner if it can be done; St. Lucia in the Weſt Indies, and Gorée in Africa, three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner if it

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can be done. The King of Great Britain shall, in like manner, at the end of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done, enter again into possession of the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

France shall be put into possession of the towns and comptoirs, which are restored to her in the East Indies, and of the territories which are procured for her, to serve as dependencies round Pondicherry, and round Karical, six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if it can be done.

France shall, at the end of the same term of six months, restore the towns and territories which her arms may have taken from the English or their allies in the East-Indies.

In consequence whereof, the necessary orders shall be sent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal passports for the ships which shall carry them, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. XXI. The prisoners made respectively by the arms of his Britannic Majesty, and his Most Christian Majesty, by land and by sea, shall be restored reciprocally, and bonâ fide, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, without ransom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity; and each crown shall respectively reimburse the sums which shall have been advanced for the subsistence and maintenance of their prisoners, by the sovereign of the country where they shall have been detained, according to the receipts and attested accounts, and other authentic titles which shall be produced on each side.

ART. XXII. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may be made at sea after the signing of these preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects, which may be taken in the channel and the north seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side. That the term shall be one month from the channel and north seas, as far as the Canary islands, inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean. Two months from the said Canary islands, as far as the equinoctial line or equator; and lastly five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any other more particular description of time and place.

ART. XXIII. The ratification of the present preliminary articles shall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the space of one month, or sooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present articles.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten ministers plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, and of his Most Christian Majesty, by virtue of our respective full powers, have signed the present preliminary articles, and have caused the seal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done

Done at Verſailles, the 20th day of January, 1783.

(L. S.) ALLEYNE FITZ-HERBERT.

(L. S.) GRAVIER de VERGENNES.

Tranſlation of the Preliminary Articles of Peace, between his Britannic Majeſty, and the Moſt Catholic King. Signed at Verſailles, the 20th of January, 1783.

IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HOLY TRINITY.

THE King of Great Britain and the King of Spain, equally animated with a deſire of putting an end to the calamities of a deſtructive war, and of re-eſtabliſhing union and good underſtanding between them, as neceſſary for the good of mankind in general, and for that of their reſpective kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects, have named for this purpoſe, viz. on the part of his Majeſty the King of Great Britain, Mr. Alleyne Fitz-Herbert, miniſter plenipotentiary of his ſaid Majeſty, and on the part of his Majeſty the King of Spain, Don Peter Paul Abarca de Bolea Ximines d'Urnea, &c. Count of Aranda and Caſtel Florido, Marquis of Torres, of Villaman and Rupit, Viſcount of Rueda and Yoch, Baron of the Baronies of Gavin, Sietano, Clamoſa, Enipol, Trazmoz, La Mata de Caſtil, Viego, Antillon, La Almolda, Cortes, Jorva, St. Genis, Robovillet; Oreau, and St. Colome de Farnes, Lord of the Tenance, and Honour of Alcalaten, the Valley of Rodellar, the caſtles and towns of Maella, Meſones, Tiurana, de Villaplana, Taradell, and Viladran, &c. Rico Hombre in Aragon, by birth, Grandee of Spain of the firſt claſs, Knight of the order of the Golden Fleece, and of that of the Holy Ghoſt, Gentleman of the King's Bed-chamber in employment, Captain-general of his Armies, and his Ambaſſador to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who, after having duly communicated to each other their full powers in good form, have agreed on the following Preliminary Articles:

ARTICLE I. As ſoon as the preliminaries ſhall be ſigned and ratified, ſincere friendſhip ſhall be eſtabliſhed between his Britannic Majeſty and his Catholic Majeſty, their kingdoms, ſtates, and ſubjects, by ſea and by land, in all parts of the world. Orders ſhall be ſent to the armies and ſquadrons, as well as to the ſubjects of the two powers, to ſtop all hoſtilities, and to live in the moſt perfect union, forgetting what has paſſed, of which their ſovereigns give them the order and example; and for the execution of this article, ſea-paſſes ſhall be given on each ſide for the ſhips which ſhall be diſpatched to carry the news of it to the poſſeſſions of the ſaid powers.

ART. II. His Catholic Majeſty ſhall keep the iſland of Minorca.

ART. III. His Britannic Majeſty ſhall cede to his Catholic Majeſty Eaſt Florida, and his Catholic Majeſty ſhall keep Weſt Florida, provided that the term of eighteen months, to be computed from

from the time of the ratification of the definitive treaty, ſhall be granted to the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty who are ſettled as well in the iſland of Minorca as in the two Floridas, to ſell their eſtates, recover their debts, and to tranſport their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained on account of their religion, or under any other pretence whatſoever, except that of debts and criminal proſecutions; and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall have power to cauſe all the effects that may belong to him in Eaſt Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away.

ART. IV. His Catholic Majeſty ſhall not for the future, ſuffer the ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty, or their workmen, to be diſturbed or moleſted, under any pretence whatſoever, in their occupation of cutting, loading and carrying away logwood, in a diſtrict of which the boundaries ſhall be fixed, and for this purpoſe they may build without hindrance, and occupy without interruption, the houſes and magazines neceſſary for them, for their families, and for their effects, in a place to be agreed upon, either in the definitive treaty, or within ſix months after the exchange of the ratifications; and his ſaid Catholic Majeſty aſſures to them, by this article, the entire enjoyment of what is above ſtipulated; provided that theſe ſtipulations ſhall not be conſidered as derogatory in any reſpect from the rights of his ſovereignty.

ART. V. His Catholic Majeſty ſhall reſtore to Great Britain, the iſlands of Providence and the Bahamas, without exception, in the ſame condition in which they were when they were conquered by the arms of the King of Spain.

ART. VI. All the countries and territories which may have been, or may be conquered in any part of the world whatſoever, by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty, or by thoſe of his Catholic Majeſty, and which are not included in our preſent articles, ſhall be reſtored without difficulty, and without requiring compenſations.

ART. VII. By the definitive treaty, all thoſe which have exiſted till now between the two high contracting parties, and which ſhall not be derogated from either by the ſaid treaty, or by the preſent preliminary treaty, ſhall be renewed and confirmed; and the two courts ſhall name commiſſioners to enquire into the ſtate of the commerce between the two nations, in order to agree upon new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience; and the two ſaid courts ſhall together, amicably fix a competent term for the duration of that buſineſs.

ART. VIII. As it is neceſſary to aſſign a fixed epoch for the reſtitutions and evacuations to be made by each of the high contracting parties, it is agreed, That the King of Great Britain ſhall cauſe Eaſt Florida to be evacuated three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or ſooner if it can be done.

The King of Great Britain ſhall likewiſe enter again into poſſeſſion of the Bahama iſlands, without exception, in the ſpace of three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

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In conſequence whereof, the neceſſary orders ſhall be ſent by each of the high contracting parties, with reciprocal paſſports for the ſhips, which ſhall carry them immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty.

ART. IX. The priſoners made reſpectively by the arms of his Britannic Majeſty, and his Catholic Majeſty, by ſea and by land, ſhall, immediately after the ratification of the definitive treaty, be reciprocally and *bona fide* reſtored without ranſom, and on paying the debts they may have contracted during their captivity, and each crown ſhall reſpectively reimburſe the ſums which ſhall have been advanced for the ſubſiſtence and maintenance of their priſoners by the ſovereign of the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts and atteſted accounts, and other authentic titles which ſhall be produced on each ſide.

ART. X. In order to prevent all cauſes of complaint and diſpute, which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of theſe preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed that the ſhips and effects which may be taken in the channel, or in the north ſeas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the preſent preliminary articles, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide.

That the term ſhall be one month from the channel, and the north ſeas as far as the Canary iſlands incluſively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean: two months from the ſaid Canary iſlands as far as the equinoctial line, or equator, and, laſtly, five months in all parts of the world without exception, or other more deſcription of time and place.

ART. XI. The ratifications of the preſent preliminary articles ſhall be expedited in good and due form, and exchanged in the ſpace of one month, or ſooner if it can be done, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent articles.

In witneſs whereof, we the under-written miniſters plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty and of his Catholic Majeſty, by virtue of our reſpective powers, have agreed upon and ſigned theſe preliminary articles, and have cauſed the ſeal of our arms to be put thereto.

Done at Verſailles, the 20th day of January, 1783.

ALLEYNE FITZHERBERT, (L. S.)
LE COMTE D'ARANDA, (L. S.)

Articles agreed upon by and between Richard Oſwald, *Eſq. the Commiſſioner of his Britannic Majeſty for treating of Peace with the Commiſſioners of the* United States *of* America, *in behalf of his ſaid Majeſty, on the one part, and* John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, *and* Henry Laurens, *four of the Commiſſioners of the ſaid* States *for treating of Peace with the Commiſſioner of his ſaid Majeſty, on their behalf, on the other part; to be inſerted in and to conſtitute the Treaty of Peace propoſed to be concluded between the Crown of* Great Britain *and the ſaid* United States; *but which Treaty is not to be concluded until Terms of a Peace ſhall be agreed upon between* Great Britain *and* France; *and his Britannic*

tannic Majesty shall be ready to conclude such Treaty accordingly.

WHEREAS reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states, it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages, those seeds of discord, being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony.

ART. I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusets Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be Free, Sovereign, and Independent States; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claim to the government, propriety, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof: and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States, may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz.

ART. II. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of Saint Croix River to the Highlands; along the said islands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Laurence from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the northwestermost head of Connecticut River, thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the River Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario, thro' the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and Lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water communication into the Lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior, northward of the Isles Royal and Phelipeaux, to the Long Lake, thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the River Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said River Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the River Apalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the

Flint

Flint River; thence ſtrait to the head of Saint Mary's River; and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's River to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the River Saint Croix, from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its ſource, and from its ſource directly north to the aforeſaid highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from thoſe which fall into the River St. Lawrence; comprehending all iſlands within twenty leagues of any part of the ſhores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due eaſt from the points where the aforeſaid boundaries, between Nova Scotia on the one part, and Eaſt Florida on the other, ſhall reſpectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean; excepting ſuch iſlands as now are, and heretofore have been, within the limits of the ſaid province of Nova Scotia.

ART III. It is agreed that the people of the United States ſhall continue to enjoy unmoleſted the right to take fiſh of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other Banks of Newfoundland; alſo in the Gulph of St. Laurence, and at all other places in the ſea, where the inhabitants of both countries uſed at any time heretofore to fiſh; and alſo that the inhabitants of the United States ſhall have liberty to take fiſh of every kind on ſuch part of the coaſt of Newfoundland as Britiſh fiſhermen ſhall uſe (but not to dry or cure the ſame on that iſland) and alſo on the coaſts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic Majeſty's dominions in America; and that the American fiſhermen ſhall have liberty to dry and cure fiſh in any of the unſettled bays, harbours, and creeks, of Nova Scotia, Magdalen iſlands, and Labrador, ſo long as the ſame ſhall remain unſettled, but ſo ſoon as the ſame or either of them ſhall be ſettled, it ſhall not be lawful for the ſaid fiſhermen to dry or cure fiſh at ſuch ſettlement, without a previous agreement for that purpoſe with the inhabitants, proprietors, or poſſeſſors of the ground.

ART. IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either ſide, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in ſterling money, of all *bona fide* debts heretofore contracted.

ART. V. It is agreed that the Congreſs ſhall earneſtly recommend it to the legiſlatures of the reſpective States, to provide for the reſtitution of all eſtates, rights, and properties, which have been confiſcated, belonging to real Britiſh ſubjects, and alſo of the eſtates, rights, and properties of perſons reſident in diſtricts, in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's arms, and who have not borne arms againſt the ſaid United States. And that perſons of any other deſcription ſhall have free liberty to go into any part or parts of any of the Thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmoleſted in their endeavours to obtain the reſtitution of ſuch of their eſtates, rights and properties, as may have been confiſcated; and that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral States a reconſideration and reviſion of all acts or laws regarding the premiſes, ſo as to render the ſaid laws or acts perfectly conſiſtent not only with juſtice and equity, but with that ſpirit of conciliation, which on the return of the bleſſings of peace

peace ſhould univerſally prevail. And that Congreſs ſhall alſo earneſtly recommend to the ſeveral States, that the eſtates, rights and properties of ſuch laſt-mentioned perſons ſhall be reſtored to them; they refunding to any perſons who may be now in poſſeſſion the *bona fide* price (where any has been given) which ſuch perſons may have paid on purchaſing any of the ſaid lands or properties ſince the confiſcation.

And it is agreed, That all perſons who have any intereſt in confiſcated lands, either by debts, marriage ſettlements, or otherwiſe, ſhall meet with no lawful impediment in the proſecution of their juſt rights.

ART. VI. That there ſhall be no future confiſcations made, nor any proſecutions commenced againſt any perſon or perſons for or by reaſon of the part which he or they may have taken in the preſent war; and that no perſon ſhall, on that account, ſuffer any future loſs or damage, either in his perſon, liberty, or property, and that thoſe who may be in confinement on ſuch charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, ſhall be immediately ſet at liberty, and the proſecutions ſo commenced be diſcontinued.

ART. VII. There ſhall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic Majeſty and the ſaid States, and between the ſubjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hoſtilities both by ſea and land ſhall then immediately ceaſe: all priſoners on both ſides ſhall be ſet at liberty, and his Britannic Majeſty ſhall, with all convenient ſpeed, and without cauſing any deſtruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the Americ inhabitants, withdraw all his a mies, garriſons, and fleets fro the ſaid United States, and fro every port, place, and harbo within the ſame; leaving in fortifications the American arti lery that may be therein: a ſhall alſo order, and cauſe all a chives, records, deeds, and paper belonging to any of the ſa States, or their citizens, which the courſe of the war may ha fallen into the hands of his off cers, to be forthwith reſtored an delivered to the proper States an perſons to whom they belong.

ART. VIII. The navigatio of the Miſſiſſippi, from its ſourc to the ocean, ſhall for ever remai free and open to the ſubjects Great Britain and the citizens the United States.

ART. IX. In caſe it ſhould happen, that any place or terri tory belonging to great Britain to the United States, ſhould b conquered by the arms of eithe from the other, before the ar rival of theſe articles in America it is agreed, that the ſame ſha be reſtored without difficulty, an without requiring any compen ſation.

Done at Paris the 13th day o November, in the year 1782.

RICHARD OSWALD, (L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS, (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN, (L. S.)
JOHN JAY, (L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS, (L. S.)

Witneſs,
CALEB WHITEFOORD,
Secretery to the Britiſh Commiſſion.
W. S. FRANKLIN,
Secretary to the American Commiſſion.

CHA-

CHARACTERS.

Character of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR; *from Dr.* BEVER'S *Legal Polity of the Roman State.*

IT has been the fate of this prince, in common with many others in the ſame exalted ſtation, to be tranſmitted to poſterity in two oppoſite views*; both of which being too much diſguiſed by falſe colours, it is as difficult to cleanſe him from the dark ſtains of calumny, as from the gaudy ſmear of adulation. It would be needleſs to repeat what has ſo often been urged on each ſide, upon ſo intereſting and popular a topic; ſuffice it, therefore, to indulge our curioſity with a few obſervations upon one particular part of this celebrated character, which has been the ſubject of more general cenſure; and for which his conduct too often ſupplied occaſion.

As we are not now attempting to draw the ſpotleſs portrait of a patriot king, a prodigy which never exiſted, unleſs in the reveries of viſionary politicians, we are not concerned about what he ought to have been, but to repreſent him as he actually was. If, by throwing a ſhade over thoſe defects, where it can be introduced with propriety, we can ſoften their harſh appearance; if by accounting for ſome dubious inſtances of his behaviour, upon principles that are leſs diſgraceful to the human heart, there may be a chance of approaching nearer to the real truth; we ſhall then enjoy the pleaſing opportunity of doing ſome little juſtice to the memory of a very eminent perſonage; who, with all his blemiſhes, was both an ornament and bleſſing to his country.

All his defamers, whether ancient or modern, ſeem, as it were, to have been angry with him, for ceaſing to be a tyrant, becauſe he undoubtedly was ſuch, when he firſt preſumed to place himſelf at the head of the commonwealth; ſtriving to make us believe, that a profound hypocriſy predominated through the very beſt of his actions†; as if a man who had been once bad could not poſſibly reform; and every token of re-

* "Apud prudentes, vita ejus varie extollebatur, arguebaturve." Tac. Ann. 1. 9. Their ſentiments are to be found at large in the ſame paſſage.

† "Pietatem erga parentem, et tempora reipublicæ, obtentui ſumpta." Tac. Ann. 1. 10.

pentance for paſt miſconduct were only to add one more vice to his former number.

That Auguſtus wanted that greatneſs of mind, that fearleſs openneſs of heart, which were the peculiar characteriſtics of Julius Cæſar, may be admitted, without being imputed as a crime. The complexion of the ſoul, in its original formation, is no more within a man's own power, than the complexion of his countenance. Both, indeed, may be improved by labour and cultivation; but, in conſequence of certain natural defects, cannot, with all the art of man, be heightened into abſolute perfection.

Allowing him, therefore, to have been inferior in theſe natural endowments, it was, at worſt, only his misfortune. But had he been poſſeſſed of them in a ſtill more exalted degree, the very temper of the times would have prevented him from exerting them in their full latitude. Surrounded as he was with a miſcellaneous multitude, it behoved him to ſtudy their diſpoſitions, and to watch their motions, in order to guard againſt the machinations, either of open enemies, or treacherous friends. The inſtance of his illuſtrious anceſtor, ſtill bleeding before his eyes, who had himſelf fallen a victim to his too great contempt of ſuſpicion, admoniſhed him to beware of the concealed dagger, to ſtifle his reſentment, and look with complacency, even upon his ſuſpected aſſaſſin.

This conſtant reſerve and circumſpection, therefore, was the natural conſequence of that perilous eminence whereon he ſtood without implying the leaſt malicious deſign againſt the peace and liberties of his country. On the contrary, if actions ſpeak the man we ſhall be well juſtified in affirming, that, tyrannically as he began his career, the virtues of the Prince were a reaſonable atonement for the vices of the Triumvir. When once diſengaged from his pernicious connexions with his abandoned aſſociates*, and in quiet poſſeſſion of an imperial throne, his life was tainted with fewer groſs blemiſhes, than generally fall to the lot of thoſe whom Providence has been pleaſed to intruſt with any portion of ſovereign authority.

A courſe of near forty years indefatigably employed in the faithful adminiſtration of juſtice; in preſerving an immenſe dominion in a general ſtate of union and tranquillity; in cultivating the arts of peace; in improving the comforts and elegancies of domeſtic life; and in the exerciſe of every other benevolent and patriotic virtue; clearly diſplays the real complexion of the heart, and loudly calls upon all mankind to give it full credit for ſincerity.

If to accompliſh theſe beneficial and noble purpoſes; if, the moſt effectually to govern a ſeditious people, long uſed to all the wildneſs of licentiouſneſs, he found it neceſſary, on occaſion, to ſtud-

* "Multa Antonio, ut intefectores patris ulciſceretur, multa Lepido conceſ-
"ſiſſe. Poſtquam hic ſocordia ſenuerit, ille per libidines peſſum datus ſit,
"non aliud diſcordantis patriæ remedium fuiſſe, quam ut ab uno regeretur."
Tac. Ann. 1. 9.

thei-

their inclinations, to temporize with their humours, to reſtrain or conceal his own love of abſolute power, and to alleviate the weight of the yoke, that they might all bear it with greater chearfulneſs; theſe are no other than the laudable artifices of the moſt conſummate wiſdom; ſuch as the ſoundeſt policy need not bluſh to avow, nor the mildeſt government to practiſe. To ſtigmatize ſuch behaviour with the odious names of hypocriſy or cowardice, is not only a violation of the firſt principles of common charity; but it is (what the great ſatiriſt knew to be too deeply rooted in the nature of man) a malicious joy in miſconſtruing and inverting the moral qualities of human actions *.

But had the heart of this illuſtrious prince been ſo truly corrupt, we ſhould never have ſeen the pen of his profeſt encomiaſt glowing with ſuch rapturous praiſes of political liberty; nor the moſt firm and ſtubborn champion of it that Rome ever beheld, the avowed and irreconcileable enemy of the whole blood of the Cæſars, drawn under that moſt ſublime and majeſtic of all characters, the giver of laws to the bleſſed ſpirits in Elyſium †. Much leſs ſhould we have heard the inhuman Mezentius ſo warmly imprecating thoſe calamities, which had undeſervedly fallen upon his innocent and amiable ſon Lauſus; and pathetically confeſſing the juſtice of thoſe puniſhments, which he then ſuffered from the well-grounded reſentment of his much injured people ‡. This is too bold and dangerous a language for a poet to echo in the ears of a tyrant; had Auguſtus, therefore, actually merited that opprobrious name, where *now* would have been the works of Virgil? He who reſcued his memory from oblivion, and gave immortality to his muſe, contrary to the expreſs will of the too modeſt author,

* "At nos virtutes ipſas invertimus, atque
"Sincerum cupimus vas incruſtare.———
———"Hic fugit omnes
"Inſidias, nulloque malo caput obdit opertum;
"(Cum genus hoc inter vitæ verſamur, ubi acris
"Invidia, atque vigent ubi crimina) pro bene ſano
"Ac non incauto, fictum aſtutumque vocamus."
Hor. Sat. 1. 3. 55. &c.

Obſervations, which apply ſo very cloſely to the caſe before us, that one would almoſt imagine them introduced by this ingenious ſatiriſt, as an obſique anſwer to ſome malevolent aſperſions, which might have been thrown out againſt the character of his princely patron.

† "Secretoſque pios, his dantem jura Catonem."
Virg. Æn. 8. 670.

‡ "Idem ego, nate, tuum maculavi crimine nomen;
"Pulſus ob invidiam ſolio ſceptriſque paternis,
"Debueram patriæ pœnas; odiiſque meorum
"Omnes per mortes animam fontem ipſe dediſſem."
Æn. 10. 851. &c.

A confeſſion likewiſe which, in a manner, he repeats with his dying breath;

"Scio acerba meorum
"Circumſtare odia." Ib. v. 904.

muſt not only have admired his genius, but have applauded his principles.

The prince, therefore, who at once profeſſes himſelf a friend to learning, and an enemy to liberty; who ſtrives to enlighten the underſtanding of his ſubjects, only to make them more ſenſible of their own wretchedneſs; is a monſter, which human nature, pregnant as ſhe is with contradictions, has very rarely exhibited to the eye of the world. It is the bleſſed property of the liberal arts, to mollify the rudeneſs of the manners, and to calm the natural ferocity of the paſſions. The rank and poiſonous weeds of ſlavery will ſhrink and wither away, when overſhadowed by the luxuriant and fertile branches of ſound literature.

The court of Auguſtus was the true ſeat of politeneſs and humanity; and was adorned with the brighteſt conſtellation of genuine wits, that ever ſhone at the ſame inſtant in any age or country, from the beginning of time. In this ſacred aſylum, every ſcience that could harmonize the mind, or improve the heart, was ſure of being embraced with the moſt cordial affection. Inſpired, himſelf, by a mature education, with the warmeſt zeal for every kind of ingenuous and uſeful knowledge *, he neither wanted judgment to diſcern real abilities in others, nor generoſity to reward them. To preſide in the aſſemblies of the poets, orators, hiſtorians and philoſophers, to ſubmit his own productions to their candid and friendly criticiſms, were among the moſt favourite amuſements of his leiſure hours; and while he liſtened with attentive pleaſure to the rehearſals of their elegant compoſitions, his ſmiles gave life to genius, and wings to emulation †. Honours ſo judiciouſly conferred redounded with double luſtre upon his own character ‡. A mind occupied in ſuch rational and benevolent purſuits, could find no room for the lawleſs ſuggeſtions of ambition or power; but, at perfect eaſe in itſelf, was able to ſtrike even his enemies with awe and reverence; and, without one painful effort, to ſecure to a wide and extenſive empire the ſubſtantial comforts of univerſal peace, and domeſtic happineſs.

Neither was it leſs to his glory to have had a Mæcenas for his friend and counſellor, whoſe houſehold was the conſummate model of refined elegance; where modeſt merit never wanted a patron; where friendſhip dwelt without jealouſy, erudition without contention, wit without petulence, and where the moſt accompliſhed

* "Eloquentiam ſtudiaque liberalia ab ætate prima cupidè et laborioſiſſimè "exercuit." Suet. in Aug. 84. "Multa varii generis proſa oratione compoſuit, "ex quibus nonnulla in cætu familiarium, velut in auditorio, recitavit." Ib. 85.

† "Ingenia omnibus modis fovit. Recitantes et benigne et patienter audi- "vit: nec tantum carmina et hiſtorias, ſed et orationes et dialogos." Suet. in Aug. 89.

‡ "At neque dedecorant tua de ſe judicia, atque
"Munera, quæ multâ dantis cum laude tulerunt,
"Dilecti tibi Virgilius Variuſque poetæ."
Hor. Ep. 2. 1. 245.

ſcholars

ſcholars of the age were rivals in excellence, without envy *. This is not the policy of real tyrants, whoſe ſovereignty has often no firmer baſis than the ſupineneſs and ignorance of their people; and whoſe intereſt it is to diſcountenance all ſolid learning, and ingenious inveſtigations of the common rights of mankind, that may help to expoſe the weak and rotten foundations of deſpotiſm.

Upon the whole, therefore, after making all reaſonable allowances for the infirmities of human nature in general; for thoſe temptations to which the great and powerful are more particularly expoſed; and for the very defective ideas of moral rectitude, under the imperfect ſyſtem of religion at that time univerſally prevailing; we may venture to pronounce, that the virtues of Auguſtus far outweighed his vices; and to enroll him in the catalogue of thoſe princes, who have been a bleſſing to their country, and an ornament to a throne.

Character of JUSTINIAN; *from the ſame Author.*

HAVING thus brought down the hiſtory of the Roman Law to its final reformation, it may be worth while to take a ſhort view of the character of this great prince, to whom the world will lie under a perpetual obligation for theſe inеſtimable treaſures. This character, which he had himſelf carefully erected upon the moſt ſolid baſis of wiſdom, juſtice, and munificence, received its due ſhare of applauſe from ſuch impartial judges as beſt knew how to

* "Domus hâc nec purior ulla eſt,
"Nec magis his aliena malis; nil illî officit unquam,
"Ditior hic, aut eſt quia doctior; eſt locus unicuique ſuus."
Ib. Sat. 1. 9. 49.

The ſame poet, in another paſſage, gives this affectionate account of ſeveral of his moſt intimate friends;

"Plotius, et Varius Sinueſſæ, Virgiliuſque
"Occurrunt; animæ, quales neque candidiores
"Terra tulit, neque queis me ſit devinctior alter.
"O, qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
"Nil ego contulerim jucundo ſanus amico."
Sat. 1. 5. 40.

And in another he ſeems to have deſcribed, in one view, almoſt the whole ſociety of learned men, with whom he ſpent the beſt part of his life;

"Plotius et Varius, Mæcenas, Virgiliuſque,
"Valgius et probet hæc Octavius optimus, atque
"Fuſcus, et hæc utinam Viſcorum laudet uterque.
"Ambitione relegatâ te dicere poſſum,
"Pollio; te, Meſſala, tuo cum fratre; ſimulque
"Vos Bibuli, et Servi; ſimul his te, candide Furni;
"Complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
"Prudens prætereo: quibus hæc, ſint qualiacunque,
"Arridere velim: doliturus, ſi placeant ſpe
"Deteriùs noſtra."
Ib. Sat. 1. 10. 81. &c.

appreciate its merits, though it often ſuffered the rude attacks of abuſe and obloquy; a common tribute, which the moſt virtuous and patriotic ſovereigns, in all ages and countries, have ever paid to envy, diſcontent, and faction. But, towards the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, a very black cloud was ſuddenly ſpread over it, in conſequence of a manuſcript, which the malicious induſtry of a Popiſh bigot had brought out of ſome obſcure corner of the Vatican, and introduced to the world with all the parade and confidence of authentic hiſtory.

Though this extraordinary compoſition had neither beginning nor ending, name nor date, to determine by whom or when it was written, it was boldly fathered upon Procopius*; a perſon whoſe diſtinguiſhed learning and abilities had recommended him to the favour of the emperors Anaſtaſius and Juſtin, by the latter of whom he was appointed aſſeſſor, or counſellor, to the famous Beliſarius. By the advantage of this ſituation, wherein he continued for a long term of years, he was enabled to write a very exact and elegant hiſtory of thoſe times, which he publiſhed, much to the ſatisfaction of Juſtinian; and, without any apparent adulation or bitterneſs had related what he either then knew, or believed to be fact.

It is aſſerted indeed by ſome later authors, that, finding himſelf afterwards deceived in certain particulars, which he had repreſented too much in favour of that emperor, he intended to correct theſe miſtakes; and it is probable that he did actually publiſh ſomething to that effect. But it is very obſervable, that the author, who gives a catalogue of the works of Procopius, calls it by a name implying only a *retractation*† of ſome former errors, and of a much more confined ſignification than the title given to the book in queſtion; which contains a great variety of detached ſtories, bearing little or no relation to what Procopius had ſaid in his former hiſtory, and conſequently could not be the thing he then profeſſed to publiſh.

This circumſtance entirely deſtroys the proof of the identity of the author, upon which the editor ſo much relies, and which he endeavours to eſtabliſh upon the credit of Suidas; who mentions, that a book, under the name of *Anecdotes*, was written by Procopius, full of ſevere reflections upon Juſ-

* The title of this work is, "Ανεκδοτα, ſeu Arcana Hiſtoria." It was firſt publiſhed at Lyons, in 1623, by one Nicholaus Alemannus, with a very ingenious and artful Preface, and a variety of learned and entertaining annotations, all well calculated to impoſe upon a negligent or prejudiced reader; and, as ſuch, it gained conſiderable credit with many, eſpecially the zealous friends of the Holy See. It is likewiſe reprinted, in a very pompous and magnificent manner, among the other *Byzantine Hiſtorians*, at Paris, in 1663.

† Το δε τεταρτον, ΑΝΤΙΡΡΗΣΙΣ εστιν, ων προς Ιουστινιανον ειρηκε δι' ετερων ποιων, και ως αν τις παλινῳδια των αυτω μη καλως ειρημενων. Niceph. Call. lib. 17. c. 10. edit. Par. 1630.

tinian

tinian and his empreſs Theodora, as well as upon Beliſarius and his wife*. From hence, and likewiſe from divers extracts made by Suidas, which correſpond with the preſent work, he concludes it muſt neceſſarily be the ſame that was written by Procopius.

But the age in which this lexicographer lived is wholly unknown; and it is certain, that his original text has been ſo much interpolated and corrupted in later times, that men of the beſt learning entertain great doubts of its authority †. The utmoſt, therefore, that can be collected from theſe premiſes, is, that a book of this kind was publiſhed; but it cannot go ſo far as to aſcertain the real author. The moſt general conjecture is, that he muſt have been ſome obſcure and contemptible ſcribbler, who, diſguſted with Juſtinian on account of certain religious diſputes, which then raged with the moſt unſeemly violence, could think of no better mode of revenge, than to fall foul upon his character.

In fact, as it has been very properly obſerved by a judicious writer of the laſt century, "whoever was the real author, it does "almoſt as much prejudice to the "reputation of Procopius, as it "hurts the memory of the emperor ‡." The verboſe and affected ſtyle, with the deſultory and incoherent arrangement of facts, are the reverſe of every thing that can be included within the deſcription of judgment or ſcholarſhip. The charges brought againſt Juſtinian, of vice, oppreſſion, and cruelty, are ſo numerous and exaggerated, that, if true, ſo far from enjoying his crown and life, as he actually did, for near forty years, a people, who had but the loweſt degree of feeling for their own comfort, would not have ſuffered ſuch a tyrant to have lived an hour. And, what amounts to the moſt unqueſtionable ſelf-refutation of all others, the tales with which it abounds are ſo monſtrous, incredible, and unnatural, that they would be a diſgrace to the moſt fabulous legends, in the darkeſt periods of Popiſh ignorance and ſuperſtition §. Neither are they ſtronger

* Προκοπιος—γεγονεν επι των χρονων Ιυστινιανε τε βασιλεως, ὑπογραφευς χενματισας Βελισαριε, και ακολουθος καθα παντας της συμβαινλας πολεμους τε και τιξεις, και ὑπ' αὐτε συγγραφεισας, ιγρεψε και ἑτερον βιβλιον, τα καλουμενα ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ, των αὐτων πραξεων· ὡς εἰναι αμφοτερα τα βιβλια δ. το βιβλιον Προκοπιε το καλουμενον ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ, ψογος και καμωδια Ιυστινιανε τε βασιλεως τυγχανει, και της αυτε γυναικος, Θεοδωρας· αλλα μην και αυτε Βελισαριε, και της γαμετης αυτε. Suidas in voce, Προκοπιος. edit. Lud. Kuſteri, Cantab. 1705.

† V. Præf. Lud. Kuſt. 2d. edit. ut ſup.

‡ Howell's Hiſt. Mundi, pt. 3. c. 2. ſect. 3. § 67.

§ Among theſe ſtories, ſome of the moſt curious are, That Juſtinian was begotten upon his mother by a dæmon:—That his head was formed of an aerial ſubſtance, which often ſeemed to evaporate, ſo that he was ſeen to walk about without any upon his ſhoulders:—That a holy Monk, once coming to preſent a petition to him, on approaching the throne, inſtead of an emperor, ſaw it filled with a frightful ſpectre.—That the empreſs Theodora had frequently carnal communications with infernal ſpirits; with others of equal authority, which the reader, if he thinks it worth his while, may find at length in the work itſelf, c. 12.

proofs of the wickedneſs, than of the folly or inſanity, both of the author himſelf, and of thoſe who have ſo earneſtly endeavoured to impoſe him upon the public, as an object worthy of attention.

Procopius was a man of the world, univerſally eſteemed for his knowledge and probity; who had enjoyed the ſame high and honourable ſtation, under no leſs than three ſucceſſive emperors, for a long courſe of years; and under one of the beſt and greateſt generals that Rome, or, perhaps, any other nation, could ever boaſt of; by all of whom he was reſpected, cheriſhed, and rewarded. The ſpirit, dignity, and correctneſs, with which the hiſtory of his own times is written, plainly ſhew, that he ſcorned either to flatter or fear. He publiſhed it at the earneſt encouragement of an able and diſcerning prince, who could receive honeſt praiſe and honeſt cenſure with the ſame complacence and equanimity.

If, amidſt the complicated variety of facts, which the vaſt extent of his ſubject required him to relate, he had been guilty of any material errors, it did him honour to confeſs and retract them upon conviction. But what he had aſſerted as a man of honour, he would recant as a man of honour. He would have been aſhamed to oppoſe unmerited praiſe with baſe calumny, or to rectify miſtakes by improbable falſehoods, or incredible fables. Could he have condeſcended to proſtitute his pen in ſo vile and prepoſterous a work as that now imputed to him, he muſt, in the firſt inſtance, have been a moſt abject ſycophant; in the other, a moſt ſlanderous aſſaſſin. But, as hiſtory will juſtify no ſuch ſuppoſitions, this worthy and learned hiſtorian ſtands fairly acquitted, in the eyes of all perſons of moderation and conſcience. The real author, whoever he be, from his mere inſignificance and obſcurity, eſcapes that infamy and deteſtation which his memory well deſerves; and the whole diſgrace falls upon the editor and his abettors; who, with abilities and erudition equal to a more honourable employment, reſcued this deſpicable libel out of its congenial darkneſs, for the avowed purpoſe of blaſting the good name of this accompliſhed and diſcerning prince, who ſo wiſely checked the infant pride, and humbled the riſing arrogance, of the fictitious ſucceſſors of St. Peter.

Politically ſpeaking, the deſign was artful and well-timed. Theſe aſpiring pontiffs, who, for ſeveral paſt ages, had held the whole Chriſtian world in the moſt humiliating ſtate of thraldom, under the impious claim to a divine commiſſion, had the mortification to perceive that many rich and potent kingdoms had ſhaken off their fetters. They found themſelves engaged with the temporal princes of Europe, whoſe underſtandings were more enlightened than formerly with the beams of ſound learning; who knew how to oppoſe authority with authority; who could trace this uſurped power up to its original ſources, and ſay, "that from the begin-" ning it was not ſo;" who thoſe were, whoſe ſuperſtitious timidity gave new life to their ſpiritual inſolence; and who had the courage to reſtrain and puniſh it. They could ſay — this was Juſtinian — this

this was he who, in virtue of his own ſupremacy, ſummoned the fifth œcumenical council at Conſtantinople, and ſent Virgilius, that turbulent Biſhop of Rome, into exile; from whence he ſuffered him not to return, till his infallibility condeſcended to ſet his hand to the deciſions of that aſſembly, to which he at firſt had refuſed his aſſent *.

No effort was to be left untried to weaken the force of ſo dangerous a precedent. When, therefore, ſome fortunate accident, as it moſt probably was, brought to light this muſty fragment, imperfect as it was, it ſupplied the quiver of ſlander with plenty of new ſhafts againſt the common enemy; and, furniſhing no evidence whereby to authenticate itſelf, it was eaſily in the power of an ingenious and artful commentator to aſcribe it to whomſoever he pleaſed, and to place it in thoſe hands where it would do the moſt execution.

Thus did it fall to the lot of Procopius. But whoever will take the trouble to peruſe the dedication and preface of the editor, and conſider the bitterneſs and acrimony with which they are penned, will inſtantly perceive, that the ſuppoſed inſults upon the dignity of the Holy See were the grand ſprings of their reſentment; that theſe were the tones the moſt in uniſon with the maſter-ſtrings of their paſſions; and that malice and revenge could have been the only motives for impoſing ſuch traſh upon the public, which deſerved no better fate than what it had already in part ſuffered, to be food for worms. Upon the whole, it is hoped that what has been here advanced, to reſcue a reſpectable author from the infamy of being the parent of ſuch ſpurious offſpring, will be admitted to ſtand upon much more ſubſtantial foundations than mere uncertain conjecture †.

It may poſſibly be expected, that ſome notice ſhould be likewiſe taken of Juſtinian's ingratitude and cruel treatment of the great Beliſarius, whereby he is reported to have deprived him of his eyeſight, and to have expoſed him, in his old age, to every extreme of poverty and contempt. This calumny was firſt broached by a later author, named Crinitus, of little note or reputation; but, being of a nature well calculated to affect the paſſions, has received by far the greateſt degree of its credit from the pathetic pencils of a Vandyke and a Salvator Roſa. This, however, is too groſs a fable almoſt to require confutation. Not one of the hiſtorians who lived near thoſe times has given the leaſt hint to juſtify ſuch a ſuppoſition: on the contrary, though

* Moſh. Hiſt. Eccl. pt. 2. c. 3. § 11.

† For further ſatisfaction on this ſubject, the reader is referred to the Prefaces themſelves, as prefixed to the edition of the ΑΝΕΚΔΟΤΑ before mentioned; or to the refutation of it by Hein. Hiſt. Jur. Civ. § 384. in which he has pointed out the principal foreign writers who have taken up the queſtion in favour of Juſtinian: and more particularly to the learned Dr. Howell, Hiſt. Mun. pt. 3. c. 2. ſect. 3. § 61. ad fin. who lived not long after the publication, and ſeems to have engaged in the controverſy with equal learning and candour.

Beli-

Beliſarius, either through the malice of his enemies, or his own imprudence, fell into a temporary diſgrace, it is certain, from very good authority *, that Juſtinian ſoon became ſenſible of his injuries; that he reſtored this preſerver of his country to his fortune and ſtation, and that he died, far advanced in years, in the arms of plenty, peace, and honour.

To cloſe the whole in as few words as poſſible, we ſhall now give a ſhort ſketch of the moſt ſtriking parts of this prince's conduct, which are univerſally admitted to be true both by friends and enemies, from which every reader of diſcernment will eaſily form his own judgment, as the defects of his character in no wiſe depreciate the merit of his laws.

On his firſt appearance as the deſigned ſucceſſor to the throne, he gave the public a rather unfavourable opinion of his regard for decorum; by prevailing upon his illiterate and ſuperannuated uncle to repeal ſome laws of Conſtantine and Valentinian, which, to preſerve the dignity and purity of the ſenatorian families, had forbidden all perſons of that rank to marry proſtitutes, or any other women in ſuch baſe and infamous ſtations of life †. This gave a licence to many mean and unequal matches; though the principal view of Juſtinian was, to enable himſelf to eſpouſe a woman of the ſame low and diſreputable occupation; which was ſtill more extraordinary, as he was then at a time of life when, generally ſpeaking, men are paſt the age of being martyrs to love and too young to dote. Indeed it has been univerſally allowed, that this lady, whoſe name was Theodora, was poſſeſſed of ſuch a bewitching delicacy of features, animated with ſuch an exquiſite wit and ſprightly converſation, that however reprehenſible his choice may appear to thoſe whoſe judgment is regulated by the cold phlegm of diſcretion, it muſt be left to ſuch as have quicker feelings of that tender and delicate paſſion, to decide in what degree it will admit of an excuſe. The conſequence of this union, however, was certainly to be lamented as his daily increaſing attachment to a woman of an ambitious and aſpiring temper, ſometimes betrayed him into acts of imprudence and injuſtice, which his own better underſtanding could not fail to condemn. He has likewiſe been accuſed of vanity and fondneſs of adulation and popularity; which is more or leſs blameable, in conſideration of the principle from whence it flows. Irregular emotions of this kind may often proceed from an exuberant goodneſs of heart, and from too anxious a deſire of reaping that reward from the applauſe of others, which a perſon of more moderate paſſions will derive, in much greater perfection, from the inward conſciouſneſs of his own virtuous intention.

But, taking him with all the defects, and with whatever else the chaſte tongue of hiſtoric truth can with juſtice lay to his charge

* Cedrenus, inter Hiſt. Byzant. p. 370, &c. an author of acknowledged veracity.

† C. 5. 5. 7. et ib. tit. 27. 1. which were repealed accordingly by C. 5. 4. 2

it must be confeſſed, that, for the courſe of a long reign, he governed a vaſt and heterogeneous mixture of people with mildneſs and equity; that he protected them with his arms; adorned their provinces with magnificent edifices, chiefly dedicated to the ſervice of the true religion: that he recovered very wide and extenſive regions, which had been long alienated, eſpecially the ancient capital of the empire; and that the laws, which he collected and methodized with ſo much care and wiſdom, not only contributed to a more equal and regular adminiſtration of juſtice within the limits of the Roman dominions, but will be a laſting bleſſing to the whole civilized part of mankind to the lateſt poſterity.

Characters, Manners, Cuſtoms, &c. of the People of Naples; *from Travels in the* Two Sicilies, *by* Henry Swinburne, *Eſq*;

IN Chriſtmas time, all quarters of Naples reſound with *Paſtorali* or *Siciliane*, a kind of ſimple rural muſic, executed by Abruzzeſe or Calabrian ſhepherds, upon a ſpecies of bag-pipes, called in Abruzzo, Zampogna, and Ciaramelli in Calabria. The tunes vary according to the provinces; in the ſouth, they have three different airs; the northern ſhepherds know only two, to which they add what variations the boldneſs of their own genius inſpires. The boys learn of their fathers to play upon this inſtrument as the means of ſubſiſtence *. At other ſeaſons, it is rare to hear any agreeable ſounds in the ſtreets of Naples, though it is the nurſery of muſical profeſſors: a ſchool, where the greateſt maſters have imbibed their principles, and acquired that knowledge of compoſition, which has enchanted the ears of all Europe. There is no ſuch thing as a national muſic, unleſs we give that name to a monotonous drawling ſeguidilla, that ſerves the nurſes † as a lullaby to put their children to reſt, and ſeems borrowed from the Spaniards, who, I believe, learnt it of the Moors. I never reſided in any Italian town where there was a leſs muſical turn in the populace: few ſongs, guittars, vielles, or organs, enliven the evenings, as in the northern ſtates of Italy, unleſs they be ſent for to entertain the parties that in ſummer ſup on the ſhore of Poſilipo ‡.

They do not even dance to muſic, but perform the Tarantella to the beating of a kind of tambourine, which was in uſe among their anceſtors, as appears by the pictures of Herculaneum. The Tarantella is a low dance, con-

* The waits ſtill kept in the pay of ſome corporations in England, are counterparts of theſe ſhepherds.

† To ſecond its narcotic influence, they adminiſter to them copious doſes of Venice treacle, of which ſuch quantities are uſed, as render it a material article of importation. The Neapolitans have tears at command, and are very eaſily moved to ſhed them. Neither blows nor careſſes can ſtop their children when once they begin to cry: they muſt roar till they are tired.

‡ I have been told, that before the famine and calamities of 1764, the populace of Naples was more chearful and muſically inclined than at preſent.

ſiſting

fisting of turns on the heel, much footing and snapping of the fingers*. It seems the delight of their soul, and a constant holiday diversion of the young women, who are, in general, far from handsome, although they have fine eyes and striking features. Their hands and feet are clumsy, their shapes neglected, their necks flabby, and their skins discoloured by living so much in the sun without bonnets. Amongst them we may find almost every mode of hair-dressing seen on the Greek and Roman coins†.

The women are always fighting and scolding, but never resist their husband's authority, when he comes to separate the combatants, and carry home his dishevelled spouse, who seems to stand as much in awe of her consort, as the Russian wives do of theirs, and suffers herself to be beaten by him with as little murmuring. I was shewn a woman here, who, during the life of her first husband, was a pattern of modesty and evenness of temper to the whole parish; but upon contracting a second marriage, surprized and scandalized the neighbourhood with her perpetual riots and obstreperousness. On being reprimanded for her behaviour by the curate, she very frankly acknowledged that her former husband understood the management of a wife, and used to check her i temperate bursts of passion timely correction; but that h present helpmate was too mil to apply the proper chastiseme which every wife requires mo or less. Men seldom interfere feminine brawls; and if they d generally content themselves wi abusing, threatening, or shaki a cudgel or pitchfork at their a tagonist, till the crowd comes to part them. Sometimes a m is stabbed, but this is a rare eve among the fishermen, the class inhabitants I have had most co stantly under my eye. Manne vary with the districts; in so they engage with bludgeons, a those are the true lazaroni Massaniello; in others the atta is made with knives and oth deadly weapons; but the Neap litans are by no means so bloo and revengeful a people as th are represented by many trave lers. It requires more than slight provocation to lead them extremities. During the proc gious hurry and confusion of t races in Carnival, not the le tumult or quarrel was heard o and even in the cruel famine 1764, the only act of violen committed by a hungry popula increased to double its number the concourse of peasants from t provinces, where all crops h failed, was to break open a

* Persons of all ranks here dance very low, but mark the time as perfec with their steps, as other nations do by springing from the ground.

† The coiffure of the younger Faustina, with the coil of plaited hair upon crown of the head, occurs frequently in the old town: that with the coil lo down, which may more properly be stiled Lucilla's head-dress, is comm among the younger part of the sex in the suburbs of Chiaia, and Plotin among the women more advanced in years. I do not recollect to have s any with the roll of tresses so high up as it appears on the head of Faust the elder.

pilla

pillage a ſingle baker's ſhop. Can as much be ſaid for the temper of the mobs at London and Edinburgh? Drunkenneſs is not a common vice at Naples, and therefore quarrels, its uſual conſequences, are rare; beſides, the Neapolitan rabble allow each other a great latitude of abuſe and ſcolding before they are wound up to a fighting pitch. It is alſo uncommon to ſee any thing in public like gallantry among the people; no ſoldiers are met leading their doxies, or girls going about in queſt of lovers; all which are, in other countries, ſources of riot and bloodſhed. At Naples there is nothing but a mere nominal police; yet burglaries are unknown, riots ſtill more ſo, and the number of aſſaſſinations inconſiderable: it bears no proportion to that of the murders committed in the diſtant provinces, where, I am credibly informed, no leſs than four thouſand perſons are killed annually. Moſt of theſe crimes are perpetrated with guns in the mountainous countries, where a great ferocity of character, and wildneſs of manners prevail, and where the inhabitants are more wandering, and leſs expoſed to the purſuits of the law, which is indeed far from formidable in any part of the realm. It would require a prudent, inflexible, and long exertion of impartial criminal juſtice, to reduce to order the fierce untractable aſſaſſin of the mountainous regions of Calabria, who being driven by the oppreſſion of the barons and officers of the revenue to penury and deſpair, ſets little value upon his life, and braves danger to the laſt drop of his blood. The execution, however cruel, of a few banditti, would ſtrike but little terror into their aſſociates, and produce no effect but that of ridding ſociety of one or two bad members; nor will any meaſures of police ever prove effectual, unleſs government adopt and purſue, with ſteadineſs, a ſyſtem that may leſſen the grievances of the poor, reſtrain the deſpotiſm of the petty tyrants, and, by providing the peaſant with more means of ſupporting himſelf and family by honeſt labour, guard him againſt the temptation of taking up a lawleſs line of life. The caſe is different in the ſoft and fertile plains of the happy Campagna; there the well-timed prompt execution of a criminal, without allowing him any unneceſſary reſpite to prepare for death, and without ſuffering prieſts to aſſemble round him, to excite the devotion, compaſſion, and almoſt admiration of the crowd, would operate with great energy on the daſtardly minds of the docile race that inhabits this charming climate; the terror of active juſtice would prove a powerful check to murder, and violent outrages.

At preſent, the forms of criminal juriſprudence are here ſo ill ordained, ſo multiplied and ſo complex, that if the king were to inſiſt upon a villain, who was taken in the fact, being tried, and if found guilty, hanged before the end of three days, the diſpatch would almoſt kill the judges with fatigue; for the trial and procedures would employ them eighteen hours out of each twenty-four: Firſt, the accuſation muſt be laid according to rule, and witneſſes

witneſſes examined; next the council for the priſoner pleads a couple of hours; then the advocate for the *fiſco* replies during one hour, and after him the advocate of the poor makes a rejoinder, which he has a right to ſpin out for two hours: this done, every one of the four judges harangues; then all the notifications are made, examinations canvaſſed, proofs debated, and a thouſand trifling formalities obſerved, which occaſion ſuch ſhameful, inſurmountable delays, as eternize a criminal proceſs. It happened lately, that upon the final determination of the trial, and condemnation of a malefactor, a meſſage was ſent to the jailor to bring the culprit into court in order to receive ſentence; when, behold! the turnkey appeared, and made affidavit that the priſoner had died of a long fit of ſickneſs the Chriſtmas twelvemonth before. As the ſalary of a judge in Naples is only fifty ducats a month (9*l* 7*s* 6*d*), he cannot afford to be honeſt or expeditious: but the caſe is ſtill worſe in the provinces, where the judges have but twenty-five ducats, and with that muſt keep a coach and proper houſehold eſtabliſhment. The ſcrivani, or commiſſaries, who have the department of warrants, arreſts, and police, are allowed no pay, though they muſt keep thirty bailiffs a-piece under them; ſo that they are naturally very active in taking up an offender, where there is a probability of exterting any money out of him: when once in durance, the priſoner ceaſes to be an object of conſideration to them, and therefore they take no pains to forward his trial, or bring him to juſtice: there are at this day above twelve thouſand criminals rotting in the different priſons of the kingdom, whoſe maintenance coſts the ſtate above two hundred thouſand ducats a year (thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds).

The fiſhermen of Santa Lucia are the handſomeſt men in Naples; they have the true old Grecian features, and ſuch well-proportioned limbs, that they might ſerve for models in any academy of deſign: they are the moſt ſubſtantial and beſt lodged portion of the Neapolitan populace. It is true, as moſt writers aſſert, that the houſeroom of this metropolis is very inadequate to the population, which, according to authentic accounts, amounted, at the cloſe of the year 1776, to three hundred and fifty thouſand ſixty-one ſouls; and that numbers of theſe are deſtitute of houſe and property. But it is not equally a fact, as they aſſert, that winter and ſummer theſe houſeleſs inhabitants paſs their lives in the open air, and ſleep in all weathers in the ſtreets. In ſummer it is very pleaſant ſo to do, but in winter not even a dog could bear the inclemency of the weather, not ſo much on account of cold, as of wet. When the rainy ſeaſon ſets in, it commonly laſts ſeveral ſucceſſive weeks, falling, not in ſuch ſhowers as we are acquainted with in England, where we have rain more or leſs every month in the year, but by pailfuls, an abſolute water-ſpout, that carries all before it, and almoſt drowns the unfortunate paſſenger who is caught out of doors by the ſtorm. The quantity of rain at Naples is much more conſiderable than that which falls

falls on the ſame ſpace of ground in England. Whole months of drought are compenſated by the deluge of a day: and beſides, the ſouth winds are frequently ſo boiſterous in winter, as to burſt open the bolts of both doors and windows. At that rainy time of the year, few are ſo wretched and helpleſs as to lie in the ſtreet, but moſt of the vagrants reſort to the caves under Capodi Monte, where they ſleep in crowds like ſheep in a pinfold. As they are thus provided with a dwelling, for which no rent is exacted, they alſo procure food without the trouble of cooking or keeping houſe: the markets and principal ſtreets are lined with ſellers of macaroni, fried and boiled fiſh, puddings, cakes, and vegetables of all ſorts; where, for a very ſmall ſum, which he may earn by a little labour, running of errands, or picking of pockets, the lazaro finds a ready meal at all hours: the flagon hanging out at every corner invites him to quench his thirſt with wine; or if he prefers water, as moſt of them do, there are ſtalls in all the thoroughfares, where lemonade and iced water are ſold. The paſſion for iced water is ſo great and ſo general at Naples, that none but mere beggars will drink it in its natural ſtate; and, I believe, a ſcarcity of bread would not be more ſeverely felt than a failure of ſnow. It is brought in boats every morning from the mountains behind Caſtellamare, and is farmed out at a great rent: the Jeſuits, who poſſeſſed a large capital, as well as the true ſpirit of enterprize, had purchaſed the excluſive privilege of ſupplying the city with it.

Very little ſuffices to clothe the lazaro, except on holidays; and then he is indeed tawdrily decked out, with laced jacket and flame-coloured ſtockings: his buckles are of enormous magnitude, and ſeem to be the prototype of thoſe with which our preſent men of mode load their inſteps. The women are alſo very ſplendid on thoſe days of ſhew; but their hair is then bound up in tiſſue caps and ſcarlet nets, a faſhion much leſs becoming than their every day ſimple method. Citizens and lawyers are plain enough in their apparel, but the female part of their family vies with the firſt court ladies in expenſive dreſs, and all the vanities of modiſh fopperies. Luxury has of late advanced with gigantic ſtrides in Naples. Forty years ago, the Neapolitan ladies wore nets and ribbons on their heads, as the Spaniſh women do to this day, and not twenty of them were poſſeſſed of a cap: but hair plainly dreſt is a mode now confined to the loweſt order of inhabitants, and all diſtinction of dreſs between the wife of a nobleman and that of a citizen is entirely laid aſide. Expence and extravagance are here in the extreme. The great families are oppreſt with a load of debt; the working part of the community always ſpend the price of their labour before they receive it; and the citizen is reduced to great parſimony, and almoſt penury, in his houſe-keeping, in order to anſwer theſe demands of external ſhew: ſhort commons at home whet his appetite when invited out to dinner; and it is ſcarce credible what quantities of victuals he will devour. The nobility

bility in general are well ſerved, and live comfortably, but it is not their cuſtom to admit ſtrangers to their table; the number of poor dependants who dine with them, and cannot properly be introduced into company, prevents the great families from inviting foreigners: another reaſon may be, their ſleeping after dinner in ſo regular a manner as to undreſs and go to bed: no ladies or gentlemen finiſh their toilet till the afternoon, on which account they dine at twelve or one o'clock. The great officers of ſtate, and miniſters, live in a different manner, and keep ſumptuous tables, to which ſtrangers and others have frequent invitations.

The eſtabliſhment of a Neapolitan grandee's houſehold is upon a very expenſive plan; the number of ſervants, carriages, and horſes, would ſuffice for a ſovereign prince; and the wardrobe of their wives is formed upon the ſame magnificent ſcale; yet it is a fixed rule, that all ladies, whatever be the circumſtance of their huſbands, affluent or circumſcribed, have an hundred ducats a month, and no more, allowed them for pin-money. At the birth of every child, the huſband makes his wife a preſent of an hundred ounces, and ſome valuable trinkets, according to his fortune. Marriage portions are not very great in general; it does not coſt a nobleman more to marry a daughter than it does to make her a nun; for a thouſand pounds will not defray the expence of the ceremonies at her reception and profeſſion: ſhe muſt have a penſion ſettled upon her, and reſerves, beſides, a power over her inheritance, in caſe ſhe ſhall arrive at any dignity in the convent and wiſh to enrich it with buildings, plate, or veſtments.

Servants and artificers of the city give from fifty to an hundred ducats with their daughters; peaſants and country workmen go as far as three hundred. Females at and near Naples are eſteemed helpleſs and indolent, and therefore have always twice or thrice as much fortune as their brothers, who have greater reſources in their ſtrength and activity. A girl would ſcarce get a huſband, if her lover did not expect to be reimburſed by her portion the ſum he had paid away with his own ſiſters. In the plains, it is cuſtomary for a peaſant, on the birth of a daughter, to plant a row of poplar trees, which are cut down and ſold at the end of ſeventeen years, to make up a fortune for her. The proverbial benediction of *Figlij maſchi*, male children, which a Neopolitan gives a woman when ſhe ſneezes, is founded on the great facility with which the common people provide for their ſons: as ſoon as they can run about they are able to earn their bread, while their ſiſters remain idle at home, or beg till they are old enough to attract the notice of the men.

Anecdotes of Charles *the XIIth of* Sweden; *from Letters Military and Political, tranſlated from the* Italian *of Count* Algarotti.

To Signor Don GIUSEPPE PECIS.

YOU apply to me, as a perſon who has lived much among the northern courts, to clear

up certain doubts reſpecting
arles the Twelfth. I will en-
vour, to the beſt of my power,
reſolve your queſtions reſpect-
a prince who was for a length
ime the polar ſtar of the mili-
world, and will remain to
ages its moſt dazzling me-
You may at any rate reſt
red, that I ſhall not give you
ngle anecdote, but what I have
d from thoſe who were eye-
neſſes to every tranſaction.
To begin with the viſit he paid
his principal enemy King Au-
us at Dreſden, you need not
ertain the ſmalleſt doubt of it,
ever extraordinary it may ap-
r to you. Charles was not a
n of the common ſtamp: he
ght ſay, like Father Arduin,
hat! do I riſe every morning
hours before day, to think
the reſt of mankind? In fact,
was a whim that he determined
indulge. The Swediſh army
then on its march towards
ſia. One morning, as it was
g off not far from Dreſden,
king ſuddenly departed with
companions on horſeback, di-
ing his courſe to the city,
e of his attendants he leaves at
gate as a centinel, and rides
mediately to the palace with
other, whom he leaves in the
e manner; giving him his
ſe in charge, while he aſcends
ſtairs, and enters the apart-
nts of King Auguſtus, be-
e he had riſen from his bed.
us was the king obliged to
up without ceremony, and
ſh himſelf in the preſence of
e man who had juſt before dri-
him from his throne. Charles
ained with him about three
quarters of an hour; during which time he ſcarcely ever took his eyes off him, nor would give him an opportunity of ſpeaking to any perſon; not even to a page or valet, much leſs to the miniſter, who came as ſoon as he heard of the King of Sweden's arrival. It happened, as they were walking through the rooms of the palace, that Charles firſt paſſed through one of the doors, when the miniſter ſeized that opportunity of making ſigns, to know whether it was the king's pleaſure that he ſhould be detained; to which he made a ſignal in the negative. The viſit turned out a mere affair of ceremony; and Charles being conducted by Auguſtus to the gate of the palace, he there mounted his horſe, and ſet off full ſpeed to join his army, which he found in the utmoſt anxiety about him. As ſoon as it was known that the king had entered Dreſden, not ſeeing him return immediately, they thought every quarter of an hour an age, and became ſo impatient as to think of no leſs than marching up to the town, and laying ſiege to it, in order to recover their prince.

When in quarters in Saxony, his deſign was to march into the heart of the empire, and with his victorious arms to give law to Europe, which was then divided about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion. Many reaſons have been given for the ſtep he took afterwards, of leaving the empire, and turning his arms againſt Ruſſia. What principally urged him to this was, according to the beſt-received authors, a note of one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling given to

ſomebody by the Duke of Marlborough.

Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum.

The duke finiſhed the buſineſs of exaſperating him againſt the Czar, towards whom he had already a violent animoſity; and pointed out to him the glory of cruſhing his only rival, and of becoming the arbiter of the north, which would in the end make him the arbiter of Europe. There were two ways to march into Ruſſia; the one by Livonia, a Swediſh country on the ſea-coaſt, abounding with grain, which would ſubſiſt his army; whence entering into the fertile provinces of Ruſſia, he might direct his march to Moſcow, with eaſe and convenience, along the banks of navigable rivers: the other was by Poland and Ucrania, to which he was invited by the Coſack Mazeppa, a malcontent, who promiſed him every kind of aſſiſtance; and by this route he might fall at once upon Moſcow, which would decide the fate of Ruſſia. Of theſe two, Charles himſelf choſe that which was more worthy of his courage than his prudence; as was fully proved by the hardſhips his troops were obliged to go through, and the extreme miſery to which they were at length reduced.

Charles's laſt campaign againſt the Danes, wherein he loſt his life, was planned indeed entirely by himſelf; which was not the caſe with regard to his firſt enterpriſes, that were followed with ſo great ſucceſs: in theſe, though he was the Achilles, ſome other was the Chiron. It was always his cuſtom to charge the enemy the head of his cavalry: the di poſition of the battle was left Levenhaupt. The famous d embarkation at Copenhagen, wi which Charles, while yet a yout opened his military career, w projected by General Stuart; t attack of the enemy's trenches Narva, which brought to mind exploits of the Greeks againſt Perſians, by one Gundvil. G neral Altendorff conceived idea of the famous paſſage of Duna, where ſome rafts bei floated down the ſtream with ſtraw on them, which was ſet to, the Swediſh army paſſed river, covered by the ſmoke fr the enemy, who was to leewar a ſtratagem firſt put in practice Hannibal.

His army was ſtrengthened the preſence of ſeveral brave a experienced generals, who h ſerved under Charles the Eleven his father; who might be of in nite ſervice to him, in council, Philip's officers were to Alexander. It was not ſo with the Cz his enemy, who derived inſtructi from his defeats alone. He rea ed more benefit, however, fr theſe defeats, than Charles even from his victories. The ſu ceſs of the engagement at Pulto he owed entirely to himſelf; which he had to do with the m terrible enemy he ever had up his hands; over whom this ba gave him a complete and deciſ advantage, a battle that might called the modern Pharſalia.

Charles having arrived, af ſuffering many difficulties, in crania, found the great promi of Mazeppa, who had engag

ſubſiſt his army, reduced to
thing. Being in the greateſt
treſs for want of proviſions,
rtly through the diſappointment
met with from Mazeppa, and
rtly from the defeat of Leven-
upt on his march to the army
ith 15,000 men, and a conſider-
le eſcort of ammunition and
oviſions, he came to the reſo-
ion of laying ſiege to Pultowa.
this place the Czar had col-
ted a quantity of proviſions,
d had left a ſtrong garriſon to
fend it. By the capture of it,
harles might reſtore plenty to
s army, and ſecure a good poſt
his head-quarters, whence
might direct the future opera-
ns of the war. Various were
e opinions in the Ruſſian army,
ring the ſiege, of the ſteps that
ould be taken by them: ſome
re for incloſing the Swedes by
entrenchment; and reducing
m through hunger to a capitu-
ion: others were for laying
ſte the country for a hundred
gues around, and leaving them
geriſh without the riſk of a battle.
t fearing that the town, which
s vigorouſly attacked, would be
liged to ſurrender, and that
harles would be enabled to re-
ſh his army, the Ruſſians at
t determined on not delaying
y longer to give him battle.
he Czar gave the more readily
o this meaſure, as he knew
t Charles's impetuous diſpoſi-
n would induce him to ſeize
gerly the occaſion of a general
ion with the Ruſſian army,
wever it might be to his own
dvantage. He marched then
ly in the morning, ſo as to ar-
e in time to encamp in the en-
nce of a wood, near the King
of Sweden; who, he ſuppoſed, would prepare matters to attack him the next morning. Thus judged the Czar, and thus it really happened. But in the night the Czar gave orders for ſeven redoubts to be raiſed in the wood, juſt in front of his infantry. This was for two different purpoſes; one to check the impetuoſity and break the order of the Swedes in their firſt onſet, which by experience he had ſufficient reaſon to dread; the other, that he might not ſhut up his troops in a continued line of entrenchment, but afford them the means of ſallying out upon the enemy through the intervals between the redoubts; a method of fortifying an encampment highly applauded by Marſhal Saxe, and thenceforward eſteemed the moſt perfect. The king went forth in the morning, full of ardour, and fluſhed with the hopes of conqueſt; but it was ſome time before he took notice of the Czar's diſpoſition. The conſequence was, that, though the Ruſſian horſe were beaten, and three of the redoubts taken by ſtorm, the Swedes had in the end the worſt of the action; which was equal to a deciſive victory on the part of the Ruſſians.

The King of Sweden excelled more in the field than in council, was more capable of executing than planning any great deſign: he might be compared to a ſhell, which does ſometimes prodigious execution; but it muſt be when under the direction of an able bombardier.

When he had occaſion to conſult with others, which was but ſeldom, he never did it in a direct manner; but propoſed a general

queſtion to thoſe in whom he placed the higheſt confidence, and took their different opinions on the ſubject. This might have been the effect of pride, or perhaps of that maxim of princes and ſtateſmen, to adviſe with others, without diſcloſing their own ſentiments.

All the world knows the averſion this great man had for women; but very few know whence it originated. He had ſcarcely mounted the throne, when, breathing nothing but war, he was continually employed in thinking of the moſt effectual and deſtructive means of making it. A certain profeſſor of Stockholm had communicated to him a new invention in the branch of ordnance, with which he was ſo much pleaſed as to order him immediately to make the experiment. Impatient for the completion of the work, he went very early one morning all alone to the profeſſor's houſe, who was in bed, having been taken ill the day before with a fever. After knocking for a conſiderable length of time at the door, he was let in, and had a conference with the profeſſor on the ſubject that his mind was ſo fully taken up with. At his departure he was preceded by a young girl, a ſervant of the profeſſor's, who carried a lantern, and had ſome pretenſions to beauty. The king took a fancy to the girl, which ſhewed he was not indifferent to the ſex, and began to take ſome liberties with her: but ſhe, being perhaps a native of Dalecarlia, with a heart congenial to the ſoil, did not much reliſh this freedom of the king, and in return treated him rather roughly. We are aſſured that this repulſe made ſo deep an impreſſion on the king's mind that he abſolutely refuſed in Poland to ſee the Counteſs of Konigſmarck, and for ever baniſhed the ſex from his company and his pleaſures.

Magnanimity, which you allow him, he certainly poſſeſſed to a very high degree. I ſhall give you an inſtance of it, by an anecdote which Plutarch would not have omitted, had he written the life of Charles. He happened to be one day, after his return from Turkey, riding out, with a ſmall number of attendants, whom he left, and went on conſiderably before. Being come to the gate of a field he had to paſs through, he opened it, and neglected to ſhut it again, according to the laws of the country. The owner of the ground, who was an enſign in the army, being near at hand, and not being acquainted with Charles's perſon, called out to know why he did not ſhut the gate after him, according to the king's orders, and, as he paſſed, made uſe of ſome uncivil expreſſions. Why do you not go and ſhut it yourſelf? anſwers the king. This ſo enrages the gentleman that he ſeizes the bridle, and ſtops the horſe. On this Charles puts his hand to his ſword; but the other, being too ſtrong for him, ſnatches it from him. The king then draws out a piſtol, and threatens to make the other repent it, unleſs he immediately lays down the ſword on a ſtone that was cloſe by. You would not be ſo valiant, ſays the gentleman, if I was alſo provided with a piſtol. Go, and fetch one, ſays the

the king. The gentleman on this goes for a piſtol, while the king waits his return. As he was coming back in high dudgeon, he eſpies the king's attendants at a little diſtance; which giving him ſome ſuſpicion, he makes his retreat. The noblemen, who had joined the king, ſeeing him take up his ſword without ſaying a word, did not venture to aſk him any queſtions, but followed him in ſilence. It happened that not long after, the regiment, in which this gentleman was an enſign, became vacant, and was given to one of the noblemen who had that day attended the king. The gentleman thought it neceſſary to inform his colonel of all the particulars, and deſired he would contrive to extricate him from the difficulty. The day being arrived, on which the regiment was to paſs in review, the enſign does not make his appearance. His majeſty obſerves to the colonel, There is an officer miſſing. He is informed, that the officer is on guard. Let him be ſent for, ſays the king. The enſign is accordingly brought forth, God knows with what ſenſations. The king immediately gallops up to him, then ſtops, and looking upon him ſtedfaſtly, names him to a firſt lieutenancy, and orders a good round number of florins to be counted out to him.

There are many other inſtances related of his magnanimity, which it would be too tedious to enumerate; amongſt which, I know not whether you will place that reſolution of his, not to have his wound dreſſed, after hearing of the total defeat of his army at Pultowa, and his tearing off the dreſſings, like another Cato.

A certain particular in the anecdotes of Charles's life, you, who are ſo curious in inveſtigating the human heart, will be glad to know; which is, that he ſometimes recommended to the chaplains of his army, in the ſermons which among the Lutherans are preached to the ſoldiers, to take the following text:

Manete in vocatione in quâ vocati eſtis.

As Petrarch often raiſed his thoughts to the third circle of the heavens, where he ſuppoſed his Laura was with the other devoted ſlaves of love; ſo did Charles to the circle of the God of War, which was *his* heaven. He was frequently overheard by his domeſtics counterfeiting firſt the noiſe of drums, then that of artillery, and finally the report of ſmall arms; when he would all on a ſudden clap his hand to the ſword which he always wore by his ſide; his imagination tranſforming the chairs and tables in the room into horſe and footmen.

During his ſtay at Bender, having heard mention of the length of time a man may live without nouriſhment, and of the faſting and auſterity practiſed by the Santons, and by the oriental Jews, he took it in his head to try the ſtrength of his own conſtitution in this particular. He held out for a week, taking only a glaſs of water each day; and at the ſame time omitting none of his ordinary exerciſes, among others, that of riding ten leagues on horſeback. On the eighth day he found an inclination to eat: ſo he

took ſome food, but not, as one would ſuppoſe, what was very light and eaſy of digeſtion, but ſome good ſubſtantial meat, and in no ſmall quantity. This, however, affected neither his health nor his ſtomach, ſo as to prevent him from purſuing his ordinary courſe of living.

Whenever he played at Cheſs, as he frequently did to paſs away the time at Bender, he always moved the king towards the front as ſoon as poſſible. To cover himſelf was entirely out of the queſtion; and if ever a pawn happened to be in his way, he did not puzzle himſelf long about the method of moving him, but knocked him at once off the board. Such influence has that genius, or natural diſpoſition, that is born along with us, which in Charles ſhewed its prevalence to the laſt: for, after receiving his fatal blow at Frederickſtadt, he was found with his hand upon the hilt of his ſword.

Thus you have a ſlight ſketch, but an original one at leaſt, of the rival of Peter the Great, to whoſe great qualities he was at length obliged to give way. Guſtavus Adolphus, who attended the lectures of our Galileo at Padua, and united the characters of the ſoldier and the politician, was, doubtleſs, a much greater man; notwithſtanding Guſtavus committed an overſight, in neglecting to follow up his victory of Leipſic. Having completely routed his enemies in that battle, inſtead of marching ſtraight into Bohemia, he was content with detaching there his ally the elector of Saxony, who carried on the war without ſpirit, and was ſoon gained over by the Auſtrians. Guſtavus divided and diſſipated his force, like a great river that overflows its banks, and went here and there throughout Germany beſieging towns, and laying countries under contribution; he knew not how to contract and abridge the war, according to the Roman and Turkiſh method. He gave time to the enemy to recover himſelf, and loſt all his former advantages: ſo that he was obliged at Lutzen to re-commence the game which he had before won, and which then terminated with his life.

It appears to me, beyond all diſpute, that the greateſt man among the Swediſh monarchs was Guſtavus Vaſa. He found the means of well regulating and directing the natural ſtrength of his country; and did not attempt to puſh it beyond its proper bounds: but made ſo judicious a uſe of it within the kingdom, that without him it could neither have been extended ſo far beyond the limits of the realm by Guſtavus Adolphus, nor ſo glorioufly miſguided as it was afterwards, by Charles the Twelfth.

Some Account of the Life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani *of* Lucca; *from the ſame Author.*

AMONGST the *opuſcula* of the ſecretary*, the moſt conſiderable is the life of Caſtruccio Caſtracani; who ſignalized himſelf for his valour, about the time that Dante recalled the Muſes into Italy: and, as this latter

* Macchiavel.

gave a new life to poetry, ſo did Caſtruccio to the military art. Of the loweſt extraction, he raiſed himſelf by his perſonal merit alone to the dominion of Lucca, of Lunigiana, of part of the Riviere of Genoa, and afterwards of Piſa and Piſtoja; and, if death had not put a ſtop to his career, after he had juſt brought to a ſucceſsful iſſue a moſt important enterpriſe againſt the Florentines, he would in the end have made himſelf maſter of all Tuſcany. Critics will have it, that he took the thread only from real hiſtory, the texture being entirely his own; and that, in imitation of Xenophon's Cyropædia, he wiſhed to exhibit Caſtruccio to the world, as a model of civil and military conduct. That this was really the caſe, may be inferred from ſome expreſſions of the ancients, which he puts into the mouth of Caſtruccio; and in particular from the variation that is obſervable between the facts he lays down in the *Life*, and thoſe which he has related of him in the Hiſtory of Florence. In the former he gives free ſcope to his imagination; whereas in the latter he follows the authority of Villani, a contemporary author; who nevertheleſs repreſents Caſtruccio to have been magnanimous, prudent, dextrous, diligent, indefatigible, brave, and at the ſame time cool in battle, and extremely fortunate in his enterpriſes. Such in fact does he ſhew himſelf in all his actions. That might be truly called a deſign worthy of a Cæſar, which he had formed, of throwing a dam acroſs the ſtreights of the Golfolino rock, that he might make himſelf maſter of the city of Florence, by cauſing the waters of the Arno to overflow it. He ſhewed prodigious ingenuity in the ſiege of Piſtoja, a little before his death; having made uſe of ſeveral curious machines, particularly the wooden tower of the ancients, and fortified his camp in a moſt admirable manner againſt the town, and ſtill more ſo againſt the Florentines, who attempted in vain to relieve it: ſo that nothing can be richer than this piece of embroidery, as we may call it, wrought by the ſecretary.

Three battles were given by Caſtruccio, which were embelliſhed, if not entirely planned, by Macchiavel; who ſeems in his relation of them to be fond of ſhewing his military knowledge. The firſt was at Mount Carlo, not far from Peſcia, when Caſtruccio ſerved under Uguccione della Faggiuola, who commanded the combined forces of the Piſans and Luccheſe againſt the Florentines. Illneſs having obliged Uguccione to leave the camp, the enemy took courage, thinking they could eaſily beat an army without a commander. They accordingly marched out, and offered battle every day, eager to come to action, and in their own minds ſure of gaining the victory. Caſtruccio did all in his power to confirm them in this opinion, ſhewing every ſign of fear, and not ſuffering any one to go without the entrenchments. At length, having learnt the diſpoſition of the Florentines, who placed the flower of their troops in the center, and the weaker upon the flanks, he ſallied out, forming his army in an oppoſite order; and having ordered his center to move ſlow, whilſt the wings advanced rapidly, the

beſt of his troops came to engage the worſt of the enemy's; by which manœuvre he obtained the victory.

The next battle was fought upon the hill of Serravalle, which lies at the end of the vale of Nievole, between Peſcia and Piſtoja. The Luccheſe were encamped on one ſide of the hill, and the Florentines on the other. It was Caſtruccio's intention to engage the enemy in this narrow paſs; where his troops could not, before the action ſhould begin, diſcover their number, and would have the advantage of the ground. The night before the battle, he took the precaution of occupying ſecretly the caſtle of Serravalle, which was ſituated at the top of the hill, at a little diſtance from the road; and in that war obſerved a perfect neutrality. This done, he puts his army in motion betimes in the morning; and about break of day, his infantry falls in with the cavalry of the advanced guard of the Florentine army, who were aſcending the hill on the other ſide, with little expectation of meeting Caſtruccio. The advantage he had of attacking the Florentines unexpectedly, and of flanking them from the caſtle, gained him the battle.

The third victory which he obtained over the ſame enemy, was no leſs ſignal. They were encamped at St. Miniato, on the left ſide of the Arno, about thirty miles from Piſa. Having ſecured Piſa with a ſtrong garriſon, Caſtruccio pitched his camp at Fucecchio, on the other ſide of the river; a ſtrong and commodious poſition. He kept at a little diſtance from the Arno, in order to encourage the Florentines to pa it. His deſign ſucceeded: and ſooner had they begun one mor ing to ford it with a part of the army, than Caſtruccio, havi divided his forces into two line fell upon them with the fir The fight was obſtinate; Ca truccio being inferior in forc but with the advantage of enga ing troops who were in diſorde for the Florentines, not havi all croſſed the river, had not ti to form their line of battle. Mea while he detaches two corps infantry, one higher up, and t other lower down the river, prevent the enemy from paſſing i in order to take him in flan The fortune of the day ſtill remai ed in ſuſpenſe, the Florentin making a vigorous defence again the troops of Caſtruccio, as fa as they gained the bank. Ca truccio then ordered his ſecon line to relieve the firſt; which being compoſed of freſh troop ſoon broke the Florentines, wh were nearly exhauſted, and drov them into the river. That pa of the Florentine cavalry, whic had hitherto remained unbroke was obliged to give way, whe attacked at once by Caſtruccio' cavalry, and by his infantry which had no longer any of th Florentine infantry to oppo them.

With ſuch ſkill and dexterit does Caſtruccio fight his battles according to the ſecretary's ac count of them. If his relation are not true, we muſt allow the at leaſt to be plauſible; and the may perhaps induce us to thin with Ariſtotle, that fiction is mor inſtructive than hiſtory.

Extra

Extract from the CONFESSIONS *of* J. J. Rouſſeau, *tranſlated from the French of* J. J. Rouſſeau.

HOW much did the firſt ſight of Paris bely the idea I had of it! The external decoration I had ſeen at Turin, the beauty of the ſtreets, the ſymmetry and ſquareneſs of the houſes, induced me to ſeek at Paris ſtill more. I had figured to myſelf a city as beautiful as large, of the moſt impoſing aſpect, where nothing was ſeen but ſuperb ſtreets and marble or golden palaces. Coming in at the ſuburbs St. Marceau, I ſaw none but little, dirty ſtinking ſtreets, ugly black houſes, the appearance of naſtineſs, poverty, beggars, carters, old cloath botchers, criers of ptiſan and old hats. All theſe things ſtruck me, at firſt; to ſuch a degree, that all I have ſeen at Paris, really magnificent, has not been able to deſtroy this firſt impreſſion, and that there ſtill remains a ſecret diſguſt to the reſidence of this capital. I can ſay the whole time I afterwards remained there, was employed in ſeeking reſources which might enable me to live far from it. Such is the fruit of a too active imagination, which exaggerates beyond the exaggerations of mankind, and always ſees more in a thing than has been heard. I had heard Paris ſo much boaſted of, I looked on it like ancient Babylon, from which I ſhould, perhaps, have found full as much to deduct, had I ſeen it, from the picture I had drawn of it. The ſame thing happened to me at the opera, where I haſtened to go the morrow of my arrival: the ſame afterwards happened at Verſailles; after that, likewiſe, on ſeeing the ſea; and the ſame thing will always happen to me, on ſeeing any thing too much extolled; for it is impoſſible to mankind, and difficult to Nature itſelf, to ſurpaſs the richneſs of my imagination.

From the manner I was received by all thoſe for whom I had letters, I thought my fortune made. Him I was moſt recommended to, and leaſt careſſed by, was M. de Surbeck, retired from the ſervice, and living philoſophically at Bagneux, where I went ſeveral times to ſee him, without his once offering me even a glaſs of water. I was better received by Madam de Merveilleux, ſiſter-in-law to the interpreter, and by his nephew, an officer in the guards. The mother and ſon not only received me well, but offered me their table, of which I often benefited during my ſtay at Paris. Madam de Merveilleux appeared to me to have been handſome; her hair was a beautiful black, and formed, in the old faſhion, ringlets on her forehead. That which does not periſh with beauty ſtill remained, an agreeable mind. She ſeemed pleaſed with mine, and did all in her power to ſerve me; but no one ſeconded her, and I was ſoon undeceived on all this great intereſt they appeared to take in my behalf. I muſt, however, do the French juſtice; they do not ſmother you with proteſtations, as is ſaid of them; and thoſe they make are almoſt always ſincere; but they have a manner of intereſting themſelves in your favour, which deceives you more than words. The coarſe compliments of the Swiſs can impoſe on fools only. The French manners are more

more ſeducing, only becauſe they are more ſimple; you think they don't tell you all they intend to do for you, to ſurpriſe you more agreeably. I ſhall go farther: they are not falſe in their demonſtrations; they are naturally officious, humane, benevolent, and even, whatever may be ſaid of it, more downright than any other nation; but they are light and airy. They have, in effect, the ſentiment they expreſs; but this ſentiment goes off as it came. While ſpeaking to you, they are full of you: go out of their ſight, they have forgot you. Nothing is permanent in them; every thing with them laſts but a moment.

I was therefore flattered much, ſerved little. The Colonel Godard, whoſe nephew I was to be with, ſeeing my diſtreſs, and although rolling in riches, wanted me for nothing. He pretended I ſhould be with his nephew, a kind of valet without wages rather than as a real tutor. Continually engaged with him, and by that diſpenſed from duty, I muſt live on my cadet's pay, that is, a ſoldier's; it was with trouble he conſented to give me a uniform; he had been glad to put me off with that of the regiment. Madam de Merveilleux, enraged at his propoſals, adviſed me herſelf not to accept them; her ſon was of the ſame opinion. Other things were ſought, but nothing found. I began, however, to be in want; an hundred livres, on which I had made my journey, could not carry me far. Happily, I received from the ambaſſador a trifling remittance, which was very uſeful; and I believe he had not diſcarded me, had I had more patience: but to languiſh, wait, ſolicit, are to me, impoſſibilities. I was diſcouraged, appeared no more, and all was at an end. I had not forgot my poor Mamma; but how to find her? where to ſeek her? Madam de Merveilleux, who knew my ſtory, aſſiſted me in the reſearch, but long to no purpoſe. At laſt ſhe told me that Madam de Warens had been gone more than two months, but it was not known whether to Savoy or Turin, and that ſome ſaid ſhe was returned to Switzerland. Nothing more was neceſſary to determine me to follow her, certain, that, wherever ſhe might be, I ſhould find her in the country much eaſier than I could have done at Paris.

Before my departure, I exerciſed my new poetical talent, in an epiſtle to Colonel Godard, in which I bantered him as well as I could. I ſhewed this ſtrawl to Madam de Merveilleux, who inſtead of cenſuring me, as ſhe ought, laughed heartily at my ſarcaſms, and her ſon likewiſe, who, I believe, did not love Mr. Godard; it muſt be owned he was not amiable. I was tempted to ſend him my verſes, they encouraged me: I made a parcel of them directed to him; and, as there was no penny-poſt then at Paris, I ſent it from Auxerre in paſſing through that place. I laugh yet, ſometimes, on thinking of the grimaces he muſt have made on reading his panegyric, where he was painted ſtroke by ſtroke. It began thus:

Tu croyois, vieux Pénard, qu'une folle manie
D'élever ton neveu m'inſpireroit l'envie.

This little piece, badly compoſed

posed in fact, but which did not want salt, and which shewed a talent for satire, is nevertheless the only satirical work that ever came from my pen. My mind is too little inclined to hatred, to glory in this kind of talent; but I fancy you may judge by some pieces of controversy, written from time to time, in my defence, that had I been of a warring humour, my aggressors had seldom had the laughers on their side.

What I most regret in the particulars of my life, which I do not remember, is not having kept a journal of my travels. Never did I think, exist, live, or was myself, if I may say so, so much as in those I made alone and on foot. Walking has something which animates and enlivens my ideas: I can scarcely think when I stand still; my body must stir in order to stir my mind. The view of the country, the succession of agreeable sights, a good air, a good appetite, and good health, I get by walking; the freedom of inns, the distance of those objects which force me to see subjection, of every thing which reminds me of my condition, the whole gives a loose to my soul, gives me more boldness of thought, carries me, in a manner, into the immensity of beings, so that I combine them, chuse them, appropriate them to my will, without fear or restraint. I imperiously dispose of all Nature: my heart, wandering from object to object, unites, becomes the same with those which engage it, is compassed about by delightful images, grows drunk with delicious sensations. If to determine them, I divert myself by painting them in my mind, what vigorous touches, what resplendent colouring, what energy of expression do I not give them! We have, you'll say, seen all this in your works, though written in the decline of life. Oh! had you known those of the flower of my youth, those I made during my travels, those I composed but never wrote..... Why, say you, did you not write them? And why write them, I answer you; why withdraw myself from the actual charms of enjoyment, to tell others I did enjoy? What cared I for readers, the public, and the whole earth, while I was swimming in the heavens? Besides, did I carry ink and paper? Had I thought of all these things, nothing had struck me. I did not foresee I should have ideas; they come when they please, not when I please; they overwhelm me with number and force. Ten volumes a day had not sufficed. Where borrow time to write them? On arriving I thought of nothing but a hearty dinner. On departing I thought of nothing but trudging on. I saw a new Paradise awaited me at the door; I ran off to catch it.

I never felt all this so much as in the journey I am speaking of. In coming to Paris I was confined to ideas relative to the business I was going on. I launched into the career I was going to run, and should have run through it with glory enough, but this career was not that my heart called me to, and real beings prejudiced imaginary ones. Colonel Godard and his nephew made poor figures when opposed to a hero like me. Thanks to Heaven! I was now delivered from all these obstacles;

I could

I could plunge at will into the land of chimeras, for nothing more was ſeen before me. And I was ſo far bewildered in it, I really loſt, ſeveral times, my road. I had been very ſorry to have gone ſtraighter; for finding, at Lyons, I was almoſt on earth again, I had been glad never to have reached it.

One day, among others, going on purpoſe out of my road, the better to ſee a ſpot which appeared admirable, I was ſo delighted with it, and went around it ſo often, I entirely loſt myſelf. After running backwards and forwards ſeveral hours in vain, tired and dying of hunger and thirſt, I went to a country perſon's, whoſe houſe had not a very good appearance, but it was the only one I ſaw near me. I thought it was as it is at Geneva or Swizerland, where every inhabitant, who could afford it, might exerciſe hoſpitality. I begged this man to let me dine with him for my money. He offered me ſome ſkimmed milk and coarſe barley bread, and told me 'twas all he had. I drank the milk with pleaſure, and eat the bread, ſtraw and all: but this was not very ſtrengthening to a man exhauſted with fatigue. The countryman, who examined me, judged of the truth of my ſtory by that of my appetite. Having told me that he very well ſaw * I was a good-natured, honeſt young man, who was not come there to betray him, he opened a little trap door, near the kitchen, went down, and in an inſtant came back with a good houſehold loaf of pure wheat, a gammon of bacon very enticing though already cut, and a bottle of wine, whoſe appearance raiſed my ſpirits more than all the reſt. An omelet pretty thick was added to theſe, and I made a dinner ſuch as thoſe only who travel on foot were ever acquainted with. When I offered to pay, his uneaſineſs and fears came on him again, he would not take my money; he returned it with extraordinary agitation; and the pleaſanteſt of all was, I could not imagine what he had to dread. At laſt he pronounced with trembling theſe terrible words, Officers and Cellar-rats. He made me underſtand that he hid his wine for fear of the exciſe, his bread for fear of the poll-tax, and that he was a ruined man, had they the leaſt doubt but that he was ſtarving with hunger. Every thing he told me on this ſubject, of which I had not the leaſt idea, made an impreſſion on me that will never wear away. This was the ſpring and ſource of that inextinguiſhable hatred which hath ſince unfolded itſelf in my heart againſt the vexations the poor people experience, and againſt their oppreſſors. This man, though in eaſy circumſtances, dared not eat the bread he had earned by the ſweat of his brow, and could eſcape ruin ſolely by an appearance of that want which was ſeen all around him. I went from his houſe with as much indignation as pity, deploring the fate of theſe beautiful countries, to which nature has been laviſh in her gifts, only to fall a prey to barbarous publicans.

This is the only thing I di-

* It ſeems I had not, at that time, the phyſiognomy they have ſince given me in my portraits.

ſtinctly

distinctly remember of all that happened in this journey. I recollect only one thing more, that, in approaching Lyons, I was tempted to prolong my travels by going to see the borders of the Lignon: for among the romances I read at my father's, Astrea had not been forgotten; it came more frequently to my mind than any other thing. I asked the way to Forez, and, in chatting with a landlady, she told me it was a rare country for workmen, that it contained many forges, and that good iron work was done there. This encomium at once calmed my romantic curiosity; I did not think proper to go to seek Diana's and Silvanus's amidst a generation of blacksmiths. The good old woman who encouraged me in this manner, certainly took me for a journeyman locksmith.

I did not quite go to Lyons without some view. On my arrival, I went to see, at the Charlottes, Miss du Châtelet, an acquaintance of Madam de Warens, and for whom she had given me a letter when I came with M. le Maitre; it was, therefore, an acquaintance already made. Miss du Châtelet told me, that, in fact, her friend had passed through Lyons, but she could not tell whether she had continued her road as far as Piedmont, and that she was uncertain herself, at her departure, whether or no she should not stop in Savoy; that, if I chose, she would write in order to learn something of her, and that the best way was to wait the answer at Lyons. I accepted the offer; but dared not tell Miss du Châtelet a speedy answer was necessary; and that my little exhausted purse did not leave me in a condition to wait long. It was not her bad reception that withheld me. On the contrary, she shewed me much kindness, and treated me in a style of equality that disheartened me from letting her see my situation, and descending from the line of good company to that of a beggar.

I think I clearly see the agreement of all I have mentioned in this book. I, nevertheless, seem to recollect, in the same interval, another journey to Lyons, whose place I cannot fix, and in which I was much straightened, the remembrance of the extremities to which I was reduced, does not contribute to recall it agreeably to my memory. Had I done like some others, had I possessed the talent of borrowing and running in debt at my lodging, I had easily got through; but in this my aptness equalled my repugnance; and to imagine the point to which I carried both one and the other, it is sufficient to know, that, having spent almost my whole life in hardships, and often at the point of wanting bread, it never happened to me, once in my life, to be asked, by a creditor, for money, without giving it him that instant. I never could contract bawling debts, and was always fonder of suffering than owing.

To be reduced to lie in the street was certainly suffering, and this happened to me several times at Lyons. I chose to employ the few halfpence that remained, in paying for bread rather than a lodging; because, after all, I run less hazard of dying for want of sleep than bread. It is surprising, that, in this cruel situation, I was neither

ther uneasy nor dull. I had not the least care for future days. I waited the answers Miss du Châtelet was to receive, lodging in the open air, and sleeping stretched on the earth, or on a bench, with the same ease as on a bed of down. I remember to have passed even a delightful night out of the city, on a road which borders the Rhône or the Saône, I dont recollect which of the two. Gardens forming terraces bordered the road on the opposite side. It had been extremely hot that day; the evening was charming; the dew moistened the drooping grass; no wind, a still night; the air was fresh, but not cold; the sun being set had left red vapours in the heavens, whose reflection gave to the water the colour of a rose; the trees on the terrace were covered with nightingales, who answered each other's notes. I walked about in a sort of extacy, giving up my feelings and heart to the enjoyment of the whole, and sighing a little with grief at enjoying it alone. Absorbed in delightful meditation, the night was far advanced before I perceived my lengthened walk had tired my weary limbs. I perceived it at last. I laid myself luxuriously on the step of a sort of niche or false door in the terrace walk: the canopy of my bed was formed by the tops of trees; a nightingale was precisely over my head; his music lulled me asleep: my slumbers were soft, my awaking was more so. It was broad day: my eyes, on opening, saw water, verdure, and an admirable landscape. I got up, shook myself, hunger seized me. I made, gayly, the best of my way towards town, resolved to spend on a good breakfast the last two pieces I had left. I was in so excellent a humour as to go singing along all the way, and, I also remember, I sung a cantata of Batistin I had by heart, intitled the *Baths of Thomery*. God bless the good Batistin and his good cantata, which brought me a better breakfast than what I expected, and still a better dinner, which I did not expect at all. In the height of my walking and singing, I heard some one behind me. I look round, I see an Antonine following me, and seeming to listen to me with pleasure. He accosts me, bids me good-morning, and asks if I know music? I answered, *a little*, to make it believed a great deal. He continues to question me: I tell a part of my story. He asks me whether I ever copied music? Often, say I, which was true; my best method of learning was by copying. Well, says he, come with me; I can employ you a few days, during which time you shall want nothing, provided you consent to not going out of the room. I willingly acquiesced, and followed him.

This Antonine was named Rolichon, was fond of music, understood it, and sung in little concerts he gave his friends. There was nothing in this but innocence and decency; but this taste degenerated, no doubt, into passion, of which he was obliged to conceal a part. He conducted me to a little room I occupied, where I found a deal of music he had copied. He gave me more to copy, particularly the cantata I sung, and which he intended to sing in a little time. I staid there

three

three or four days, copying the whole time I did not eat; for in my life I never was so hungry or better fed. He brought my meals himself from the kitchen; they must have had a good one, if their living was equal to mine. In my days I have not eat with so much pleasure; and I must own these bits came in the nick of time, for I was as dry as wood. I work with nearly as good a heart as I eat, which is not saying a little. It is true I was not so correct as diligent. Some days after, M. Rolichon, whom I met in the street, told me my parts could not be performed on account of omissions, duplications, and transpositions. I must own I have, in chusing that, chose the only science in the world for which I was least calculated. Not but that my notes were good, and that I copied very clean: but the tediousness of a long job distracts me so much, that I spend more time in scratching out than in noting; and if I do not use the greatest attention in comparing my parts, they always cause the performance to fail. I, therefore, in endeavouring to do well, did very ill, and to get on quickly, I went cross. This did not prevent M. Rolichon from treating me well the whole time, and giving me, on leaving him, half-a-crown I little deserved, but which set me quite on foot again; for in a few days after I received news from mamma, who was at Chambery, and money to carry me to her: this journey I made with transport. Since these times my finances have been very low; but never so as to go without bread. I mention this period with a heart sensible of the attention of Providence. It was the last time of my life I felt hunger and misery.

Some Account of the Brahmins *of* India; *from the Author of* Travels *in* Europe, Asia, *and* Africa, *&c.*

ALTHOUGH we are not so well acquainted with the history of the modern Brahmins of India, as might be expected, from the enlarged knowledge, commerce, and curiosity of the present times; yet we know enough of this tribe, to conclude with certainty, that they have degenerated much from the purity of their ancestors. I know not whether such calculators as Dr. Price, might not be able, from the present corrupt state of the *Brahmins*, to compute the time of the first institution of that order. All religious sectaries, in the course of time, degenerate from the austere virtues of their first heads or leaders. Christians in general, and also the particular *sects* of Christianity, bear witness to the truth of this position: with these *data*, I doubt not but an ingenious calculator might investigate the age of the order of Brahmins, and consequently that of the Hindoo empire, with which that class of men was no doubt coeval.

I have already given a short sketch of what the Indian priests were near two thousand years ago. In the present times it is asserted, that European usurpers sometimes make use even of the *Brahmins* as tools of oppression, and as instruments of plunder. But whatever their lives be, their doctrine is on the whole yet pure and excellent:

for

for among several errors, they maintain those truths which form the harmony of the world, *That there is one supreme God*, and that *he is delighted with charity and good works more than by all other sacrifices*. In general their religious tenets are very consistent with the ideas which are entertained of the divinity in Europe. Many superstitious practices have indeed been introduced among the generality of the people. Wooden images are placed in all their temples, and on certain festivals are exhibited on the high roads and in the streets of towns. These have impressed strangers with a notion that the *Gentoos* are idolaters; when in truth the homage they pay to their images, is precisely of the same kind with that which the Roman Catholics yield to the images of our Saviour and the saints, which are only meant to awaken attention, and to give livelier ideas of the objects of their devotion. This I have been repeatedly told by *Gentoos*, in whose judgment and veracity I repose great confidence. The images of which I speak, are various, and often monstrous in their forms. They are figures intended to adumbrate the attributes of the Deity by visible representations of their effects, which appear in the works of creation and providence. Thus far only the Gentoos are idolaters, that in worshipping the great God of the universe, they place before their bodily eyes, for the information of their minds, such representations as are calculated to recall, in a vivid manner, to their imaginations, those attributes which they believe that Almighty being *only* to possess.

The Hindoos, as well as the Persians, Tartars, and adjoining nations, who have inhabited Hindostan since it was conquered by Tamerlane or Timurbeg, though of different nations, religions, laws, and customs, possess nevertheless, in equal degrees, hospitality, politeness, and address. In refinement and ease they are superior to any people to the westward of them. In politeness and address, in gracefulness of deportment, and speech, an Indian is as much superior to a Frenchman of fashion, as a French courtier is to a Dutch burgo-master of Dort*. A Frenchman is indeed by no means deficient in ease of carriage; but that ease is mixed with forward familiarity, with confidence, and self-conceit. The Hindoos, especially those of the higher *Castes*, are in their demeanour easy and unconstrained, still more than even a French courtier; but their ease and freedom is reserved, modest, and respectful. A Frenchman is polite because he thinks it his honour to be polite: an Indian, because he thinks it his duty. The former is polite because he regards himself; the latter because he respects you.

Their persons are straight and elegant, their limbs finely proportioned, their fingers long and tapering, their countenances open and pleasant, and their features exhibit the most delicate lines of beauty in the females, and in the males a kind of manly softness. Their walk and gait, as well as their

* The least civilized of all the towns in Holland.

whole

whole deportment, is in the high-
est degree graceful. The dress of
the men is a kind of close-bodied
gown, like our women's gowns,
and wide trowsers, resembling
petticoats, reaching down to their
slippers. Such of the women as
appear in public, have shawls
over their heads and shoulders *,
short close jackets, and tight
trawers which come down to their
ancles. Hence the dress of the
men gives them in the eyes of Eu-
ropeans, an appearance of effemi-
nacy; whereas that of the women
will appear rather masculine: such
is the influence of habit and custom
on human sentiments; an influence
which extends not merely to mat-
ters of taste, but, as the inge-
nious Dr. Smith, in his *Theory of
Moral Sentiments*, observes, to ob-
jects of higher importance.

Many of the original Hindoo
tribes or *Castes* †, most of, or all the
descendants of Moors, as well as
the emigrants which pour in great
swarms into India, from Persia
and the adjacent countries, are
brave, intrepid, and cool in bat-
tle.—Having the same weapons,
and under similar discipline, why
should they not be a match for
men of the same country and
complexion with themselves, al-
though those men are under the
auspices of foreign nations?—
The advantage of these auspices
may doubtless be counterbalanced
by superiority of numbers, and
other favourable circumstances,
which it is needless to enumerate.
These are serious and important
objects of public consideration: a
neglect of which has already pro-
duced the most alarming losses in
revenue, and disadvantages in
trade, and seems indeed to threat-
en the extinction of the *present*
East India Company.

From the difference of Castes or
classes of the people in Hindostan,
I mean the original inhabitants,
there arises a difference of educa-
tion and dress. But even the in-
ferior classes are taught reading,
writing, and arithmetic: the youth
are taught, not within doors, but
in the open air; and it is a singu-
lar, but not unpleasing spectacle,
to behold, in every village, a ve-
nerable old man, reclined on a
terraced plain, teaching a num-
ber of surrounding boys, who re-
gard him with the utmost reve-
rence and attention, like a shep-
herd feeding his flock. In those
simple seminaries, where the want
of magnificent halls and theatres
is *divinely* compensated by the spa-
cious canopy of Heaven, the gen-
tle and tractable sons of the Hin-
doos are not only prepared for the
business, but instructed in the du-
ties of life; a profound venera-
tion for the object or objects of
religious worship; reverence of
their parents; respect for their
seniors; justice and humanity to-
wards all men, but a particular
affection for those of their own
Caste.

The Hindoo language is beau-
tiful, expressive, and nervous. In
reading and speaking, the Hin-
doos are very musical. Their
speech, like that of the Italians,
flows in a kind of numbers. There

* Somewhat resembling the plaids of N. Britain, and the black veils of Bra-
nt.

† *Caste* is a Portuguese word, importing a class or tribe.

is a dead language, underſtood only by the *literati* of the country, that is, the prieſts, called the *Sanſcrit* language, in which their ſacred volumes are written, even as our ſacred ſcriptures are written in Greek and Hebrew. But whether that language was originally different from that of the country, or whether it has only *now* become unintelligble to the people, through that change which is incident to all living languages, is, I believe, not well known.

Having already obſerved, that the genius of the Hindoos is rather imitative than inventive, I need ſcarcely add, that they have leſs curioſity in their nature than the European nations have; that they do not vary their faſhions; and that they are not fond of novelty *beyond the precincts of their Harams*. From the temper and tenets of this people, as well as from ſeveral hints in antient hiſtorians, it appears more than probable, that the ſame kind of garments, of food, of furniture, of buildings, and of manners, which obtained among their progenitors thouſands of years ago, actually prevails among the Hindoo tribes at this day. In like manner, the ſame profeſſions are adhered to by the ſame families with ſuperſtitious exactneſs. Thoſe profeſſions are exceedingly numerous. This diviſion and ſubdiviſion of employment and labour; the vaſt variety of Caſtes from the *Brahmines* down to the fiſherman *, is one proof, among many others, of the antiquity of the Hindo nation, and their progreſs in th arts. It appears very ſingular that the different Caſtes are no only prohibited from intermarry ing, but alſo from eating with on another, and even from eating o the ſame kind of food.

Although the Gentoo laws, re lative to Caſtes, their education food, dreſs, marriages, and oc cupations, be held forth as reli gious tenets, yet, upon inveſti gation, they will be found to hav been very wiſe and ſalutary politi cal inſtitutions, intended to giv authority to government; to ſe cure the ſupreme power in th hands of the prieſthood; to pre ſerve to the community differen races of labourers, artificers, huſ bandmen, warriors, and prieſts The females are betrothed whe in a ſtate of infancy, and mar riages are conſummated as ſoo as the parties arrive at the age o puberty: an inſtitution which i neceſſary to the population of th country; which, but for this pre caution, would be greatly dimi niſhed by the operation of th Gentoo religion, which admit not of converts from other reli gions, and eaſily rejects offenſiv characters from the number of it own profeſſors, which is calle the *Loſs of Caſte*.

The Gentoos are perſuaded that the waters of the three grea rivers, Ganges, Kiſtna, and In dus, have the ſacred virtue of pu rifying thoſe who bathe in them from all pollutions and ſins. Thi religious idea ſeems alſo to b

* The profeſſion of a fiſherman was, of all profeſſions, the humbleſt among the Jews. The Son of God exemplified his divine power in making fiſherme inſtruments of propagating the goſpel.

founde

founded on a principle of policy, and intended to reſtrain the natives from migrating into diſtant countries: for it is remarkable, that the ſacred rivers I have juſt now mentioned, are ſo ſituated, that there is not any part of India where the inhabitants may not have an opportunity of waſhing away their ſins. The Ganges, which riſes in the mountains of Thibet, with its different branches, runs through the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, and the upper provinces of Oude, Rohilcund, Agra, Delhi, and Lahore. The Kiſtna divides the Carnatic from Golconda, and runs through the Viſiapore into the interior parts of the Deccan. And the Indus bounding the Guzurat provinces, ſeparates Hindoſtan from the dominions of Perſia.

The food of the Hindoos is ſimple, conſiſting chiefly of rice, ghee, which is a kind of imperfect butter, milk, vegetables, and oriental ſpices of different kinds, but chiefly what is called in the eaſt, *chilly*, and in the weſt, green or Cayen pepper. The warrior *caſte*, may eat of the fleſh of goats, mutton, and poultry, which is dreſſed into *carryes* and *pilaws* *. Other ſuperior Caſtes may eat poultry and fiſh; but the inferior Caſtes are prohibited from eating fleſh or fiſh of any kind. Their greateſt luxury conſiſts in the uſe of the richeſt ſpiceries and perfumes, of which the great people are very laviſh. Their dreſs, in point of richneſs, is proportioned to their ſtations: their pomp and equipage conſiſt in a numerous retinue of ſervants of various denominations, who attend all their viſits and excurſions; in the dreſſes of thoſe attendants; the elegance of their palanquins; and the capariſons of their horſes, camels, and elephants. It is ſuperfluous to obſerve, that in conſequence of this multiplicity of different ranks, the Hindoos have the higheſt ideas of ſubordination, and pay to their ſuperiors the ſame ready deference and homage, which they expect themſelves from their inferiors.

Their houſes cover much ground, and have ſpacious galleries and accommodations of various kinds. The apartments are ſmall, and the furniture not very elegant, if we except the richeſt Perſian carpets. The grandeur of their palaces conſiſts in baths, perfumes, temples, gods, and harams. The *harams* or *zenanas*, that is, the reſidences of the women, are removed from the front of the houſe, and lighted only from a ſquare ſpace in the centre of the whole building. The apparel of the women is inconceivably rich; they have jewels on their fingers and about their necks, and alſo in their ears and noſtrils, with brace-

* *Carryes* are a kind of *fricaſſes* of mutton, fowl, or fiſh; the ſauce of which is compoſed of dried vegetables, peculiar to the eaſt, and fine rice, boiled with very little water, introduced on a ſeparate plate: the ſauce of the fricaſſee is poured on the rice, and the meat laid above both. The *pilaw* is fine Patna rice dry-boiled, and fried with *ghee*, (deſcribed in page 46, column 2d) mixed with various ſpices, and particularly the *cardamon*, brought in on a large diſh, in which is concealed amidſt the rice, a boiled fowl, or part of a kid, or of a lamb.

lets not only on their wriſts, but on their arms above their elbows, and on their legs around their ancles.

One particular claſs of women are allowed to be openly proſtituted: theſe are the famous dancing girls. Their attitudes and movements are very eaſy, and not ungraceful. Their perſons are delicately formed, gaudily decorated, and highly perfumed. By the continuation of wanton attitudes, they acquire, as they grow warm in the dance, a frantic laſciviouſneſs themſelves, and communicate, by a natural contagion, the moſt voluptuous deſires to the beholders.

Their civil inſtitutions reſpecting the diviſion and ſecurity of property, and the internal police of the country, were originally founded on principles of the ſoundeſt political wiſdom, and were well calculated to promote the happineſs of the whole nation, as well as that of particular Caſtes or tribes. But the innovations of conquerors and uſurpers, in ſeveral inſtances, particularly in the tenure of immoveable property, which was originally of a feudal nature, have marred the harmony of the antient conſtitution, and rendered property and perſonal liberty more precarious, leſs defined, and more expoſed to chicanery and miſconſtruction.

Although the Hindoos are naturally the moſt inoffenſive of all mortals, yet does their humanity conſiſt more in abſtaining from injurious, than in the performance of beneficent actions. There is a wonderful mildneſs in their manners, and alſo in their laws, which are influenced by their manners; by which the murder of an human creature, and of a cow, are the only crimes that are puniſhed by death. Yet with all this gentleneſs of diſpoſition, they are inferior to the boiſterous Europeans with all their vices, in the virtue of compaſſion and generoſity. They are wanting in that tenderneſs which is the moſt amiable part of our nature. They are leſs affected by the diſtreſſes and dangers, and even the accidental deaths of one another, than any nation I know in the old or new world. Yet they *love* to exceſs; a proof, either of the inconſiſtency of the human character; or that the amorous paſſion is not derived from the nobleſt part of our nature.

This inſenſibility of the Hindoos to the diſtreſſes and dangers of their fellow-creatures, appears to me a wonderful phænomenon. Perhaps that deſpotiſm which has long been exerciſed under the Mogul tyranny, by familiariſing the mind to ſcenes of death, has blunted a ſenſe of its terrors. Perhaps thoſe ideas of predeſtination and irreſiſtible fate, which prevail in Aſia, and in all deſpotic governments, prepares the mind for an acquieſcence in all events. An Engliſh gentleman was ſtanding by a native of Hindoſtan, when an enormous and fierce tiger leaped from a thicket, and carried off a ſcreaming boy, the ſon of one of his neighbours. The Engliſhman expreſſed ſymptoms of the moſt extreme horror, while the Hindoo remained unmoved. "What," ſaid the former, "are you unaffected by ſo dreadful a ſcene?" "The *great God*," ſaid the other, "would have it ſo."—Whatever may

may be the cauſe, it is certain, that death is regarded with leſs horror in India than in any other country in the world. The origin and the end of all things, ſay the philoſophers of India of the preſent times, is a *vacuum*. A ſtate of *repoſe* is the ſtate of greateſt perfection: and this is the ſtate after which a wiſe man aſpires. It is better, ſay the Hindoos, to ſit than to walk, and to ſleep than to wake; but death is the beſt of all.

According to the Gentoo laws, criminals ſentenced to death are not to be ſtrangled, ſuffocated, or poiſoned, but to be cut off by the ſword; becauſe, without an *effuſion of blood*, malefactors are ſuppoſed to die with all their ſins about them; but the ſhedding of their blood, it is thought, expiates their crimes. The unjuſt puniſhment of *Nundcomar*, who was hanged on a gibbet againſt the laws of his country, and even by an *ex poſt facto* Engliſh law, was aggravated by that circumſtance of horror, that he died without an effuſion of blood.

The Hindoos are well acquainted with the nature of ſimples, and apply them judiciouſly either in performing cures which require not amputation, or in effecting death by quick or ſlow poiſons. They have been for ages, in the practice of inoculating for the ſmall-pox; on which occaſion, as well as on others, they have recourſe to the favourable mediation of charms, or ſpells.

Although the practice of Hindoo women burning themſelves on the funeral piles of their huſbands, and embracing in the mean time their dead bodies in their arms, be not ſo general now as it has formerly been, yet does it ſtill prevail among ſome of the wives of men of high *caſte* and condition: and although this effort of frantic love, courage, and ambition, be deemed an aggrandizement of the family and relations of both huſband and wife, but eſpecially of the wife's, yet their friends and relations conſtantly endeavour to diſſuade the women who declare their reſolutions of *burning*, from carrying them into execution. Even the *Brahmins* do not encourage this practice.

The cauſes which inſpire Hindoo women with this deſperate reſolution, are, I imagine, the following:

In the firſt place; as the wife has, from her earlieſt infancy, been betrothed in marriage to her huſband, and from that time has never been permitted to ſee another man; as ſhe is inſtructed to believe that he is perfectly accompliſhed, and taught to reſpect and honour him; as, after conſummation, ſhe is ſhut up from the company, converſation, and even the ſight of other men, with ſtill greater care, if poſſible, than before, being now debarred from ſeeing even the father or elder brother of her huſband, the bonds of her affection muſt needs be inconceivably ſtrong and indiſſoluble. To an European lady, the *zenana* naturally appears in the light of an horrible priſon: but the daughters of Aſia never conſider confinement to the *zenana* as any hardſhip. They conſider it as a condition of their exiſtence, and they enjoy all the happineſs of which they have any conception; their whole deſires being

concentred and fixed on their husband, their food, jewels, and female attendants.

In the second place, if the wife survive her husband, she cannot marry again, and is treated as an inferior person, and an outcast from her family. Nay, she is obliged, in her mournful and hopeless widow-hood, to perform all the offices of a menial servant.

In the third place, she is flattered with the idea of having immortalized her name, and aggrandized her children, and her own and husband's families.

Lastly, she is rendered insensible to the pains and horrors of what she is to suffer, by those intoxicating perfumes and mixtures which are administered to her after she has declared her final and unalterable resolution—I say her final resolution, because one or two declarations, of an intention to die with her husband, is not sufficient. The strength of her resolution undergoes a probation. There is a certain time prescribed by the Gentoo law, during which her family and friends exert their utmost influence, in order to dissuade her from burning; and if she persist in her resolution to the end of that period, it is not lawful to use any more persuasions with her, to abandon it. If she should alter her purpose after that period, she would be punished with the loss of all *Castes*, and live in a state of the most complete misery and contempt. Nay, if an European or Christian does but touch her very garment with his finger, when she is going to the pile, an immediate stop is put to the ceremony, she is forced to live an outcast from her family and from the Gentoo religion.

You will doubtless, my friend, have curiosity to know, in what manner, after all these stimulatives to perseverance, the tender sex, among a soft and effeminate people, sustains the near approach of a scene so full of awe and horror. Amidst her weeping relations and friends, the voluntary victim to love and honour alone appears serene and undaunted. A gentle smile is diffused over her countenance: she walks upright, with an easy but firm step; talks to those around her, of the virtues of the deceased, and of the joy with which she will be transported when her shade shall meet with his; and encourages her sorrowful attendants to bear with fortitude the *sight* of those momentary sufferings which she herself is about to *feel*.—Having ascended the funeral pile, she lays herself down by the body of her husband, which she fervently embraces. A dose of narcotic mixtures is then administered for the last time; and instantly the person, whose office it is, sets fire to the pile.

Thus the most determined resolution of which we can form any conception, is found in the weaker sex, and in the soft climes of Asia. It is to the honour of that sex and those climes, that the greatest courage they exhibit, is the effect, not of the furious impulses of rage and revenge, but conscious dignity and love.

It might naturally be imagined by an European, that the several wives of one man (for polygamy is general throughout all Asia) would regard one another with mutual

mutual jealouſy and averſion; and that they in reality do, has been aſſerted by writers of high reputation. The fact however is quite otherwiſe: they viſit one another with great friendſhip and cordiality; and if they are of the ſame *caſte*, will occaſionally eat together.—The huſband is reſtrained from eating with his wives, either by a regard to cuſtom; or, as I have been informed by ſome of the Gentoos themſelves, by a precept of their religion.

Notwithſtanding the extreme antiquity of moſt Indian nations, I am told that in India beyond the Ganges, on the confines of *Aracan* and *Pegu*, there is a people (if ſolitary ſavages roaming thro' woods in queſt of prey, deſerve the name of people) that appear to be in the very firſt ſtage of ſociety. They are the only people in the known world that go abſolutely naked, without the ſmalleſt covering on any part of their bodies. They live on fruit, which grows ſpontaneouſly, in the uncultivated deſerts they inhabit, in great abundance; and on the fleſh of animals, which they tear alive and devour raw. They ſit on their hams, with their legs and arms diſpoſed in the manner of monkeys. At the approach of men, they flie into their woods. They take care of their offſpring, and live in families, but ſeem to have no ideas of ſubordination of rank, or civil government. I have never had occaſion to ſee this race of mortals myſelf, but I have converſed with ſeveral perſons who have ſeem them; all of whom concur in the general account of them, which I have now given you.

I am, &c. &c.

Deſcription of the different Nations in the Preſidency of Bombay—*of the Natives of the* Malabar Coaſt—*their Marriages*—*of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the* Hindoos, &c. *from the ſame Author.*

I KNOW not any place in the world, where there is a greater medley of different nations than there is in the preſidency of Bombay. This region being conveniently ſituated, not only for commerce by ſea with all maritime nations, but alſo for communication by land, with the Perſian empire; part of which having been conquered by Timur-Beg, is now a part of the Mogul empire. Here, beſides Europeans of all countries, you meet with Turks, Perſians, Arabians, Armenians, a mixed race, the vileſt of their ſpecies, deſcended from the Portugueſe, and the outcaſts from the Gentoo religion, &c. The Turks that reſort to this place on account of trade, are like the reſt of their countrymen, ſtately, grave, and reſerved; and honeſt in their dealings, though merchants. The Perſians are more gay, lively, and converſible: but I would truſt leſs to their honeſty in matters of trade, than I would to the ſaturnine Turks. The Arabians are all life and fire, and when they treat with you on any ſubject, will make you a fine oration in flowing numbers, and a muſical cadence; but they are the moſt diſhoneſt of all. The Armenians are generally handſome in their features, mild in their tempers, and in their nature kind and beneficent. They are a kind of Chriſtians, and an honour to that ſect. The Turks and Perſians are, for the moſt

part, ſtout-bodied men; but the Arabians are of a ſmaller ſtature, and ſlender: yet theſe laſt are accounted the beſt ſoldiers. I have been a witneſs to their agility, and I am told their courage is equal to their activity. I ſaw a kind of war pantomime between three Perſians and three Arabs: they naturally fought in pairs, The Perſians kept their ground, and warded off the blows that were aimed at them in the beſt manner they could. The Arabians, on the contrary, when a ſtroke was aimed at them, ſprung up in the air to an incredible height, and inſtantly made an attack on their antagoniſts. In the mean time, both Perſians and Arabs were ſinging, or rather muttering ſome ſentences, which I did not underſtand. The Perſians, I was told, were ſinging the exploits of Shah-Nadir, and the Arabs were invoking the aſſiſtance of their prophet.

There is a race of mortals in this country, that they call Cafres, that are ſlaves to every other tribe, they have black woolly hair, and came originally from Cafraya, in the ſouth promontory of Africa. I converſe ſometimes with theſe poor devils,—for I think that the opinions and ſentiments of all men, however abject their ſtate, deſerve attention. They tell me, that the *Moor mans* are better maſters than the *Chriſtian mans*. They are ſenſible of their inferiority in education, at leaſt, if not in nature, to Moors, Hindoos, and Chriſtians; and ſeem contented with their ſituation. They are ſo habituated to ſlavery, that I am perſuaded they have loſt all deſire of freedom; and that they are happier in the ſervice of a good maſter, who is their protector and their God, than they would be in a ſtate of independence: in the ſame manner that a dog would leave the greateſt abundance of food in a deſert, and joyfully perform with his owner, even though he ſhould ſometimes beat him, a long and tedious journey, ſubjected to the pain of hunger and of thirſt.

The natives of this country are more ſlim, and generally of a ſhorter ſtature, than Europeans. It is a curious ſight, to ſee their children running about naked, and ſpeaking by the time they are half a year old. I was aſtoniſhed to be ſaluted by theſe little figures, who, after giving me the *ſalam*, putting their hands to their foreheads, and bowing to the very ground, would aſk for ſomething: for all the children of the lower caſts are great beggars; and they go ſtark naked until they are nearly arrived at the age of puberty. Their mental faculties, as well as their bodily powers, arrive much ſooner at maturity than thoſe of Europeans do: yet, it is not true, as is commonly believed, that they ſooner decay. Eaſtern luxury, which affects novelty only in the *zenana*, ſeeks for new wives, and ſoon diſcards the old: But many fine women are deſerted in this manner; and in general, the women of thirty or forty in this country, are as well favoured as women of that age are in Europe. — A native of India, who conſiders a woman merely as an inſtrument of pleaſure, would be infinitely ſurpriſed at the condeſcenſion of a good hale man of ſixty, walking with a wife upwards

wards of fifty, hanging on his arm.

Children are all taught reading and arithmetic in the open air. They learn to diſtinguiſh their letters, and the figures they uſe in their arithmetic (which, I have been told, is a kind of Algebra) forming them with their own hands, either in the ſand or on boards.

Marriages are contracted by boys and girls, and conſummated as ſoon as they arrive at puberty; that is, when the men are thirteen years of age, and the women nine or ten. The marriage ceremony is performed three times; once when the couple are mere infants; a ſecond time, when the gentleman may be about eight or nine years old, and the lady five or ſix; and the third and laſt time, at the age I have already ſpecified. Between the firſt and ſecond marriage ceremonies, the young couple are allowed to ſee one another: they run about and play together as other children do; and knowing they are deſtined for each other, commonly conceive, even at that early period, a mutual affection. But after the ſecond time of marriage, they are ſeparated from each other; the bride, eſpecially if ſhe be a perſon of condition, being ſhut up in the women's apartment until the happy day of the third and laſt ceremony, when the prieſt ſprinkles the bride and bridegroom abundance of rice, as an emblem of fruitfulneſs.

Theſe early contracts are undoubtedly well calculated to inſure the parties with a mutual and laſting affection. The earlieſt part of life is in every country the happieſt; and every object is pleaſing that recalls to the imagination that bleſſed period. The ductile minds of the infant lovers are eaſily twined into one; and the happieſt time of their life is aſſociated with the ſweet remembrance of their early connection. It is not ſo with your brides and bridegrooms of thirty, forty, and fifty: they have had *previous* attachments; the beſt part of life is paſt before their union, perhaps before they ever ſaw each other.

I had once the honour to be preſent at the wedding of a Perſee of good condition. Of this I ſhall give you a minute deſcription. Important matters you will find in the writings of grave hiſtorians; what I ſhall relate, will be ſuch trifling circumſtances as are below the notice of thoſe perſonages, but which, nevertheleſs, curioſity might wiſh to know.

In Hindoſtan, the expence of cloaths is almoſt nothing; and that of food, firing, and lodging, to the natives I mean, very trifling. The Hindoos are not addicted to any expenſive vices, their paſſions and deſires being gentle and moderate. Yet they are frugal and induſtrious, and as eager to amaſs riches as any of the natives of Europe. A Jew, a Dutchman, or a Scotch pedlar, is not more attentive to profit and loſs. What is the reaſon of this? They are lovers of ſplendor and magnificence in every thing, but particularly in what relates to their women. It is in their *harams*, but eſpecially on occaſion of their marriages, that they pour forth the collected treaſures of many induſtrious years.

The Perſee at whoſe wedding I

was

was a gueſt, many weeks beforehand, ſent invitations to his numerous friends and acquaintance, to aſſemble at the fixed time, at a ſpacious hall erected for the occaſion in a beautiful field. It was the dry ſeaſon, when the air was conſtantly mild and ſerene, and the whole vegetable world breathed a delightful fragrance. The hall was formed by bamboos, connected together, as is uſual in that country, and covered with cloth. It was a medium between an houſe and a tent, being leſs ſolid than the former, but more ſubſtantial than the latter. Here the company aſſembled after the heat of the day was over, to the number of ſeveral hundreds. After a rich repaſt, which was ſerved with great regularity, we ſet out to meet the bride, meſſengers having arrived at the hall, to announce her approach. The young Perſee was mounted on a camel richly capariſoned, himſelf adorned with a multitude of jewels, and highly perfumed. A number of ſlaves walked by the ſide of the camel, holding an umbrella over the head of their maſter, while others fanned his face. The company had, as uſual, their palanquins. In the mean time we were entertained by a band of muſic, conſiſting of pipers, blowing very loud on the great pipe with their mouths, and playing with their fingers on another; trumpeters, and a kind of drummers, beating on what they call *tam tams*. The muſic was dreadfully loud, but to my ear not very pleaſant. There was only one tune; nor did I ever hear another during theſe ſix years I have been in India. We arrived at a village, where we were met by the bride, a tended by an infinite number female acquaintance, her ne male relations, and a crowd ſervants. A gentleman's carria in the ſervice of the company w borrowed for the bride. It w an open Phaeton, drawn in flo proceſſion, by four beautiful Ar bian horſes.—The practice of bo rowing Engliſh equipages, on m trimonial occaſions, is very com mon; and they are always le with great good-humour.—As the reſt of the ladies, ſome ro on camels, ſome in carriag drawn by ſpotted buffaloes a bullocks, whoſe horns were t with ſilver, and their heads ador ed with flowers bound by ri bands. The bride was a t comely young creature; her lo black hair falling down over h ſhoulders, and then turned up wreaths, elegantly adorned wi embroidered ribbands and precio ſtones. It was at that mome when her huſband gave her t *ſalam*, in a modeſt and reſpect manner, and at a ſmall diſtan when ſhe ſtood up in the phaeto veiled only by an umbrella, that who had the honour of being n the bridegroom, had a full vi of his lovely bride.

At the end of the village an a cident happened, which int rupted, for a ſhort time, the of the day, and filled the mi of hundreds with the moſt alar ing apprehenſions. The men, well as the women, gave a lo ſhriek, and ran in a diſtracted m ner, not knowing what they d even the bride was for a mom deſerted by thoſe of her own re gion and kindred, and left to care of her European drive

So

ſome unlucky wag had, on pur-
poſe, ſet ſome ſwine adrift, that
were kept by Portugueſe families;
and it was the fear of being
touched by theſe odious and un-
clean animals, that turned, for a
few minutes, a day of joy into a
day of lamentation.—It is impoſ-
ſible to deſcribe the horror that
both Perſees and Gentoos expreſs
at the ſight of a ſow. The very
form of that animal is offenſive to
them, and makes them ſhudder.
It appears as loathſome to them as
a toad does to an European: and
you may imagine the horror you
would feel at the approach of a
toad of the ſize of a ſow.

The ſwine being beat back,
(in effecting which repulſe, I may
juſtly boaſt that I was myſelf the
principal hero) we proceeded in
joyful proceſſion to the hall;
which, ſpacious as it was, was
now inſufficint to contain our en-
creaſed numbers: wherefore, many
of the company were ſeated on the
graſſy plain, lamps being hung
among ſhrubbery on poles of bam-
boos, fixed without much diffi-
culty in the ſoft and deep ſoil.
The hall, illuminated without and
within, diſplayed on both ſides,
various pictures of elephants and
other animals, and alſo of men.
The young Perſee's uncle, who
shewed great attention to myſelf
and the other Europeans, informed
us, that the portraits we ſaw were
Perſian emperors.—There is *Ko-*
yſh, ſaid he; and after naming
a number of other princes, he
pointed to *Nadir Stha*, and *Kerim*
Khan the preſent emperor.—I can-
not think that they could, either
from tradition, painting, or ſta-
tuary, have any accurate notion,
if any at all, of the particular
ſtature, ſhape, and countenance
of Cyrus. The artiſt muſt have
been guided merely by fancy.

Various kinds of refreſhments having been, after ſhort intervals, preſented to the company, we were at laſt entertained with a ball, which laſted all night. The ladies were placed by themſelves on one ſide of the hall, and the gentlemen by themſelves on the other. The women wore their veils; but theſe were not drawn ſo cloſely over the face, but that we could get a peep at their eyes and noſes. When their veils were drawn back, in order that they might enjoy the refreſhment of being fanned, we could diſcover their necks and their fine hair. Indeed, on occaſion of weddings, the veil, as I have been aſſured, ſits more looſely on the ladies than at other times.—There was not the leaſt communication between the men and the women; no not a whiſper. The men converſed among themſelves; and the women obſerved a profound ſilence, looking ſtraight forward with inexpreſſible ſweetneſs and modeſty.

But now appears a ſpectacle which commands ſilence among the gentlemen as well as the ladies, and draws the attention of every part of the hall. A company of ſtrolling dancing girls from Surat, appear on a platform raiſed about two feet above the floor. Violins were now added to the band of muſic, and preſently the dance began. The *balladieres* (for that is the name by which the dancing girls are diſtinguiſhed on this ſide of Hindoſtan) are dreſſed in the gaudieſt manner that the luxuriant fancy of the eaſt can conceive. Their long black

black hair falling over their ſhoulders in flowing ringlets, or braided and turned up, is loaded with precious ſtones, and ornamented with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched in the ſame manner; even their noſe-jewels, which at firſt ſight appear ſhocking to an European, have ſomething pleaſing, after cuſtom has worn off the effect of prejudice, and by a certain ſymmetry, ſet off all the other ornaments. Nothing can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts, as the moſt ſtriking mark of beauty. In order to prevent them from growing large or ill-ſhaped, they encloſe them in caſes made of exceedingly light wood, which are joined together, and faſtened with buckles of jewels behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and pliant, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body without being flattened, and without the ſmalleſt injury to the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with a leaf of gold, and ſtudded with diamonds. They take it off and put it on again with equal facility. This covering of the breaſt conceals not from the amorous eye, palpitations, heavings, various tender emotions, nor ought that can contribute to excite deſire: while at the ſame time it leaves ſomething for the ſpectator *to gueſs*. The *balladieres* imagine that they heighten the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their countenances, by tracing black circles round their eyes, with a hair bodkin dipped in the powder of antimony. On their ancles, beſides jewels, they wear bells, which they think have a good effect; but which, I confeſs, I do not admire.

The *balladieres*, it muſt be obſerved, are not all of the ſame rank or condition. It is only the higher ranks among them, who, I have been told, are conſecrated to the uſe of the *Brahmins*, the firſt caſte in this ſuperſtitious country, that can afford to have a load of diamonds. Nor do the *balladieres* of this claſs ſtroll through the country. But if the common dancing girls are not uſually adorned with diamonds, they have other precious ſtones and ornaments that ſtrike with equal effect. In every other reſpect, their dreſs reſembles that of the *balladieres* of the firſt rank.

When theſe girls dance, they do not hop, cut, and ſkip like our actreſſes in Europe; they never lift their feet high. Their dances would not be ſuffered, it muſt be owned, in an aſſembly of European ladies. They expreſs, by mute action, all the raptures and extravagancies of the paſſion of love, when in deep retirement, concealed from every prying eye, the happy lovers, throwing aſide all reſtraint, yield to the irreſiſtable impulſe of the moſt ardent deſire of nature. Nor is mute action the whole of this ſcene. The girls accompany their wanton attitudes with laſcivious ſongs, until, overcome by the power of imagination, and the ſtrength of perfumes, their voices die away, and they become motionleſs; which is the concluſion of this *opera*, ſhall I call it, or *pantomime*? —The ball laſted until morning. Refreſhments were preſented to the company at ſhort intervals during the night. The bride was accom-

accompanied to the houſe of her husband only by her neareſt relations. The Hindoo ladies were in like manner taken care of by their huſbands or kindred. As to the balladieres, they were eſcorted home by Europeans.

Moderate in every other reſpect, the Hindoos love to exceſs. I was curious to know what were the common topics of converſation among this people; for they are very ſociable, meeting together frequently at each other's doors, and ſmoaking all day long.—Upon inquiry, I found they were ever talking about their wives; their qualities, their numbers, and their proſpects of getting new ones, &c. &c. The barbarous nations in America talk of hunting and war; in England, the people talk on politics; in Scotland, of religion; in France, of the grand monarque; in Hindoſtan, the conſtant theme is love and marriage.—There are ſeveral analogies, which occur to my imagination at the moment of writing this, between the peninſula of Hindoſtan and that of Italy; which I ſhall commit to paper without examining them. The Hindoos were once a flouriſhing and powerful people; and their knowledge, religion, and laws, ſpread over many countries of Aſia. In like manner, the knowledge, the religion, the laws of Rome, enlightened and bleſſed the nations of Europe: but, in proceſs of time, the Roman empire was over-run, and broken into many independent ſtates, by irruptions of northern barbarians. Such was alſo the fate of the Hindoo empire, which was conquered and torn in pieces by the Mogul Tartars. The ſtates of Italy at this day are only nominal ſovereignties, being dependent on the emperor, France, and Spain. In like manner, the princes of Hindoſtan have long depended on the protection of one or other of the powers of Europe.—The Italians of the preſent time, are an unwarlike, effeminate, and indolent people, delighting only in love and muſic. This is alſo exactly the character of the modern Hindoos. Other reſemblances might be traced between theſe nations: but on the ſubject of reſemblances, one is apt to grow fanciful; therefore I proceed not any further on this topic.

I have endeavoured, at various times, to lead the natives of this country into a free converſation on Europeans, and their tyranny; but I found them very reſerved. They often complained of the inſolence of the common ſoldiers. The *warrior caſt* in Europe, they ſay, muſt be very bad mans.—I once overheard a converſation between a Moor who kept a ſhop in Bombay and one of our corporals. The corporal aſked the price of ſome cheeſe; the Moor demanded a rupee (half a crown) a pound; the corporal, after a torrent of abuſive language mixt with threatenings, ſwore that he could purchaſe better cheeſe in Europe for fourpence. "Well, maſter," ſaid the cheeſemonger, "I ſuppoſe very few in this coun-" try will hinder you from going " to Europe to buy it."—This was the ſtrongeſt inſinuation of the diſlike in which Europeans are held here, that I ever heard from any of the natives of Indoſtan. —I overheard at another

time,

time, a converſation between a Moor and one of our men, on the ſubject of religion. After a good deal of diſputation, in the courſe of which the chriſtian loſt his temper, and poured forth the greateſt curſes on Mahomet and all his followers; the diſciple of the great prophet, with great calmneſs, replied, "Maſter, why "do Chriſtians curſe Mahomet? "we Mahometans never curſe "Jeſus Chriſt." The ſoldier, provoked beyond meaſure at this compariſon, would certainly have knocked the Moor down, if his paſſion had not found vent in a very ſeaſonable volley of imprecations.

In Bombay, where people of ſo many different nations are collected together, there is a kind of language, which is compoſed of the moſt common words of the languages of each nation, and of natural ſigns. Converſation is carried on, in a great meaſure, by geſticulation, pointing, and various diſtortions of countenance. This affords to a ſtranger a ludicrous ſpectacle. The Hindoos ſpeak in a very loud tone of voice, inſomuch that it appeared diſagreeable to me, before cuſtom, that reconciles us to every thing, rendered it familiar: yet their voices are not harſh, but naturally ſweet and melodious. The men ſhave their heads, but all the women wear their hair long. The Jews and Perſees wear long beards: but the Gentoos, whoſe religion, preſcribes cleanlineſs of perſon, ſhave their heads, leaving only a ſmall tuft on the crown, their beards, arm-pits, &c. &c. The trade of a potter is an excellent one in this country; for the Gentoos never uſe the ſame pot plate twice; that would be poll tion; but as to plates, their pla is generally ſupplied by the bro and tough leaves of banyan tree and they uſe no ſpoons. Ladl they have, made of the ſhell the cocoa-nut, with which th ſerve up their rice, which is co monly mixed with ghee, (a kin of half-made butter, which th keep freſh in leather bottles f years, without ſalt) and ſpice which make it a very ſavoury an nouriſhing food. This they ea not with knives and forks, b with their fingers. The carniv rous appetites of Europeans ſhoc them; for, the warrior caſt e cepted, the Gentoos eat no fle meat. Certain other caſts are a lowed to eat fiſh. Of the En liſh particularly, they ſay, ſha ing their heads, "Ah! Engliſ mans eat every thing, fight eve thing."

Indeed, I muſt ſay, that I wa diſguſted myſelf at the practice ſo common among Europeans a well as Moors, of eating ſnak and frogs. The frog of th country is as large as a chicken It makes a loud croaking noiſe i the tanks and fields in the even ings. This ſupplies the place o the melody of European birds The frogs are fed with great car after they are caught. I am tol by the frog-eaters, that they ar moſt delicate food. I take thei word for it. The late Genera Wedderburne was ſo fond of frogs that he kept a frog-catcher, as gentlemen in Europe keep fowlers.

There is a kind of ſerpents, capable of being tamed, which become domeſtics in families, and which undoubtedly have a ſenſibility to the

the charms of muſic; for, at the ſound of a violin, they raiſe their heads, and move their bodies in concord to the muſical notes. When you ſtroke their beautiful backs, they ſeem ſenſible of the careſs, their necks and heads moving more briſkly to the muſic, and their eyes ſparkling with encreaſed luſtre. It was, doubtleſs, in allufion to this ſpecies of ſerpents, that Solomon ſtigmatized the deaf adder, that *would not be charmed by the voice of the charmer, charm ever ſo wiſely.*

I have never yet, either by reading or converſation, obtained any ſatisfactory account of the origin of thoſe ideas of pollution, and ſingular antipathies and abhorrences, which prove ſo great tormentors to the Hindoos. Different writers have attempted to trace them back to the arts of prieſts and politicians. But prieſtcraft and policy do not inſpire mankind with new deſires and averſions. They may ſanctify and confirm prejudices already entertained; they may improve and heighten them, and uſe them as engines for their own purpoſes; but I apprehend they ſeldom ſtudy to create them. However the ſuperſtructure may be the effect of art, the foundation is laid in nature. It is political wiſdom, perhaps*, to puniſh unnatural crimes; and in fact they are puniſhed: but does the puniſhment of ſuch crimes originate in views of policy? It is a natural abhorrence that firſt impels men to puniſh them: in the ſame manner that a ſchool-boy is urged by a natural antipathy to kill thoſe odious reptiles that offend his eye in his wandering excurſions in woods and fields.—Europeans are conſcious of many antipathies, which it is impoſſible to trace to any ſcource of ſuperſtition or policy: the Aſiatics, in like manner, have theirs; with this difference, that they are at once more violent and more numerous. There ſeems to be a greater irritability in their nerves; they are more forcibly ſtruck by every object.

The manner of drinking among the Gentoos is remarkable. They religiouſly avoid touching the veſſel that contains the liquor with their lips, and pour it into their mouths, holding the bottle, or other veſſel, at leaſt at a foot's diſtance. Their idea is, that they would be polluted by ſtagnating water. They will drink from a pump, or of any running ſtream, but not out of a pool.

The Hindoos preſerve the Aſiatic cuſtom, of which we read in the bible, of threſhing out their corn by the treading of oxen. A pole is fixed in the ground, in the upper end of which is ſet a pivot, which ſerves as an axis for a wheel, or rather a wooden frame, which is turned round by the oxen, and which confines their ſteps to the threſhing floor. The grain is ſhaken from the huſks and the ſtraw by the beating of their feet and legs. A couple of oxen will threſh two or three hundred buſhels of rice a day.—There have been various attempts in Europe to

* The preſident Monteſquieu is of opinion, that the puniſhment of unnatural crimes is by no means neceſſary. Nature will maintain her own rights without the intervention of the magiſtrate.

contrive

contrive a machine for threshing corn, the most laborious and expensive operation in husbandry. Might not our farmers for once take a hint from the Asiatics, and try the method of threshing by means of oxen? The threshing-floor is formed by spreading on the surface of a spot of level ground, a paste composed of water, earth, and cow-dung. This operation is performed by the women.

There is not a more precious substance in the eyes of the Gentoos, than cow-dung. It is not perhaps known in Europe, that cow-dung is an infallible preservative against the destructive effects of all kinds of vermin. It is for this reason, that it is used in forming threshing-floors. It is for the same reason, that it is used as plaister to the houses, which are overlaid with this substance, mixed with water and a very little earth, both without and within. A layer of this composition being spread on the walls, and sufficient time being allowed for it to dry, a second stratum is added, for the purpose of filling up any chinks that may be occasioned by excessive drought. A smooth and solid paste being thus formed, it is white-washed with a very fine and white lime made of oyster-shells. These white walls are variegated without as well as within, by the figures of different animals, especially elephants. But I have not yet fully described the great importance of cow-dung. It is not only a necessary article both in agriculture and architecture, but also in religion. The pollution that is occasionally conveyed to their houses by the contact of *Christians*, the Gentoos wash away by the precious ointment of cow-dung. The pagodas in the island of Salsette, having been used by our soldiers as lodging-places during the war with the Marattas, were considered as defiled and were wholly abandoned until they had undergone a purification by cow-dung. It is not a little humiliating to a professor of Christianity, that he should be considered by the ancient and numerous sect of the Gentoos, as a piece of animated substance infinitely more loathsome and odious than the excrement of a buffalo or a bullock.

The Gentoos are undoubtedly gross idolaters. What are the doctrines of their priests, I know not: they worship figures of men with elephant heads, and a variety of other images. The human figures which are the objects of their devotion, have many hands, and are enormously corpulent. They also worship different animals: I have seen in their temples live bullocks. It occurred to me, that these were going to be sacrificed to their god or gods; but I was soon given to understand, that they were gods themselves.

The Persians of this country, as is generally known, pay divine adoration to *fire*, but not in a senseless and idolatrous manner; for I have been assured by very respectable characters among the Persees, that they worship fire only as an emblem of the Divinity, and as his chief agent in the system of the universe.—They never extinguish fire. They will stand for hours by their lamps, putting up their prayers to God, with folded hands, and their eyes turned towards Heaven with great marks of devo-

devotion. They utter ejaculatory prayers all day long, and constantly mix business, and even common conversation, with devotion. They have a superstitious veneration for cocks and for dogs. They breed great numbers of dogs at their own houses, and feed them regularly twice every day with rice and ghee. To all dogs, whether their own or not, they are very hospitable. Wherever they see a dog, they presently call him, and offer him food. If you walk abroad with a dog in any of the Persee villages, you presently hear *jo! jo!* at every turn; every body striving to be the first to entertain your dog. Dogs are also sacred in all the Turkish dominions. The dogs on the island of Bombay, a few years ago, were many of them mad: whereupon an order was given by the governor, for killing all dogs without exception. This order being known, the Persees were greatly alarmed, met together, and entered into a solemn league and covenant in defence of their dogs, and threatened to protect *their* lives at the risque of their own. It was therefore thought prudent, not to insist on the execution of the decree that had been issued against those faithful and affectionate domestics.

How difficult it is to distinguish the sentiments of nature, from the prejudices of education! Most nations with whom we are acquainted, are careful to bury their dead, and consider it as a kind of misfortune to their departed friends, if by any accident their inanimate bodies should not be honoured by a decent interment. That very circumstance, however, which, in the opinion of Homer, and those to whom he addressed the Iliad, aggravated the hard fate of those heroes who fell in the Trojan war, whose unburied limbs were devoured by hungry dogs and ravenous vultures: that very circumstance, so full of horror to a Grecian mind, would have appeared to a Persian, matter of the greatest consolation. For the Persees expose the bodies of their dead to birds of prey, as the last good office that friendship can perform to the deceased. They erect for this purpose fabrics about ten feet high, over the walls of which they fix an iron grate, whereon they place the dead.—These buildings are very like kilns, save that they want roofs. Crows, kites, and vultures, quickly devour the flesh; and the bones, after being bleached for many years, are at last pulverised, and drop gradually into the cavity of the building, thus making way for new carcases.

I prefer to this, the manner in which the Gentoos dispose of their dead. They burn their bodies with sandal-wood and other aromatics. A very worthy gentleman of my acquaintance, Captain W—st, is so much delighted with this practice, that he has given orders, that his body, after he is dead, shall be burnt after the Gentoo manner, with sandal-wood. —The poor Faqueirs, of whom you have heard so often, bury their dead within their very places of habitation, which are sometimes huts, and sometimes caverns. The self-denied Faqueirs will lie whole days and nights, covered with dust, under ban-yan trees, confessing their sins, and expiating them by re-

repentance, ſupported only by a bottle of water and a little *gram*, or parched corn, not unlike peaſe, but ſweeter to the taſte. This mendicant order of *religious*, often ſupply our *patty-maurs* * with proviſions on their journies, when, avoided by the ſuperſtitious Gentoos as if they were ſome noxious animals, they would be in great danger of ſtarving.

It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the ſmall-pox is common in all Aſiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindoſtan, not yet known in Europe, by which the women effectually prevent any traces of the ſmall-pox on the faces of their little ones. This preſervative is compoſed of a ſalve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply as ſoon as the pock begins to blacken. I am ſurpriſed that none of the company's ſurgeons have ever enquired into the nature of this preparation: for, I preſume, if they had, they would have diſcovered it; and the fact, that the Hindoos know how to ſave their ſkins from the ravages of the ſmall-pox, is undoubted.

I ſhall, now I have got on the ſubject of Hindoo ſurgery, mention another operation of the chirurgical kind, which I am well aſſured is attended with the happieſt effects. When any perſon happens to be bruiſed in any part of his body, by a fall, a blow, or otherwiſe, thoſe who are neareſt to him, preſently ſtrip off the greater part of his cloaths, and with the palms of their hands gently rub the afflicted part, and proceeding from that ſpot, ru over, with greater force, the whol of the body. This good office generally performed by the wo men, who are indeed the ſurgeon and phyſicians of this country and who handle their patien with all the eaſy addreſs of th moſt experienced member of th faculty in Europe.

Before the Hindoos riſe fro their beds, they ſtretch them ſelves, darting out their legs an arms with a ſudden motion ſevera times. Then they proceed to th doors of their houſes, where the ſit in circles, in order to pick an to waſh their teeth. They fi their mouths repeatedly with wa ter, and holding back their heads make a croaking noiſe, like ſ many frogs. Thoſe of the Gen too religion perform divers othe ablutions in ſecret.

Although the Hindoos are th meekeſt people on earth, yet the ſometimes quarrel with one ano ther. Will you pleaſe to atten to ſo trifling a deſcription as tha of an Hindoo ſcolding-match Storms ſometimes diſplay the na ture of the ſoil on which they fall —The enraged parties begin wit complaining of each other's in juſtice; and retail a great man moral and religious maxims which, by that injuſtice, hav been violated. They enumerat the acts of violence or of fraud which their antagoniſts have com mitted againſt others, as well a themſelves. They undervalu each other's families: — "You ſiſter went on a certain day t fetch water from the well, an was embraced by a Chriſtian ſol

* Meſſengers or Poſts.

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dier:—"Your father dying young, your mother did not ſhave her head, but made her elopement with a ſepoy:"—"From a nigardly diſpoſition, you violated the laws of our holy religion, by making the ſame earthen pot ſerve you a whole week:"——And, "You got ſo drunk, on one occaſion, with brabtree toddy, that you not only touched the veſſel with your lips, but bit it with your teeth." In this manner they kept ſcolding for the ſpace of ſome hours: but now the contention becomes fiercer, and the opprobious terms of Cafre and Hallachore are retorted with great fury. As the laſt poſſible inſult, they pull off their ſhoes, ſpit in them, and throw them in each other's faces*. Anon, they proceed to action, tearing each other's hair, and ſmiting each other, not with their fiſts, but the palms of their hands, like women or children. After they are ſufficiently fatigued by this exerciſe, they part, each declaring that he would have inflicted on his adverſary more ſevere marks of his vengeance, if he did not conſider himſelf as much polluted by touching him, as he would be by coming in contact with a *ſow* or a *Chriſtian*.

I never beheld ſo ſtriking a proof of the influence of food on animal conſtitutions, as in the battles of dogs in this country. The dogs of ſuch of the natives as feed them only with rice and ghee, are no more a match for the dogs that are bred by the Engliſh, though of the ſame ſpecies, than one of theſe would be a match for a lion. Our ſoldiers take great delight in promoting fights between their dogs and thoſe of the Hindoos, which is a very cruel entertainment.

It will not ſurpriſe one, who knows the reſolution of Hindoo women in burning with their huſbands, to be told, that there is at preſent in Bombay, a woman, a native of Mangalore †, who, aſſuming the habit of a man, enliſted in a company of ſepoys, in order to have a chance of meeting with her ſweetheart, who had enliſted in our ſervice in the laſt war. After having been in one or two engagements, in which ſhe diſplayed a manly courage, ſhe found her lover, to whom ſhe made herſelf known, and became his wife. The wives of the heymals, as well as their huſbands, follow the employment of porters, and are kept to their labour as well as the men, by the terror of a ſcourge. The conſtancy and heroiſm of this lady, has been rewarded by an appointment to the office of overſeer of the wives of the *coolies*. I have ſeen her with a *rattan* in her hand, acting in the capacity of a female ſerjeant.

* It ſhould be obſerved, that when the Gentoos enter their temples, or the apartments of any great man, they pull off their ſhoes, and leave them at the door. As appearing in your preſence without ſhoes, is the greateſt mark of reſpect; ſo to throw one's ſhoe in his neighbour's face, is the very laſt mark of contempt.

† Hyder Ally's capital.

Cuſtomary Education and Employment of the Inhabitants of Nantucket; *from Letters from an* American *Farmer, by* J. Hector St. John.

THE eaſieſt way of becoming acquainted with the modes of thinking, the rules of conduct, and the prevailing manners of any people, is to examine what ſort of education they give their children; how they treat them at home, and what they are taught in their places of public worſhip. At home their tender minds muſt be early ſtruck with the gravity, the ſerious though chearful deportment of their parents; they are inured to a principle of ſubordination, ariſing neither from ſudden paſſions nor inconſiderate pleaſure; they are gently held by an uniform ſilk cord, which unites ſoftneſs and ſtrength. A perfect equanimity prevails in moſt of their families, and bad example hardly ever ſows in their hearts the ſeeds of future and ſimilar faults. They are corrected with tenderneſs, nurſed with the moſt affectionate care, clad with that decent plainneſs, from which they obſerve their parents never to depart: in ſhort, by the force of example, which is ſuperior even to the ſtrongeſt inſtinct of nature, more than by precepts, they learn to follow the ſteps of their parents, to deſpiſe oſtentatiouſneſs as being ſinful. They acquire a taſte for that neatneſs for which their fathers are ſo conſpicuous; they learn to be prudent and ſaving; the very tone of voice with which they are always addreſſed, eſtabliſhes in them that ſoftneſs of diction, which ever after becomes habitual. Frugal, ſober, orderly parents, attached to their buſineſs, conſtantly following ſome uſeful occupation, never guilty of riot, diſſipation, or other irregularities, cannot fail of training up children to the ſame uniformity of life and manners. If they are left with fortunes, they are taught how to ſave them, and how to enjoy them with moderation and decency; if they have none, they know how to venture, how to work and toil as their fathers have done before them. If they fail of ſucceſs, there are always in this iſland (and wherever this ſociety prevails) eſtabliſhed reſources, founded on the moſt benevolent principles. At their meetings they are taught the few, the ſimple tenets of their ſect; tenets as fit to render men ſober, induſtrious, juſt, and merciful, as thoſe delivered in the moſt magnificent churches and cathedrals: they are inſtructed in the moſt eſſential duties of Chriſtianity, ſo as not to offend the divinity by the commiſſion of evil deeds; to dread his wrath and the puniſhments he has denounced; they are taught at the ſame time to have a proper confidence in his mercy while they deprecate his juſtice. As every ſect, from their different modes of worſhip, and their different interpretations of ſome parts of the ſcriptures, neceſſarily have various opinions and prejudices, which contribute ſomething in forming their characteriſtics in ſociety; ſo thoſe of the Friends are well known: obedience to the laws, even to non-reſiſtance, juſtice, good-will to all, benevolence at home, ſobriety, meekneſs, neatneſs, love of order, fondneſs and appetite for commerce

commerce. They are as remarkable here for those virtues as at Philadelphia, which is their American cradle, and the boast of that society. At school they learn to read, and to write a good hand, until they are twelve years old; they are then in general put apprentices to the cooper's trade, which is the second essential branch of business followed here; at fourteen they are sent to sea, where in their leisure hours their companions teach them the art of navigation, which they have an opportunity of practising on the spot. They learn the great and useful art of working a ship in all the different situations which the sea and wind so often require; and surely there cannot be a better or more useful school of that kind in the world. Then they go gradually through every station of rowers, steersmen, and harpooners; thus they learn to attack, to pursue, to overtake, to cut, to dress their huge game: and after having performed several such voyages, and perfected themselves in this business, they are fit either for the counting-house or the chase.

The first proprietors of this island, or rather the first founders of this town, began their career of industry with a single whale-boat, with which they went to fish for cod; the small distance from their shores at which they caught it, enabled them soon to increase their business, and those early successes, first led them to conceive that they might likewise catch the whales, which hitherto sported undisturbed on their banks. After many trials and several miscarriages, they succeeded; thus they proceeded, step by step; the profits of one successful enterprize helped them to purchase and prepare better materials for a more extensive one: as these were attended with little costs, their profits grew greater. The south sides of the island from east to west, were divided into four equal parts, and each part was assigned to a company of six, which though thus separated, still carried on their business in common. In the middle of this distance, they erected a mast, provided with a sufficient number of rounds, and near it they built a temporary hut, where five of the associates lived, whilst the sixth from his high station carefully looked toward the sea, in order to observe the spouting of the whales. As soon as any were discovered, the sentinel descended, the whale-boat was launched, and the company went forth in quest of their game. It may appear strange to you, that so slender a vessel as an *American whale-boat*, containing six diminutive beings, should dare to pursue and to attack, in its native element, the largest and strongest fish that nature has created. Yet by the exertions of an admirable dexterity, improved by a long practice, in which these people are become superior to any other whale-men; by knowing the temper of the whale after her first movement, and by many other useful observations; they seldom failed to harpoon it, and to bring the huge leviathan on the shores. Thus they went on until the profits they made, enabled them to purchase larger vessels, and to pursue them farther, when the whales quitted their coasts; those who

failed in their enterprizes, returned to the cod-fiſheries, which had been their firſt ſchool, and their firſt reſource; they even began to viſit the banks of Cape Breton, the iſle of Sable, and all the other fiſhing places, with which this coaſt of America abounds. By degrees they went a whaling to Newfoundland, to the Gulph of St. Laurence, to the Straits of Belleiſle, the coaſt of Labrador, Davis's Straits, even to Cape Deſolation, in 70° of latitude; where the Danes carry on ſome fiſheries in ſpite of the perpetual ſeverities of that inhoſpitable climate. In proceſs of time they viſited the weſtern iſlands, the latitude of 34° famous for that fiſh, the Braſils, the coaſt of Guinea. Would you believe that they have already gone to the Falkland Iſlands, and that I have heard ſeveral of them talk of going to the South Sea! Their confidence is ſo great, and their knowledge of this branch of buſineſs ſo ſuperior to that of any other people, that they have acquired a monopoly of this commodity. Such were their feeble beginnings, ſuch the infancy and the progreſs of their maritime ſchemes; ſuch is now the degree of boldneſs and activity to which they are arrived in their manhood. After their examples ſeveral companies have been formed in many of our capitals, where every neceſſary article of proviſions, implements, and timber, are to be found. But the induſtry exerted by the people of Nantucket, hath hitherto enabled them to rival all their competitors; conſequently this is the greateſt market for oil, whale-bone, and ſpermaceti, on the continent. It does not follow however that they are always ſucceſsful; this would be an extraordinary field indeed, where the crops ſhould never fail; many voyages do not repay the original coſt of fitting out: they bear ſuch misfortunes like true merchants, and as they never venture their all like gameſters, they try their fortunes again; the latter hope to win by chance alone, the former by induſtry, well judged ſpeculation, and ſome hazard. I was there when Mr. —— had miſſed one of his veſſels; ſhe had been given over for loſt by every body, but happily arrived before I came away, after an abſence of thirteen months. She had met with a variety of diſappointments on the ſtation ſhe was ordered to, and rather than return empty, the people ſteered for the coaſt of Guinea, where they fortunately fell in with ſeveral whales, and brought home upward of 600 barrels of oil, beſide bone. Thoſe returns are ſometimes diſpoſed of in the towns of the continent, where they are exchanged for ſuch commodities as are wanted; but they are moſt commonly ſent to England, where they always ſell for caſh. When this is intended, a veſſel larger than the reſt is fitted out to be filled with oil on the ſpot where it is found and made, and thence ſhe ſails immediately for London. This expedient ſaves time, freight, and expence; and from that capital they bring back whatever they want. They employ alſo ſeveral veſſels in tranſporting lumber to the Weſt-Indian iſlands, from whence they procure in return the various productions of the country, which they afterwards

wards exchange wherever they can hear of an advantageous market. Being extremely acute they well know how to improve all the advantages which the combination of so many branches of business constantly affords; the spirit of commerce, which is the simple art of a reciprocal supply of wants, is well understood here by every body. They possess, like the generality of the Americans, a large share of native penetration, activity, and good sense, which lead them to a variety of other secondary schemes too tedious to mention: they are well acquainted with the cheapest method of procuring lumber from Kennebeck river, Penobscot, &c. pitch and tar, from North Carolina; flour and biscuit, from Philadelphia; beef and pork, from Connecticut. They know how to exchange their cod fish and West-Indian produce, for those articles which they are continually either bringing to their island, or sending off to other places where they are wanted. By means of all these commercial negociations, they have greatly cheapened the fitting out of their whaling fleets, and therefore much improved their fisheries. They are indebted for all these advantages not only to their national genius but to the poverty of their soil; and as a proof of what I have so often advanced, look at the Vineyard (their neighbouring island) which is inhabited by a set of people as keen and as sagacious as themselves. Their soil being in general extremely fertile, they have fewer navigators; though they are equally well situated for the fishing business.

A short Narrative of the late Gilbert West, *L.L.D.*

The following Account of the late Dr. G. West, we have reason to assure our Readers, is perfectly authentic.

GILBERT West was the son of the Reverend Doctor West. He had the misfortune to be deprived of his father whilst under the age of thirteen years, and just too at the time when a Mitre was expected for the doctor, through the interest of a powerful friend, Lord Orford, who had gained the royal assent to raise him to that dignity. At this early period of his life, he was left to the care of his disconsolate and distressed mother, who had not only her own loss to deplore, but also the blasted hopes of a young family. Gilbert West was sent to Eaton, and compleated his education at Oxford. His mother was the eldest daughter of Sir Richard Temple, and sister to Lord Cobham; a woman not more distinguished for her beauty, than for her exemplary conduct through life. Her marrying a clergyman, though a man of family, of learning, and high character, was so resented by her brother Cobham, who hated (as he declared) the whole cloth, that he excluded her from his honours and estates, and settled them on his second sister's male issue, confining the little marks of his brotherly attentions for his eldest sister, to her son Gilbert West. Lord Cobham presented Mr. West, while at Oxford, with a cornetsy in his own regiment. He was then reading di-

vinity, that being the bent of his inclination, and best adapted to his serious turn of mind. Being thus called into the military line, he was naturally led to make frequent visits from Oxford to Stowe, to gain knowledge of his uncle in his new profession, whom he looked up to with the greatest admiration; his lordship being possessed of brilliant talents, and a perfect knowledge of the world. To his lordship's captivating standard, many of the first genius repaired, which gave rise to animated conversations, and the display of wit on various subjects. Among other topics, revealed religion had its turn for animadversion, and was represented as a work of imposition, which a wise man must reject; and that the whole derived its source from priest-craft. This caught the honest mind of Mr. West; and then not being able to answer the deluding arguments brought in support of those fatal errors, he imbibed *this* on principle, that there was no real foundation for the *great truths* set forth in the *holy scriptures*; but he never was brought to lose sight of the Supreme Being in all his glorious works, to whom he ever paid the devoutest adoration. His love of virtue in its fullest extent, was so great, that his actions throughout were considered by those, who knew him well, to be so upright, as never to border upon vice.

He was one of the students of Christ Church, Oxford, and from thence had his introduction into the Secretary of State's office, being nominated by that university to answer the plan of government in sending such a given number of them to be initiated into the business of the state, in order to qualify them for foreign embassies. Lord Townshend, then Secretary of State, received Mr. West with great marks of friendly regard, and honoured him with confidential business at his own house; and when his lordship attended King George the First to Hanover, Mr. West accompanied him. This gave a fair prospect for Mr. West's advancement, and certainly it must have taken place, had not his uncle Lord Cobham become a violent opposer of administration. Lord Townshend, in consequence of it, told Mr. West very fairly, that he could no longer give support to his acknowledged merit, as his uncle stood in the way of his promotion, and any favour done to him, would be construed as a servile court paid to Lord Cobham. Mr. Gilbert West seeing that he must fall a sacrifice to his alliance with Lord Cobham, quitted the scene of public business, soon after married, and fixed at Peckham in Kent; where his tranquil life was rendered truly pleasing, by books, and a chosen few, who frequently came there, and by their rational and unrestrained converse, enjoyed a felicity they could not find in the busy world. His near relation, and long tried valuable friend, George Lyttelton, represented Mr. West in so advantageous a light to Frederick, Prince of Wales, in whose service he then was, that his royal highness, on Mr. Lyttelton's recommendation, authorised him to acquaint Mr. West, that he intended to give him the education of the young prince, his present

preſent majeſty. This being communicated to Mr. Weſt by Mr. Lyttelton, he took very deeply into conſideration the importance of ſuch a charge, and it led him to conclude, that no principles could be binding on the human mind, which had not religion for their baſis. He therefore reſolved to find out the true one, if poſſible, to reſt his faith upon it, give comfort to his own mind, and qualify himſelf for the truſt expected to be repoſed in him. To effect theſe ſalutary ends, he determined to read the ſcriptures with the utmoſt care, believing, if they were of divine inſpiration, all ſeeming inconſiſtencies were to be reconciled. Theſe important conſiderations he offered to his worthy good friend, George Lyttelton, whoſe warm and excellent heart exulted on the noble and pious ideas thrown out on the occaſion; and there enſued between theſe long loved and eſteemed friends, the moſt intereſting and affecting converſation, which the perſon who writes this, had the ſatisfaction to be witneſs to, and to their reſolutions, at the ſame time, to undertake their obſervations on the *Reſurrection* and *St. Paul*; which were ſoon after given to the public, in 1747. In the year following, the Univerſity of Oxford created Mr. Weſt, Doctor of Laws, by deploma. The approbation given to theſe performances, put Mr. Weſt upon a more extenſive plan, as the cavillers ſaid, all objections were ſtill in force, except the *authenticity of the ſcriptures were proved*. He therefore begun upon that great work, but got no farther than the three firſt chapters in Geneſis, it pleaſing the all-wiſe diſpoſer, to remove him to that glorious ſtate, where all he had been meditating upon in this imperfect one, was no doubt opened to his view. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the heartfelt delight he received in ſtudying the holy ſcriptures; and his mind was ſo illumined with theſe ſacred truths, and with holding as he did a conſtant intercourſe with the Divine Nature, that he ſeemed to be above the injuries of fortune, or pains of ſickneſs, looking forwards to a more permanent condition. His ſublime piety, virtue, amiable and chearful diſpoſition, made him equally beloved and reſpected; nor was ever any man more warmly and tenderly attached to his friends than he was. Mr. Weſt had too much dignity of character, to admit of pride or ſupercilioufneſs; never beholding with ſcorn the imperfect characters, or imperfect pleaſures of other men; he enjoyed with complacency, himſelf, the innocent pleaſures of life, whether preſented to him under the form of beautiful nature, or ingenious art.

To an early friendſhip with the then Duke of Devonſhire's ſon, he owed the being appointed one of the clerks extraordinary of the privy council, the duke being preſident; and to Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, he was indebted, for his being Treaſurer of Chelſea Hoſpital. But as the advantages flowing from them came to him very late in life, he may be ſaid to have paſſed almoſt through it with a narrow income. His mind however being rich with knowledge

knowledge and content, he might be deemed, notwithstanding his claim to a high situation, a happy man until he lost his only child, a son at man's estate, in whom he had placed much comfort and all his hopes. On receiving the fatal shock of his death, he only emphatically said, "My *dear* son is taken to a *better Father*;" and with that pious reflection, he calmed his own sorrows, and those of his afflicted wife and sympathizing friends. He survived his son but one year, and died in 1756, aged about fifty.

NATURAL

NATURAL HISTORY.

On the Heat of the Water in the Gulf-ſtream. *By* Charles Blagden, *M.D. Phyſician to the Army, F.R.S. From vol.* lxxi. *part* ii. *of the Philoſophical Tranſactions.*

ONE of the moſt remarkable facts obſerved in navigating the ocean, is that conſtant and rapid current which ſits along the coaſt of North America to the northward and eaſtward, and is commonly known to ſeamen by the name of the Gulf-ſtream. It ſeems juſtly attributed to the effect of the trade-winds, which blowing from the eaſtern quarter into the great Gulf of Mexico, cauſe there an accumulation of the water above the common level of the ſea; in conſequence of which, it is conſtantly running out by the channel where it finds leaſt reſiſtance, that is, through the Gulf of Florida, with ſuch force as to continue a diſtinct ſtream to a very great diſtance. Since all ſhips going from Europe to any of the ſouthern provinces of North America muſt croſs this current, and are materially affected by it in their courſe, every circumſtance of its motion becomes an object highly intereſting to the ſeaman, as well as of great curioſity to the philoſopher. An obſervation which occurred to me on the ſpot ſuggeſts a new method of inveſtigating a matter that appears ſo worthy of attention.

During a voyage to America in the ſpring of the year 1776, I uſed frequently to examine the heat of ſea-water newly drawn, in order to compare it with that of the air. We made our paſſage far to the ſouthward. In this ſituation, the greateſt heat of the water which I obſerved was ſuch as raiſed the quickſilver in Fahrenheit's thermometer to $77°\frac{1}{2}$. This happened twice; the firſt time on the 10th of April, in latitude 21° 10′ N. and longitude, by our reckoning, 52° W; and the ſecond time, three days afterwards, in latitude 22° 7′ and longitude 55°; but in general the heat of the ſea near the tropic of Cancer about the middle of April was from 76° to 77°.

The rendezvous appointed for the fleet being off Cape Fear, our courſe, on approaching the American coaſt, became north-weſtward. On the 23d * of April the heat of the ſea was 74°, our lati-

* From the difference between civil and nautical time, it becomes neceſſary to obſerve, that the former is always meant in this paper.

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tude at noon 28° 7′ N. Next day the heat was only 71°; we were then in latitude 29° 12′; the heat of the water, therefore, was now leſſening very faſt in proportion to the change of latitude. The 25th our latitude was 31° 3′; but though we had thus gone almoſt 2° farther to the northward, the heat of the ſea was this day rather increaſed, it being 72° in the morning, and 72°½ in the evening. Next day, the 26th of April, at half after eight in the morning, I again plunged the thermometer into ſea-water, and was greatly ſurpriſed to ſee the quickſilver riſe to 78°, higher than I had ever obſerved it, even within the tropic. As the difference was too great to be imputed to any accidental variation, I immediately conceived that we muſt have come into the Gulf-ſtream, the water of which ſtill retained great part of the heat that it had acquired in the torrid zone. This idea was confirmed by the ſubſequent regular and quick diminution of the heat; the ſhip's run for a quarter of an hour had leſſened it 2°; the thermometer, at three quarters after eight, being raiſed by ſea-water freſh drawn only to 76°; by nine the heat was reduced to 73°, and in a quarter of an hour more, to 71° nearly: all this time the wind blew freſh, and we were going ſeven knots an hour on a north-weſtern courſe. The water now began to loſe the fine tranſparent blue colour of the Ocean, and to aſſume ſomething of a greeniſh olive tinge, a well-known indication of ſoundings. Accordingly, between four and five in the afternoon ground was ſtruck with the lead at the depth of eighty fathom, the heat of the ſea being then reduced to 69°. In the courſe of the following night and next day, as we came into ſhallower water and nearer the land, the temperature of the ſea gradually ſunk to 65°, which was nearly that of the air at the time.

Unfortunately bad weather on the 26th prevented us from taking an obſervation of the ſun; but on the 27th, though it was then cloudy at noon, we calculated the latitude from two altitudes, and found it to be 33° 26′ N. The difference of this latitude from that which we had obſerved on the 25th, being 2° 23′, was ſo much greater than could be deduced from the ſhip's run marked in the log-book, as to convince the ſeamen that we had been ſet many miles to the northward by the current.

On the 25th at noon, the longitude by our reckoning was 74° W. and I believe the computation to have been pretty juſt; but the ſoundings, together with the latitude, will determine the ſpot where theſe obſervations were made better than any reckoning from the eaſtward. The ſhip's run on the 26th, from nine in the forenoon to four in the afternoon, was about ten leagues on a north-weſt by north courſe; ſoon afterwards we hove-to in order to ſound, and, finding bottom, we went very ſlowly all night, and till noon the next day.

From theſe obſervations, I think, it may be concluded, that the Gulph-ſtream, about the 33d degree of north latitude, and the 76 degree of longitude weſt of Greenwich, is, in the month of April

April, at leaſt ſix degrees hotter than the water of the ſea through which it runs. As the heat of the ſea-water evidently began to increaſe in the evening of the 25th, and as the obſervations ſhew that we were getting out of the current when I firſt tried the heat in the morning of the 26th, it is moſt probable, that the ſhip's run during the night is nearly the breadth of the ſtream meaſured obliquely acroſs; that, as it blew a freſh breeze, it could not be much leſs than twenty-five leagues in fifteen hours, the diſtance of time between the two obſervations of the heat; and hence the breadth of the ſtream may be eſtimated at twenty leagues. The breadth of the Gulf of Florida, which evidently bounds the ſtream at its origin, appears by the charts to be two or three miles leſs than this, excluding the rocks and ſand-banks which ſurround the Bahama iſlands, and the ſhallow water that extends to a conſiderable diſtance from the coaſt of Florida; and the correſpondence of theſe meaſures is very remarkable, ſince the ſtream, from well-known principles of hydraulics, muſt gradually become wider as it gets to a greater diſtance from the channel by which it iſſues.

If the heat of the Gulf of Mexico was known, many curious calculations might be formed by comparing it with that of the current. The mean heat of Spaniſh-town and Kingſton in Jamaica ſeems not to exceed 81°*; that of St. Domingo on the ſea coaſt may be eſtimated at the ſame from Monſ. Godin's obſervations†; but as the coaſt of the continent which bounds the gulf to the weſtward and ſouthward is probably warmer, perhaps a degree or two may be allowed for the mean temperature of the climate over the whole bay: let it be ſtated at 82° or 83°. Now there ſeems to be great probability in the ſuppoſition that the ſea, at a certain comparatively ſmall diſtance below its ſurface, agrees in heat pretty nearly with the average temperature of the air during the whole year in that part; and hence it may be conjectured, that the general heat of the water, as it iſſues out of the bay to form the ſtream, is about 82°‡, the ſmall

* Hiſtory of Jamaica, London, 1774, vol. III. p. 652, 653. The different obſervations of the heat recorded in that work do not agree together; but thoſe adopted here are taken from that ſeries which appeared to me the moſt correct.

† Monſ. Godin's experiments upon the pendulum were made at the Petit Goave. They continued from the 24th of Auguſt to the 4th of September, and the average heat during that time was ſuch as is indicated by 25° of Monſ. de Reaumur's thermometer (ſee Mem. Acad. Scienc. 1735, p. 517.) According to Monſ. de Luc's calculation (ſee Modifications de l'Atmoſpere, vol. I. p. 378.) the 25th degree of Monſ. de Reaumur's *true* thermometer anſwers to about the 85th of Fahrenheit's; but the average heat in Jamaica during the months of Auguſt and September is alſo 85°; hence we may conclude, that the mean heat for the whole year is nearly the ſame on the ſea-coaſts in both iſlands.

‡ The loweſt calculation of the mean temperature of the gulf is preferred on this occaſion, becauſe of the conſtant influx of new water from the Atlantic Ocean produced by the trade-winds; which water not having been near any land muſt, I think, be ſenſibly cooler than that which has remained ſome time incloſed in the bay. On this ſubject the obſervations made by Alexander Dalrymple, Eſq. relative to the heat of the ſea near the Coaſt of Guinea, ought to be conſulted (ſee Phil. Tranſ. vol. LXVIII. p. 394, &c.)

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variations of temperature on the ſurface not being ſufficient to affect materially that of the general maſs. At the tropic of Cancer I found the heat to be 77°; the ſtream, therefore, in its whole courſe from the Gulf of Florida, may be ſuppoſed to have been conſtantly running through water from 4° to 6° colder than itſelf, and yet it had loſt only 4° of heat, though the ſurrounding water, where I obſerved it, was 10° below the ſuppoſed original temperature of the water which forms the current. From this ſmall diminution of the heat, in a diſtance, probably of 300 miles, ſome idea may be acquired of the vaſt body of fluid which ſets out of the Gulf of Mexico, and of the great velocity of its motion. Numerous obſervations on the temperature of this ſtream, in every part of it, and at different ſeaſons of the year, compared with the heat of the water in the ſurrounding ſeas, both within and without the tropic, would, I apprehend, be the beſt means of aſcertaining its nature, and determining every material circumſtance of its movement, eſpecially if the effect of the current in puſhing ſhips to the northward is carefully attended to, at the ſame time with the obſervations upon its heat.

On the 25th of September, 1777, as the ſhips which had tranſported Sir William Howe's army up Cheſepeak Bay were returning toward the Delaware, with the ſick and ſtores, they were overtaken, between Cape Charles and Cape Hinlopen, by a violent gale of wind, which, after ſome variation, fixed ultimately at N. N. E. and continued five days without intermiſſion. It blew ſo hard that we were conſtantly loſing ground, and driving to the ſouthward: we alſo purpoſely made ſome *eaſting* to keep clear of the dangerous ſhoals which lie off Cape Hatteras.

The 28th at noon our latitude was 36° 40′ N. and the heat of the ſea all day about 65°. On the 29th our latitude was 36° 2′; we had, therefore, in the courſe of theſe twenty-four hours, been driven by the wind 38 nautical miles to the ſouthward: the temperature of the ſea continued nearly at 65°. Next day, the 30th, our latitude at noon was 35° 44′, only 18 miles farther to the ſouthward, though in the opinion of the ſeamen aboard, as well as my own, it had blown at leaſt as hard on this as any of the preceding days, and we had not been able to carry more ſail; conſequently it may be concluded, that ſome current had ſet the ſhip 20 miles to the northward. To know whether this was the Gulf-ſtream, let us conſult the thermometer. At half after nine in the forenoon of this day the heat of this water was 76°, no leſs than *eleven* degrees above the temperature of the ſea before we came into the current!

Towards evening the wind fell, and we ſtood N. W. by N. cloſe-hauled. As the ſea ſtill ran very high, and the ſhip ſcarcely went above two knots an hour, we did not make leſs than three points of lee-way on this tack; the courſe we made good, therefore was W. N. W. which on the diſtance run by noon next day, gave us about ſixteen miles of *northing*; but that day, the 1ſt of

of October, our latitude was 36° 22′, 38 miles farther to the north than we had been the day before; the difference, 22 miles, must be attributed to the Gulf-stream.—This, however, is only part of the effect which the current would have produced upon the ship if we had continued in it the whole four and twenty hours; for, though we were still in the stream at five in the afternoon of the 30th, as appeared by the heat of the water being then above 75°, and at eight in the evening the heat being still 74°, yet by seven next morning we were certainly got clear of it, the heat of the sea being then reduced to its former standard of 65°. On this occasion, therefore, we did not cross the stream, but having fallen-in with it obliquely on the western side, we pushed out again on the same side as soon as the gale abated.

These observations having been made three degrees to the northward of my former ones, it is curious to observe, that the heat of the Gulf-stream was about 2° less. The seasons of the year, indeed, were very different; but, perhaps, under such circumstances that their effects were nearly balanced. In the latter observations the meridian altitude of the sun was less; but then a hot summer preceded them: whereas in the former, though the sun's power was become very great, yet the winter had been past but a short time. Calculating upon this proportion we may be led to suspect, that about the 27th degree of latitude, which is as soon as the stream has got clear of the Gulf of Florida, it begins sensibly to lose its heat from 82°, the supposed temperature of the Gulf of Mexico, and continues to lose it at the rate of about 2° of Fahrenheit's scale to every 3° of latitude, with some variation, probably as the surrounding sea, and the air, are warmer or colder at different seasons of the year.

The preceding facts had made me very desirous of observing the heat of the Gulf-stream on my passage homeward; but a violent gale of wind, which came on two days after we had sailed from Sandy Hook, disabled every person aboard, who knew how to handle a thermometer, from keeping the deck. The master of the ship, however, an intelligent man, to whom I had communicated my views, assured me, that on the second day of the gale the water felt to him remarkably warm; we were then near the 70th degree of west longitude. This agrees very well with the common remark of seamen, who alledge, that they are frequently sensible of the Gulf-stream off Nantucket shoals, a distance of more than 1000 miles from the Gulf of Florida! According to the calculation I have before adopted of a loss of two degrees of heat for every 3° of latitude, the temperature of the Gulf-stream here would be nearly 73°; the difference of which from 59°, the heat that I observed in the sea-water both before and after the gale, might easily be perceived by the master of the vessel. This was in the winter season, at the end of December.

An opinion prevails among seamen, that there is something peculiar in the weather about the Gulf-stream. As far as I could judge,

judge, the heat of the air was conſiderably increaſed by it, as might be expected; but whether to a degree or extent ſufficient for producing any material changes in the atmoſphere muſt be determined by future obſervations.

Perhaps other currents may be found which, iſſuing from places warmer or colder than the ſurrounding ſea, differ from it in their temperature ſo much as to be diſcovered by the thermometer. Should there be many ſuch, this inſtrument will come to be ranked among the moſt valuable at ſea; as the difficulty of aſcertaining currents is well known to be one of the greateſt defects in the preſent art of navigation.

In the mean time, I hope the obſervations which have been here related are ſufficient to prove, that in croſſing the Gulf-ſtream very eſſential advantages may be derived from the uſe of the thermometer: for if the maſter of a ſhip, bound to any of the ſouthern provinces of North America, will be careful to try the heat of the ſea frequently, he muſt diſcover very accurately his entrance into the Gulf-ſtream, by the ſudden increaſe of the heat; and a continuance of the ſame experiments will ſhew him, with equal exactneſs, how long he remains in it. Hence he will always be able to make a proper allowance for the number of miles that the ſhip is ſet to the northward, by multiplying the time into the velocity of the current. Though this velocity is hitherto very imperfectly known, for want of ſome method of determining how long the current acted upon the ſhips, yet all uncertainty ariſing from thence muſt ſoon ceaſe, as a few experiments upon the heat of the ſtream, compared with the ſhip's run checked by obſervations of the latitude, will aſcertain its motion with ſufficient preciſion. From differences in the wind, and perhaps other circumſtances, it is probable, that there may be ſome variations in the velocity of the current; and it will be curious to obſerve, whether theſe variations may not frequently be pointed out by a difference in its temperature; as the quicker the current moves, the leſs heat is likely to be loſt, and conſequently the hotter will the water be. In this obſervation, however, the ſeaſon of the year muſt always be conſidered; partly, becauſe it may, perhaps, in ſome degree affect the original temperature of the water in the Gulf of Mexico; but principally, becauſe the actual heat of the ſtream muſt be greater or leſs in proportion as the tract of the ſea through which it has flowed was warmer or colder. In winter I ſhould ſuppoſe, that the heat of the ſtream itſelf would be rather leſs than in ſummer; but that the difference between it and the ſurrounding ſea would be much greater; and I can conceive that in the middle of ſummer, though the ſtream had loſt very little of its original heat, yet the ſea might in ſome parts, acquire ſo nearly the ſame temperature, as to render it ſcarcely poſſible to diſtinguiſh by the thermometer when a ſhip entered into the current.

Beſides the convenience of correcting a ſhip's courſe, by knowing how to make a proper allowance for the diſtance ſhe is ſet to the northward by the current, a method of determining with certainty when ſhe enters into the Gulf-ſtream is attended with the

ther inestimable advantage of wing her place upon the ocean the most critical situation: for, the current sets along the coast America at no great distance om soundings, the mariner, when finds this sudden increase of at in the sea, will be warned of approach to the coast, and will us have timely notice to take necessary precautions for the curity of his vessel. As the urse of the Gulf-stream comes be more accurately known, from peated observations of the heat d latitudes, this method of de-rmining the ship's place will be portionably more applicable to e. And it derives additional portance from the peculiar cir-mstances of the American coast, hich, from the mouth of the elaware to the southernmost point Florida, is every where low, d beset with frequent shoals, nning out so far into the sea at a vessel may be aground in ny places where the shore is t to be distinguished even from maſt-head. The Gulf-stream, erefore, which has hitherto ved only to increase the per-xities of seamen, will now, if ese observations are found to be in practice, become one of the ief means of their preservation on that dangerous coast.

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count of a Child who had the Small-pox in the Womb. In a Letter from William Wright, *M.D. F.R.S. to* John Hunter, *Esq. F.R.S. from the same.*

Southampton-buildings, Holborn,

SIR, Feb. 27, 1781.

I HAVE read with much plea-sure and information Mrs. Ford's case, which you published in Phil. Trans. vol. LXX. p. 128. From the facts you have adduced it amounts to a certainty, that her fœtus had received the variolous infection in the womb.

This induces me to lay before you a singular case, that fell under my care some years ago. I am sorry I cannot be more particular, having unfortunately lost all my books and my notes of practice of this case and several others, by the capture of the convoy on the 9th of last August.

In 1768 the small-pox was so general in Jamaica, that very few people escaped the contagion. About the middle of June, Mr. Peterkin, merchant at Martha-brae, in the parish of Trelawney, got about fifty new negroes out of a ship: soon after they landed, several were taken ill of a fever, and the small-pox appeared; the others were immediately inoculated. Amongst the number of those who had the disease in the natural way, was a woman of about twenty-two years of age, and big with child. The eruptive fever was slight, and the small-pox had appeared before I saw her. They were few, distinct and large, and she went through the disease with very little trouble, till on the fourteenth day from the eruption she was attacked with a fever, which lasted only a few hours. She was, however, the same day taken in labour, and delivered of a female child with the small-pox on her whole body, head and extremities. They were distinct and very large, such as they commonly appear on the eighth or ninth day in favourable cases. The child was small and weakly; she could suck but little;

a wet nurſe was procured, and every poſſible care taken of this infant, but ſhe died the third day after ſhe was born. The mother recovered, and is now the property of Alexander Peterkin, Eſq. in St. James's pariſh.

In the courſe of many years practice in Jamaica, I have remarked, that where pregnant women had been ſeized with the natural ſmall pox, or been by miſtake inoculated, that they generally miſcarried in the time of, or ſoon after, the eruptive fever; but I never ſaw any ſigns of ſmall-pox on any of their bodies, except on the child's above mentioned.

I am, &c.

Natural Hiſtory of the Inſect which produces the Gum Lacca. By Mr. James Kerr, *of* Patna; *communicated by Sir* Joſeph Banks, *P. R. S. from the ſame.*

COCCUS LACCA.

Head & Trunk.] THE head and trunk form one uniform, oval, compreſſed, red body, of the ſhape and magnitude of a very ſmall louſe, conſiſting of twelve tranſverſe rings. The back is carinate; the belly flat; the antennæ half the length of the body, filiform, truncated, and diverging, ſending off two, often three, delicate, diverging hairs, longer than the antennæ. The mouth and eyes could not be ſeen with the naked eye.

Tail.] The tail is a little white point, ſending off two horizontal hairs as long as the body.

Feet.] It has three pair of limbs, half the length of the inſect.

I have often obſerved the birt of theſe inſects, but never cou ſee any with wings; nor could find any diſtinction of ſexes, n obſerve their connubial right nature and analogy ſeem to poi out a deficiency in my obſerv tions, poſſibly owing to the m nuteneſs of the object, and wa of proper glaſſes.

Change.] This inſect is deſcribe in that ſtate in which it ſallies for from the womb of the parent in t months of November and Decem ber. They traverſe the branch of the trees upon which they we produced for ſome time, and the fix themſelves upon the ſuccule extremities of the young branche By the middle of January they a all fixed in their proper ſituation they appear as plump as befor but ſhew no other marks of lif The limbs, antennæ, and ſetæ the tail are no longer to be ſee Around their edges they are e vironed with a ſpiſſid ſubpellu liquid, which ſeems to glue the to the branch: it is the gradu accumulation of this liquid, whi forms a compleat cell for each i ſect, and is what is called Gu Lacca. About the middle March the cells are complete formed, and the inſect is in a pearance an oval, ſmooth, r bag, without life, about the ſi of a ſmall cuchanical inſect, em ginated at the obtuſe end, full a beautiful red liquid. In Oc ber and November we find abo twenty or thirty oval eggs, rather young grubs, within t red fluid of the mother. Wh this fluid is all expended, t young inſects pierce a hole throu the back of their mother, a walk off one by one, leaving th ex

exuviæ behind, which is that white membraneous ſubſtance found in the empty cells of the Stick Lac.

Place.] The inſects are the inhabitants of four trees.

1. Ficus Religioſa, Linnæi. In Hindoſtan, Pipul. Banyan Tree.

2. Ficus Indica, Linnæi. In Hindoſtan, Bhur. Banyan Tree.

3. Plaſo Hortus Malabarici. By the natives, Praſo.

4. Rhamnus Jujuba, Linnæi. In Hindoſtanick, Beyr.

The inſects generally fix themſelves ſo cloſe together, and in ſuch numbers, that I imagine only one in ſix can have room to compleat her cell: the others die, and are eat up by various inſects. The extreme branches appear as if they were covered with a red duſt, and their ſap is ſo much exhauſted, that they wither and produce no fruit, the leaves drop off, or turn to a dirty black colour. Theſe inſects are tranſplanted by birds: if they perch upon theſe branches, they muſt carry off a number of the inſects upon their feet to the next tree they reſt upon. It is worth obſerving, that theſe fig trees when wounded drop a milky juice, which inſtantly coagulates into a viſcid ropey ſubſtance, which, hardened in the open air, is ſimilar to the cell of the Coccus Lacca. The natives boil this milk with oils into a bird-lime, which will catch peacocks or the largeſt birds.

A red medicinal gum is procured by inciſion from the Plaſo Tree, ſo ſimilar to the Gum Lacca that it may readily be taken for the ſame ſubſtance. Hence it is probable, that thoſe inſects have little trouble in animalizing the ſap of theſe trees in the formation of their cells. The Gum Lacca is rarely ſeen upon the Rhamnus Jujuba; and it is inferior to what is found upon the other trees. The Gum Lacca of this country is principally found upon the uncultivated mountains on both ſides the Ganges, where bountiful nature has produced it in ſuch abundance, that was the conſumption ten times greater, the markets might be ſupplied by this minute inſect. The only trouble in procuring the Lac is in breaking down the branches, and carrying them to market. The preſent price in Dacca is about twelve ſhillings the hundred pounds weight, although it is brought from the diſtant country of Aſſam. The beſt Lac is of a deep red colour. If it is pale, and pierced at top, the value diminiſhes, becauſe the inſects have left their cells, and conſequently they can be of no uſe as a dye or colour, but probably they are better for varniſhes.

This inſect and its cell has gone under the various names of Gum Lacca, Lack, Loc Tree. In Bengal, La; and by the Engliſh it is diſtinguiſhed into four kinds.

1ſt. Stick Lac, which is the natural ſtate from which all the others are formed.

2d. Seed Lac is the cells ſeparated from the ſticks.

3d. Lump Lac is Seed Lac liquified by fire, and formed into cakes.

4th. Shell Lac is the cells liquified, ſtrained, and formed into thin tranſparent laminæ in the following manner. Separate the cells from the branches, break them into ſmall pieces, throw them into a tub of water for one day,

waſh off the red water and dry the cells, and with them fill a cylindrical tube of cotton cloth, two feet long, and one or two inches in diameter; tie both ends, turn the bag over a charcoal fire; as the Lac liquifies twiſt the bag, and when a ſufficient quantity has tranſuded the pores of the cloth, lay it upon a ſmooth junk of the Plantain Tree (Muſa Paradiſiaca, Linnæi), and with a ſtrip of the Plantain leaf draw it into a thin lamella; take it off while flexible, for in a minute it will be hard and brittle. The value of Shell Lac is according to its tranſparency.

Uſe to the Natives.] This is one of the moſt uſeful inſects yet diſcovered.

Ornaments.] The natives conſume a great quantity of Shell Lac in making ornamental rings, painted and gilded in various taſtes, to decorate the arms of the ladies; and it is formed into beads, ſpiral and linked chains for necklaces, and other female ornaments.

Sealing Wax.] Take a ſtick, and heat one end of it upon a charcoal fire; put upon it a few leaves of the Shell Lac ſoftened above the fire; keep alternately heating and adding more Shell Lac, until you have got a maſs of three or four pounds of liquified Shell Lac upon the end of your ſtick *. Knead this upon a wetted board with three ounces of levigated cinnabar, form it into cylindrical pieces; and, to give them a poliſh, rub them while hot with a cotton cloth.

Japanning.] Take a lump of Shell Lac, prepared in the manner of ſealing-wax, with whatever colour you pleaſe, fix it upon the end of a ſtick, heat the poliſhed wood over a charcoal fire, and rub it over with the half-melted Lac, and poliſh, by rubbing it even with a piece of folded Plantain leaf held in the hand; heating the lacquer, and adding more Lac as occaſion requires. Their figures are formed by Lac, charged with various colours in the ſame manner.

Varniſh.] In ornamenting their images and religious houſes, &c. they make uſe of very thin beat lead, which they cover with various varniſhes, made of Lac charged with colours. The preparation of them is kept a ſecret. The leaf of lead is laid upon a ſmooth iron heated by fire below, while they ſpread the varniſh upon it.

Grindſtones.] Take of river ſand three parts, of Seed Lac waſhed one part, mix them over the fire in a pot, and form the maſs into the ſhape of a grindſtone, having a ſquare hole in the center, fix it on an axis with liquified Lac, heat the ſtone moderately, and by turning the axis it may eaſily be formed into an exact orbicular ſhape. Poliſhing grindſtones are made only of ſuch ſand as will paſs eaſily through fine muſlin, in the proportion of two parts ſand to one of Lac. This ſand is found at Ragimaul. It is compoſed of ſmall angular cryſtalline particles, tinged red with iron, two parts to one of black magnetic ſand.

The ſtone-cutters, inſtead of ſand, uſe the powder of a very hard granite called Corune.

Theſe grindſtones cut very faſt. When they want to increaſe their power they throw ſand upon them, or let them occaſionally touch the edge of a vitrified brick. The

* In this manner Lump Lac is formed from Seed Lac.

ſame

ſame compoſition is formed upon ſticks, for cutting ſtones, ſhells, &c. by the hand.

Painting.] Take one gallon of the red liquid from the firſt waſhing for Shell Lac, ſtrain it through a cloth, and let it boil for a ſhort time, then add half an ounce of ſoap earth (foſſil alkali); boil an hour more, and add three ounces of powdered load (bark of a tree); boil a ſhort time, let it ſtand all night, and ſtrain next day. Evaporate three quarts of milk, without cream, to two quarts, upon a ſlow fire, curdle it with ſour milk, and let it ſtand for a day or two; then mix it with the red liquid above mentioned; ſtrain them through a cloth, add to the mixture one ounce and an half of allum, and the juice of eight or ten lemons: mix the whole, and throw it into a cloth-bag ſtrainer. The blood of the inſect forms a coagulum with the caſeous part of the milk, and remains in the bag, while a limpid acid water drains from it. The coagulum is dried in the ſhade, and is uſed as a red colour in painting and colouring.

Dying.] Take one gallon of the red liquid prepared as before without milk, to which add three ounces of allum. Boil three or four ounces of tamarinds in a gallon of water, and ſtrain the liquor. Mix equal parts of the red liquid and tamarind water over a briſk fire. In this mixture dip and wring the ſilk alternately until it has received a proper quantity of the dye. To increaſe the colour, increaſe the proportion of the red liquid, and let the ſilk boil a few minutes in the mixture. To make the ſilk hold the colour, they boil a handful of the bark called load in water, ſtrain the decoction, and add cold water to it; dip the dried ſilk into this liquor ſeveral times, and then dry it. Cotton cloths are dyed in this manner; but the dye is not ſo laſting as in ſilk.

Spaniſh Wool.] The Lac colour is preſerved by the natives upon flakes of cotton dipped repeatedly into a ſtrong ſolution of the Lac Inſect in water, and then dried.

Uſe to the Europeans.] See European authors.

Account of two remarkable Caſes, related by Boerhaave, *of the Baron* Van Waſſenaer, *and the Marquiſs of* St. Auban; *from Dr.* Zimmermann's *Treatiſe on Experience in Phyſic; tranſlated from the* German.

THE Baron Van Waſſenaer, Admiral of Holland, a man of a ſober diſpoſition, ſubject to attacks of the gout, in other reſpects healthy, robuſt, endued with great qualities, and with an extraordinary firmneſs of temper, had accuſtomed himſelf to the taking an emetic, every time he thought he had ate too much. He conceived this method to be ſo very uſeful to him, that he continued to repeat it, as often as he fancied there was occaſion for it. It was to no purpoſe, that his friends and phyſicians diſſuaded him from this practice. Nothing, in his opinion, relieved him ſo much as a vomit; and he appealed, in proof of this, to his pretended experience.

A meſſenger came one night to Boerhaave, to tell him, that the admiral was in the agonies of death, perhaps already dead, at his country houſe. Boerhaave

flies to his aſſiſtance, and finds him leaning forwards in his bed, and ſupported by three of his ſervants. In any other poſture, his pain became exceſſive. He was unable to lie down, either on his back, or his ſide, or his belly, and much leſs could he ſit on a chair. Boerhaave was the more alarmed at this appearance, becauſe he well knew, with how much fortitude the admiral had ſupported the moſt violent attacks of the gout, without once loſing his patience, or his courage, amidſt the moſt excruciating pains. The groans of this man, who on other occaſions had been ſo patient and immoveable, alarmed him ſtill more.

The admiral, at the ſight of Boerhaave, endeavoured to raiſe his head a little, and to give him his hand; but, on the leaſt motion, or the leaſt attempt to ſpeak, he appeared to be borne down with exceſs of pain. It was in vain, therefore, that he attempted to deſcribe his ſtate; at each attempt, the ſudden increaſe of his pain ſeemed to cut off his reſpiration.

One of the aſſiſtants then gave the following account. Three days before this diſorder, the admiral had been preſent at an entertainment, where he had eat a little too much. The next day, he determined to prevent, by abſtinence, any ill effects that might reſult from this intemperance. The day before the attack, he had dined, with great moderation, and had got on horſeback in good ſpirits, and ſeemingly in good health, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of any approaching diſorder.

When returned from his ride, he abſtained from ſupper, according to his uſual cuſtom. At half an hour after nine o'clock, he drank three cups of *carduus benedictus* tea, as he had often done before. He was aſked, why he took the infuſion that evening? "becauſe," ſays he, "I feel "ſomething diſagreeable in the "upper part of my ſtomach, and "I have a mind to waſh it away." This ſenſation, he added, he had often felt before, and had always been relieved by vomiting. Soon after this, he puked, but with difficulty, and in ſmall quantity; he then took four more cups of the ſame infuſion, but without feeling any inclination to vomit, although he had drank ſo copiouſly. He directed more of it to be got ready, thinking to bring on a vomiting by force. While he was ſeated, and endeavouring to puke, he ſuddenly cried in a moſt horrible manner, and drew together all his ſervants, who were alarmed by his cries. The admiral then told them that he had burſt, or torn, or diſordered ſomething at the upper part of his ſtomach; and that the anguiſh he felt was ſo excruciating, he muſt certainly be near his laſt hour.

He then recommended himſelf to his Creator; a cold ſweat flowed from all his limbs; his face and his hands became pale, and his pulſe was no longer perceptible. He ordered them, to cover his head and breaſt with hot cloths, moiſtened with ſome ſtrengthening liquors. They did this; but he found no relief: on the contrary, the diſorder ſeemed to become more violent, and they judged that his death could not be far off. The phyſicians who were ſent for, being at ſome diſtance, the admiral, about half an hour after

after this, took, of his own accord, four ounces of olive oil, and of this he threw up a ſmall quantity, together with ſome of the *cardaus* tea. He then called for two ounces more, which he likewiſe drank, but without vomiting, or having the leaſt inclination to vomit; and his diſorder, all this time, went on increaſing. Half an hour after this, he drank about ſix ounces of warm Dantzick beer, which he likewiſe kept down without nauſea, as he did all that he drank afterwards.

This is what had paſſed, when Bye, a phyſician, whom Boerhaave has not left without his ſhare of praiſe, arrived from the Hague. When he ſaw the ſtate of the patient, he determined to give nothing of an active nature, till Boerhaave ſhould come. Theſe two phyſicians began, by conſidering the cauſes of ſo ſudden and cruel a pain, before they proceeded to any remedies. Both of them were convinced, that unleſs theſe cauſes could be aſcertained, no dependance could be had on medicines adminiſtered at random.

After the moſt careful examination, they could diſcover no other guide to direct them, than the ſeat of the pain, together with an uncommon ſenſation in the breaſt, of which the patient complained, but which, however, was inexplicable. In other reſpects, the admiral was apparently healthy. He deſcribed the pain as being exceſſive, continual, and beyond all imagination. It did not relax a moment. He pointed out the ſeat of it to be at that part, where the oeſophagus terminates in the ſtomach; he then cried out, that the pain ſpread with the ſame violence towards his back. Before his death, he felt this pain through every part of his breaſt. It appeared, that his tortures were never ſo great, as when he felt an inclination to belch, and that the air, being ſtopped in its paſſage inſtead of riſing, ſeemed to diſtract all the neighbouring parts. The diſorder likewiſe increaſed, whenever he endeavoured to bend himſelf backwards, or to ſit upright. This was all that his two phyſicians could diſcover, after all the inquiries and care imaginable.

At this part of the narrative, Boerhaave requeſts the experienced reader to pauſe with him awhile, and to reflect on the origin, the progreſs, the ſymptoms, and ſigns of this diſeaſe. He requires of him the firſt cauſe of theſe extraordinary effects. He had himſelf conſidered every thing, with the greateſt care, and had exerted all the powers of his underſtanding, to find out ſome fixed principle, by means of which, he might unravel this obſcure cauſe, and thus afford ſome relief to a diſeaſe, which hitherto ſeemed to be every moment increaſing. All his ſpeculations, however, were uſeleſs, and Boerhaave candidly confeſſes, that he found himſelf altogether unable to imagine, what could be the ſpecies, to which this diſeaſe could be referred. It afforded no ſign of inflammation. There could be no ſwelling ſuſpected, capable of producing theſe cruel ſymptoms, and ſo ſuddenly. The preceding circumſtances afforded no grounds for ſuch a ſuſpicion, and all the vertebræ were in their proper ſituation: nor could a diſ-

placement of the ſoft parts, within the thorax, be ſuppoſed capable of cauſing theſe torments.

There remained only ſome cauſtic and mortal poiſon to be ſuſpected, as the cauſe of theſe horrid ſymptoms; but no poiſon could be thought of, the effects of which agreed with the circumſtances of the admiral's caſe. So, that of all the known cauſes of pain, not one could be fixed on as applicable to what he felt. It is well known that the gout, to which he was ſubject, might, by changing its ſeat, occaſion pain, anxiety, and vomiting; but it never produces pains, ſo excruciating as thoſe the admiral complained of, in patients, who are in other reſpects healthy. Beſides, the gout exerts its effects ſlowly, and comes on, and goes off, by degrees.

Of all known diſeaſes, therefore, there was not found one, which could, by any affinity, throw any light on the admiral's complaint, *a violent pain that had come on ſuddenly*. This was all that could be ſaid with certainty. Boerhaave knew, from the experience of all ages, that the moſt acute pain, when not attended with inflammation, may long be ſupported. He was, therefore, led to conclude, that the admiral's death would not be immediate; and this was all his prognoſtic.

Uncertain as was the cauſe of this diſeaſe, it was neceſſary to think of ſomething, which might calm the pain. All the remedies, however, that were given, though of a very mild nature, ſerved only to add to the torments of the patient. Such was the melancholy ſituation of the admiral, and of the two able phyſicians, who continued with him till five o'clock in the morning; when Boerhaave's affairs required him to be abſent. At going away, he very prudently adviſed Bye to leave nature, a little while to herſelf, by not attempting to give even the mildeſt and moſt innocent medicines; ſince the beſt choſen ones ſeemed, hitherto, only to have increaſed the complaints. His advice was followed, but without ſucceſs. The admiral remained without any relief, till eight o'clock in the morning; and then Dr. Bye ſaw that the vital functions began to weaken, borne down, as it were, by the pain; but ſtill there was no new ſymptom, that could throw any light on the diſeaſe. He then wrote to Boerhaave, and in his letter propoſed ſome new remedies: Boerhaave agreed to their being tried; but their effects were equally fruitleſs with the former ones.

In theſe circumſtances, the admiral ſettled his affairs. Boerhaave returned to him about three o'clock in the afternoon. The admiral received him with the greateſt friendſhip, and, at the ſame time, told him, how inefficacious all the remedies had been, and how certain he was of the approaches of death, which he ardently wiſhed for, as a relief from his miſery. Boerhaave perceived, indeed, that this period was at hand: and about five o'clock the admiral expired, with the utmoſt compoſure.

The two phyſicians converſed together in private, and confeſſed

to

to each other, that it was impoſſible for them to conceive the cauſe of this diſeaſe, much leſs of ſo ſudden a death. They requeſted leave to open the body, and this was granted.

This diſſection proved, what no man would even have ſuſpected. Notwithſtanding the great quantity of drink the patient had taken, previous to, and during the attack, and of which he had voided no part, the inteſtines, and abdomen, and bladder, were empty. Nothing but air made its eſcape, when theſe parts were opened. There was no appearance in either of theſe, which could throw any light on the nature of the diſeaſe. The ſtomach was almoſt empty, it contained no blood, or bile, and but very little remains of aliment. At this appearance, Boerhaave was ſo aſtoniſhed, that he hardly knew whether he was dreaming or awake. Theſe are his own expreſſions.

He then proceeded to open the thorax, with the greateſt attention. The moment he had penetrated through the diaphragm, though he had taken care not to injure the lungs, a great quantity of air ruſhed out, and with no little noiſe. Boerhaave's wonder was increaſed by this, becauſe this phenomenon never happens, but when the lungs have been wounded. The lungs, in this ſubject, appeared ſo ſmall and contracted, that they ſeemed to have been compreſſed, by ſome very great external force. The heart was perfectly healthy.

Boerhaave, on opening the breaſt, perceived a diſagreeable ſmell. He ſaid, at the time, that he ſhould have compared it to duck, if it had proceeded from the ſtomach. Somebody, who ſtood by, and heard this, immediately obſerved, that the admiral had, indeed, eaten part of a duck, at his laſt meal. It was then, that Boerhaave began to conclude, that he was going to diſcover a very different cauſe from any, which might, till then, have been preſumed.

He no ſooner raiſed the right lobe of the lungs, than he found it ſwimming in a watery fluid, which filled the whole of the right cavity of the thorax. To his great ſurprize, he found this ſame water, and in the ſame quantity, in the left cavity. He found this liquor to be ſimilar to the little, that remained in the ſtomach. On drawing it off, it appeared of the colour of Dantzick beer, when mixed with an infuſion of carduus. The ſmell of it, was exactly like that of duck's fleſh. Upon the ſurface of this water was ſwimming, all the oil, the admiral had ſwallowed. There was neither extravaſated blood, nor pus, nor any corrupted matter, to be ſeen any where. The quantity of fluid, found in the thorax, amounted to an hundred and four ounces.

The nature of the diſeaſe, now became more and more manifeſt. But it ſtill remained to be diſcovered, how all that the admiral had ſwallowed, had made its way into the breaſt. The left lobe of the lungs, was, therefore, carefully elevated, that Boerhaave might have a compleat view of the parts. Every thing appeared to him, to be in a healthy ſtate, until he came within about two inches of the diaphragm, to that

part of the pleura, which lies on the left ſide of the oeſophagus. He there ſaw, diſtinctly, a part, which was very different from the reſt, by its mobility, and by its being ſwelled; and, at the ſame time, of a blackiſh colour. This part was round, and about three inches in diameter. In the middle of it, was an opening, of about an inch and a half long, and three tenths of an inch wide. Boerhaave preſſed this part ſlightly with his finger, and there immediately flowed out, into the cavity of the thorax, a fluid, which reſembled that which was before there. His aſtoniſhment was extreme.

He next attempted (taking care, at the ſame time, not to confuſe the parts) to introduce his fore finger, through this opening of the pleura. He found it ſoft, tumid, and open. Here, his attention, if poſſible, redoubled, becauſe he was unable to diſcover, in this wound, any traces of the oeſophagus. After having withdrawn his finger a little, he puſhed it upwards, and came, at length, to that part of the oeſophagus, which was broken off.

Boerhaave could hardly believe what he ſaw. He called all the aſſiſtants to him, and ſhewed them, with the greateſt aſtoniſhment, a thing that was ſo unexpected. He then, with the ſame precaution, directed his finger downwards, and it paſſed eaſily into the ſtomach; and then, with a view of giving them a clear idea of the diſeaſe, he made an opening into the oeſophagus, about three inches above the wound, and then introducing his finger through it, it paſſed out at the opening, which had occaſioned the diſeaſe.

The cauſe of the admiral's death, was, therefore, very clearly aſcertained to be a laceration of the oeſophagus; by means of which, every thing he drank, paſſed into the cavity of the breaſt, through the opening in the pleura, which took place at the ſame time. Boerhaave has proved, that the cardia, or upper orifice of the ſtomach, muſt have been cloſed, after the admiral had taken ſeven cups of the infuſion of *carduus benedictus*, and of which he voided but little; becauſe, the more the ſtomach is filled, the more difficult it is to empty it. We know, that when the ſtomach is full, the bottom of it comes forwards, while its upper part forms an angle, more or leſs acute, with the oeſophagus. All the admiral's efforts to vomit, were, therefore, chiefly exerted on the diaphragm and oeſophagus. It was in the midſt of theſe efforts, that the oeſophagus burſt, being unable, any longer, to reſiſt the motions of the ſtomach and diaphragm; and, being the more readily diſpoſed to rupture, by the irritation, occaſioned by the admiral's finger, which he paſſed down his throat, in order to force a vomiting.

It was at that inſtant, that the admiral cried out, and drew to him all his ſervants; telling them, with ſo much pain, that he had torn ſomething within him. But it does not appear, that the oeſophagus was lacerated to this degree, at once. The wound was, probably, gradually increaſed, till the ſeparation was compleat. The ſtomach, when loaded with freſh drink,

drink, had driven it upwards, through this opening of the oeſophagus; and thus, the cellular texture, becoming diſtended, the pleura had, at length, burſt; and there was then a communication with the cavity of the thorax. The air, which abounds ſo much in alimentary ſubſtances, or which paſſed down the oeſophagus, had likewiſe filled a great part of the breaſt.

The death of the patient, therefore, took place, when the air was ſo abundant in the ſtomach, and cavities of the breaſt, that the lungs were no longer capable of being dilated; and thus, a ſtop was put to reſpiration, and, of courſe, to life.

All theſe circumſtances prove, that the admiral's diſeaſe could be diſtinguiſhed by no certain ſigns: and, that the beſt curative means, would have been uſeleſs, even if the cauſe of the complaint had been known. It is likewiſe certain, that the ſame diſeaſe, happening now, in any other ſubject, would be equally incurable, notwithſtanding Boerhaave's accurate deſcription of the caſe. They muſt, therefore, be very unreaſonable people, who will reproach a phyſician, amidſt ſuch difficulties, with not having known what was to happen.

There were certain ſurgeons, however, who were illiberal enough, to ſay, that Boerhaave ought to have made on opening into the thorax, in order to draw off the liquor, that had paſſed into it. But it was firſt neceſſary, to find out, that ſuch an opening was required; and then, it muſt have been performed at both ſides, which, from the admiſſion of the air, into each cavity, at once, would have been, of courſe, fatal. Suppoſing the poſſibility of ſuch an operation; would it not have been impoſſible to have ſaved the life of the admiral, without finding out ſome new channel for the ſupport of life? We ſee, by this, that there are, on all occaſions, perſons who are ready to blame, and who are never open to conviction, even though the truth lies before them.

The ſecond caſe, I ſhall beg leave to introduce here, has been likewiſe related by Boerhaave, with the ſame energy, and exactneſs, as the former one.

The Marquiſs St. Aubin, was a ſtrong, active man, well formed, and of a very lively temper. He rode often on horſeback; loved hunting; and all this, without being ſenſible of fatigue. He drank very moderately, and ate indifferently of every thing; but preferred fat meats and butter. He had been a little ricketty, when about three years of age; but this complaint ſoon diſappeared, as did a ſwelling of the abdomen, which came on two years afterwards. When he was ſix years old, he was attacked with an acute fever, of which he recovered, without any diſagreeable conſequence.

During ſeveral years, however, he had been ſubject to an hereditary complaint. This was a painful enlargement of the hemorrhoidal veſſels. Theſe tumours became, at length, of a conſiderable volume, and poured out, every day, a quantity of blood. The blood, by being intercepted in its courſe, contracted ſo bad a quality, that the Marquiſs was unable to ſupport, any longer, the pain he felt there. The inflammation of the parts, ſometimes, ſeemed

to

to threaten even gangrene. In theſe circumſtances, he conſulted Boerhaave, who, by the regimen and the remedies he preſcribed, completely cured him. The patient recovered all his ſtrength, and remained, during eighteen months, without feeling any inconvenience. From the time that his cure took place, care was taken to attend carefully to him; that if any of the ill effects, that are ſo often occaſioned by a ſuppreſſion of the hemorrhoids, ſhould appear, they might, at once, be obviated. Boerhaave had adviſed this, becauſe Hippocrates, and all phyſicians after him, have obſerved, that a ſuppreſſion of the hemorrhoids, often occaſions other ſingular, and ſometimes more dangerous diſeaſes; but, above all, from what had happened to the Marquiſs's father, who, having been ſubject to the ſame complaint, and diſabled by it from doing duty in the cavalry, had put a ſtop to it, by cauſtics, and inciſions, and continued free from the diſorder, during a year; at the end of that time, he was attacked by dyſpnoea; and, ſoon afterwards, with hemoptyſis, of which he died, in ten days.

But the moſt vigilant attention, during theſe eighteen months, could lead to no ſuſpicion, that the functions of the body were, in any way, injured. Boerhaave particularly obſerves, as a notable circumſtance, that the voice was, in no way, affected, during all this time; for the Marquiſs had a ſtrong, manly voice, and often amuſed himſelf, by ſinging. He preſerved the agility of all his limbs; and his breaſt continued to be ſo firm and well, that he never complained of fatigue, tho he perſevered in uſing a great deal of exerciſe. Nobody could breath with greater eaſe, than he ſeemed to do. Such had been the ſituation of the marquiſs, from his infancy, till the appearance of the hemorrhoids, and from their being cured, till within ten months and a half of his death.

We have placed all theſe preliminary particulars, nearly in the ſame light that Boerhaave has done; that every penetrating phyſician, may be able to give a full ſcope to his reflection, on this occaſion. We are of opinion, that, in giving a hiſtory of this ſort, it is right to relate, in a very minute, and careful manner, all that relates to the natural habit of the ſubject; to his preceding diſeaſes, and their cure; together with his regimen, and mode of life; before we paſs on, to deſcribe the diſorder, of which he died. This care has often been deſpiſed, and ridiculed, by the ignorant, and the ſuperficial; but we concern ourſelves but very little, about ſuch incompetent judges.

It was, therefore, not, till within ten months and a half of his death, that the marquiſs began to find his health affected. About that time, he began to feel a conſtant pain near the left ſcapula. This pain, afterwards, extended itſelf to the left ſide of the breaſt. As the pain increaſed conſiderably, it was ſoon felt, through the whole inſide of the thorax. A continual cough, rendered this pain ſtill more acute. The patient could get no reſt. When he coughed, it ſeemed to him, as if his ſides were torn aſunder.

der. Physicians were called in. The disorder was attributed to the gout; and remedies for the gout, were accordingly prescribed.

Their attempts, however, were to no purpose. The pains seemed to assume a new force, after the use of these medicines, and fixed themselves, more and more, to the left side of the breast; so that it was found impossible to remove their seat. Blood-letting, opening medicines, oil, opium, &c. were all given, without affording any relief. To these pains, after a certain time, there was added another, and infinitely more excruciating pain, which was felt immediately under the left breast, and seemed, as the marquis expressed himself, as if the inside of his breast was torn out by violence. Tormented himself, to this degree, and tormenting all about him, by his lamentable and incessant groans, he could find no place, or situation, that afforded him the least mitigation of his misery. He usually sat upon his bed, leaning a little forwards, and reclining his elbows on his thighs. In this situation, he, now and then, at intervals, got a little rest, and slept a few moments; but it was only to be waked soon, and on a sudden, by a cruel exacerbation of the same relentless pain.

Such was the situation of the marquis, when Boerhaave was desired to visit him, with his physician in ordinary, the same Dr. Bye, whom we have already mentioned.

When Bye related to Boerhaave, all the particulars of the disease, and the remedies, that had been employed to no purpose, they acknowledged, to each other, that it was impossible to say any thing, with certainty, either of the seat, or the nature of the disease. Bye presumed, there was an abscess in the lungs; because he had observed the patient expectorate a viscid matter, after much agony. Boerhaave, however, differed from him, in opinion; because, excepting the singular and urgent symptoms of pain, the marquis was, in other respects, healthy. He was then asked, what he thought of the nature of the disease. It was not, till after some considerable reflection, that he answered, that he really did not know what to think. He was inclined, however, to be of opinion, he said, from the symptoms, that the organs, destined to dilate the breast, were unable to support the contractions, essential to the action of each muscle; and the parts of the breast, which required to be dilated, resisted to this dilation, at each inspiration; and that, from this arose the violent pain, the difficulty in breathing, and the sense of suffocation. The patient, and his friends, were satisfied with this reflection.

Boerhaave advised cataplasms to be frequently applied to the parts, that are the most in motion, in respiration; as the ribs, cartilages, and sternum. He likewise prescribed emollient drinks, a sparing diet, and the frequent inspiration of the vapor of some softening decoction. His prescription was followed, and the patient found himself much relieved. His friends began to indulge hopes of his recovery. The pain never returned again, with so much violence as before, even till his death.

death. How blind, and precarious, ſays Boerhaave, is the joy of us mortals.

At length, the cough returned, as it were, with new violence. Nothing could calm it, but opium; but this calm was not of long duration: his expectoration was exceedingly painful; and his reſpiration ſo difficult, that the patient was obliged to throw his neck backwards, to raiſe his breaſt; and, at the ſame time, to draw in his breath, with ſo frightful a noiſe, that it could be compared, only to the cry of a Bittern. Then, again, perhaps, for a few moments, the reſpiration would be more eaſy: but this relief was but trifling. He was obliged to be almoſt conſtantly ſeated upright, both night and day, with his neck ſtretched out, and his head raiſed. At the leaſt change of poſture, when he, by chance, ſlept for a moment, he felt the moſt horrid pain. If he attempted to lie down on his pillow, to repoſe himſelf for an inſtant, his face became black; the veins of his head, ſwelled; and his eyes, ſeemed to be burſting from their ſockets. He appeared to draw his breath, only from the bottom of his entrails. An hideous hollow ſound, ſeemed to be his only relief. If he attempted to ſpeak, a few words uſually revived all his pain.

Boerhaave remarked, with aſtoniſhment, that in the midſt of this deplorable ſtate, the pulſe was ſtill regular: nor did it begin to fall or vary, or become intermittent, till a few days before his death. The marquiſs dragged on this unhappy life, till the 9th of July. At the leaſt return of the pain, his face became black. A clyſter, occaſionally thrown up was now the only thing, that gave him any relief. The great ſtricture of his breaſt, perſuaded him that his diſeaſe was hypochondriacal; and that this ſenſation was the effect of *flatus*. He was the more perſuaded of this, becauſe his appetite was ſo keen, that he would have eat to exceſs, if his ſervants had not taken care to prevent him. What he eat, ſerved only to increaſe his pain.

About eight days before his death, the hemorrhoids began to return; and this gave him great ſpirits. He now began to have hopes of being cured, and even reproached his phyſicians, with not having attempted to bring them back ſooner. On the 7th of July, he voided, by the anus, a conſiderable quantity of blood, which immediately coagulated. The next morning, the flux continued, and in greater abundance. The marquiſs was ſo enlivened at this, that he attempted to make a few ſteps in his chamber, leaning upon his ſervants. The ſame day, he had a moſt craving appetite, and eat of many different things, ſwallowing every thing, juſt then, without any fear of ſuffocation. He likewiſe ſupped, with the ſame good humour; rejoiced at being able to do, what he had ſo long been incapable of; having, for ſome time before, not even dared to take any ſolid nouriſhment, without danger of immediate ſuffocation.

On the 9th of July, however, Dr. Bye found him again in bed, after paſſing a moſt painful night. He ſeemed to be in the agonies of death. His face and neck, were conſiderably ſwelled: his face was of a dark complexion, and his eyes

eyes seemed as if starting from his head. He was able, however, to relate what had happened in the night. He mentioned the danger he had been in, of suffocation; and desired to be let blood. The physician refused this. You are determined then, that I shall perish, said the marquis. You would not, surely, wish, said Bye, that I should hasten your death. While he was speaking these words, the suffocation increased. His face became quite black. He attempted to bid adieu to the marchioness, who was by the bedside; and then, yielding to his last efforts to breathe, bowed down his head, and expired.

Bye immediately informed Boerhaave of this event, to whom he had every day communicated the state of the patient. Boerhaave came to him; and they were permitted to open the body.

Boerhaave, before this operation, was willing to reflect on all the circumstances of the disease; to see whether he could not foretel, what he should discover on dissection; and thus, say what part was diseased. But this great man candidly owns, that he was unable to determine any thing before hand; and he requests the reader to judge, for himself, from the circumstances he has related, of what might be the essential causes of the Marquis's death, before he goes any farther.

The body was, externally, of a very healthy appearance; and, notwithstanding the marquis's long abstinence, and extreme sufferings, he was, by no means, emaciated. The abdomen only, was a little swelled. This tension, rendered Boerhaave very attentive. He even ventured to say to the assistants, that they were going to discover the cause.

On opening the breast, there immediately spouted out a stream of limpid, yellow, insipid water. Boerhaave reflected a moment, on what this water might be, and whether it was not a dropsy of the breast, which had suffocated the patient, after causing so many ills. It continued to flow, during the dissection, but in less quantity. The breast seemed to be filled with water, on looking into it, through this narrow opening. Boerhaave introduced his finger into it, and found the right lobe in its place, but adhering to the pleura. He went no farther, on that side, but opened the left cavity of the breast, and found there no water: but the whole lobe, from the top to the bottom, was adhering to the pleura. He then, carefully, laid this part of the thorax open; taking care, not to disorder any part of its contents. The moment he had accomplished this, he saw, that from the neck, to the diaphragm, the whole of the cavity was filled with a white substance, of a sound appearance, except that, in the middle of its surface, there was a little tumour, which included a fluid, of a milky colour, but not purulent. This substance was pretty hard and uniform, through the whole of its surface. Boerhaave was stupified, at the sight of this singular phenomenon. This substance was much more considerable in the left, than in the right side of the heart; and even, entirely filled it. This was the reason, why the lobe of the lungs, was pressed so close to the pleura, on that side, that neither air, nor blood, could penetrate it any longer. The first seat of the disorder, had, therefore,

fore, probably, been in the left cavity, under the ſcapula; and hence the pain the patient complained of, at the beginning.

This excreſcence had, indeed, extended to the right ſide of the breaſt; but ſtill, it was not ſo conſiderable there, as not to leave ſome room for the admiſſion of air, and for ſome degree of action to the lobe, on that ſide, in reſpiration. The great veſſels, however, and even the heart itſelf, with its pericardium, were puſhed ſomewhat out of their places. The reſpiration could, therefore, only take place, in this lower part of the right cavity of the thorax; becauſe, this excreſcence being at the top of the breaſt, where it is narroweſt, in the human ſubject, the lungs were preſſed down, towards the inferior part of the cavity, where the breaſt becomes ſomewhat wider. This, therefore, explains the extraordinary efforts, made by the patient, to draw his breath from this lower part; the bronchiæ being compreſſed above, by this ſubſtance. Hence, too, the hollowneſs of his voice. Beſides all this, the right lobe was found adhering to the pleura, only at the upper part of the breaſt. About the middle, it was ſeen attached to this tumour; ſo that here was another hindrance to the action of this lobe.

Boerhaave attempted to ſeparate the whole of this ſubſtance, from the other parts, to which it was attached. It was impoſſible to take it out at once, and entire, on account of the pericardium, lungs, and great veſſels. He extracted it, however, in the beſt manner he was able, and found the weight of it to be, ſix pounds and three quarters. As it was light, in proportion to its ſize ſome idea may be formed of its exceſſive bulk. The whole of this ſubſtance, was as white as ſnow. Here and there, appeared a milky fluid, on cutting into it. No veſſels, however, were to be perceived in it, excepting thoſe to which it was attached. Except the ſkin, that incloſed the whole, there was no appearance of any cauls, or cavities, or membrane, within. If any portion of this ſubſtance, was rubbed between the fingers, it melted like fat oil. It was, therefore, in Boerhaave's opinion, the true *ſteatoma*.

The diſplacement of all the thoracic viſcera, was altogether ſingular. This ſubſtance had puſhed the diaphragm downwards; and this had occaſioned the tumefaction of the lower belly, which Boerhaave noticed, at the firſt, as a ſingular appearance. The pericardium, being united to the diaphragm, had followed it, and, of courſe, removed from its natural ſituation. This was followed by a depreſſion of the great veſſels. We have already ſeen the ſtate of the lungs.

Here, then, was a new example of human miſery. A mild, unctuous, an innocent humour, occaſioned, by its abundance, a ſingular diſeaſe, and death; and this, from its fixing itſelf, in too great a quantity, on parts which can, in no degree, be compreſſed, without danger. We learn, from this, therefore, that, in extraordinary diſeaſes, we may reaſonably ſuppoſe ſome hidden and unknown cauſe, which anatomy alone, can be likely to explain.

It were to be wiſhed, ſays Boerhaave, that the experienced phyſician might be able to diſcover the

ſource of a ſimilar complaint, his firſt ſeeing the patient; that he might, then, be able prevent this fat from ſpreading, to form ſo deſtructive a maſs. might then hope, to be able prevent the diſorders it occa-; becauſe, it is impoſſible to ſolve, or diſſipate, a ſteatoma is once formed, unleſs its ation ſhould admit of manual eration.

Boerhaave confeſſes, that he w no medicine, that would vent a beginning ſteatoma from arging; and that which is not be done externally, muſt be poſſible within. Every time, refore, ſays he, that I hear at talkers, vaunting their re-dies, for this purpoſe, I wiſh e them cure ſchirrous tumours; ult, and ulcerated cancers; me-ris; ſteatoma, &c. by certain ans; and thus give us a proof their art. As for my part, I e obſerved, that all prudent, experienced phyſicians, al-ed their inſufficiency, on theſe aſions, though they did it with ret.

t would ſeem, as if Boerhaave, ht meet with ſome reproaches, his method of treating the rquis, before this complaint. Nothing could be more grate-, to the ignorant, and illiberal, of little minds, and of a nar-way of thinking, than an op-tunity of cenſuring ſo great a ius as Boerhaave. There are, now, perſons of this diſpoſi-, who, in reading this narra-, will perhaps be led to aſcribe diſorder of the Marquiſs to the preſſion of the hemorrhoids. the great Boerhaave has re-d to theſe frivolous judges, by ſaying, that a ſteatoma cannot be derived from the cure, or the ſup-preſſion of the hemorrhoids; that he had cured them, neither by cauſtic, nor by any other external application, but by mild, emol-lient, and deterſive remedies; and that no ſigns of plethera had been perceived, when the hemorrhoidal flux began to diminiſh. In ſhort, ſays he, with his uſual candour, and dignity of mind, let every one judge freely, and ſincerely for himſelf; I have deſcribed the diſ-eaſe, ſuch as I ſaw it.

The phyſician, therefore, as well as the mathematician, has fulfill-ed his duty, when he has proved, that a difficulty is, in every ſenſe, and point of view, inexplicable. He, who proves a diſeaſe to be impenetrable, and, of courſe, in-curable, deſerves as much of our eſteem, as he who points out the ſeat of a diſeaſe, and the method of curing it.

Account of Mount Veſuvius *in the Year* 1777; *from Travels into the* Two Sicilies, *by* Henry Swin-burne, *Eſq.*

THE unavoidable hurry upon our arrival prevented me from viſiting Veſuvius while the eruption continued. As ſoon as I was at liberty, I hired a hackney two-wheeled chaiſe, called a Ca-leſſo; which is no more than a very uneaſy triangular ſeat, gilt and bedaubed with gaudy colours, fixed upon an axle-tree, and drawn by a ſingle horſe. Some of theſe horſes ſell very dear, and go at a prodigious rate, always in a high trot. The driver ſtands behind, and with the whip and voice di-

rects the horſe's motion. The hirer holds the reins; but is not reſponſible for any miſchief the carriage may do, unleſs he alſo take poſſeſſion of the laſh. The reins are faſtened to a caveſſon, without a bit, and the more the animal is pulled, the faſter he goes: a hiſs ſtops him.

One of theſe chairs conveyed me about eight miles from Naples, to the place where the lava ceaſed to run, after filling up a road, overturning ſome cottages, and conſuming a wide tract of vineyards. The poplars, to which the vines were tied, were burnt or cruſhed beneath the weight of the cooler lumps that tumbled off on each ſide from the fiery maſs. The ſurface of this black and now ſtagnant river is very uneven, full of points and protuberances, and broken into chaſms. It anſwers the idea I have of a rocky mountain overturned into a valley, and ſhattered to pieces by an earthquake. In colour, the lava reſembles ſlag, or the firſt clearings of an iron mine. The intenſe heat that ſtill iſſued from it, though the flames were not viſible by day-light, kept me at a diſtance. By night, fire may be ſeen through the crevices of the duſky cruſt. It had run cloſe to a lava of ſeventeen years date, which is not yet ſufficiently triturated by the action of air, to afford hold to the ſeeds of any plant, except a long hoary moſs, commonly the firſt ſettler on theſe cinders, which are infinitely ſofter, and ſooner crumbled to duſt, than the *Sciarras* of Ætna.

After ſatisfying my curioſity with an attentive examination of theſe objects, I returned to Portici, hired a guide and mule, a rode up through the vineyards the foot of the mountain, wh vegetation terminates in a lo coarſe graſs, the only plant t can bear the vicinity of the aſhes and ſulphureous exhalatio I aſcended the ſteep cone of c ders in a direct line, up to ancles at every ſtep in pur lukewarm aſhes. The heat was very powerful till we came wit a few yards of the ſummit, a there ſmoke breaks out throu many crannies. On the Por ſide there is very little lava, cept a few ſcattered ſtones t ſerve to reſt upon. It is imp ſible to give a juſt idea of the tigue of this climbing. Bef that day I had mounted ſome v exalted points of the Alps, a clambered up the higheſt peak the Pyrenees, without feeling ſu oppreſſive wearineſs and exhauſti of ſpirits and ſtrength as I ex rienced on Veſuvius. Perha the mephitic effluvium, which tacked my reſpiration, may a have had a debilitating effect up my nerves and muſcles. I ſho hardly have been able to proce had I not held by my guide, w went before with a handkerch tied round his waiſt.

I confeſs I was a good deal d appointed on reaching the ſu mit; for the deſcriptions I h read had raiſed in my imaginat an expectation of every thing t could be glaring and ſtriking colours, pompous and tremend in a ſcene of igneous phænomen but the late eruption had, fo time, laid all the mountain's f aſleep, and every thing was d and dark. The vent, by wh the lava ran out, is much be

the top of the mountain, and on that ſide the ſulphureous ſteams are very pungent. I was on the point of returning rather fruſtrated of my hopes, when a curling column of ſmoke and flame roſe ſlowly out of the gloomy abyſs, and brought up with it a thick white cloud, that had hitherto rendered the crater impervious to my ſight. The wind quickly caught hold of this column, and whirled it round the immenſe caldron ſeveral times with inconceivable noiſe and velocity, till it forced part of the ſmoke to fly off horizontally from the mountain, and daſhed the remainder back into its original cavern. During this conflict, on the oppoſite ſide to that where we ſtood, I had a peep very far into the crater. The ſides ſeemed all lava and ſcoria, with very little variety in the tints, cloſed at bottom by an impenetrable ſcreen of ſmoke. I have ſeen old ruined coalpits, that afford a tolerable idea of this volcanic kettle. As ſoon as the ſmoke was driven away, the roaring below grew loud, and frequent exploſions were heard with a hollow ſound; and at every throe, which cauſed a very conſiderable commotion in the thin arch on which we ſtood, a ſhower of red-hot ſtones was ſhot up; but not riſing many feet above the mountain, they did not come within the ſweep of the wind, and ſo fell back perpendicularly into the rumbling gulf.

I ſhall not preſume to inveſtigate minutely the origin, compoſition, or operations of the mountain, as we have ample information on this ſubject in the works of Sir William Hamilton. His knowledge of the volcano is ſo complete, and reputation on that head ſo firmly eſtabliſhed at Naples, that more than once the court has waited to regulate its ſtay at Portici, or removal from thence, till he had declared, when he thought the eruption would begin, and what direction the lava was likely to follow. Many writers of diſſertations on ignivomous mountains have been led into a labyrinth of miſtakes, falſe poſitions, and falſe conſequences, by truſting ſolely to the relations of others, and not being at the pains of examining the phænomena with their own eyes. Whoever has not had the advantage of inſpecting an active volcano, ſhould not preſume to write upon that ſubject, as he muſt unavoidably fall into error, in ſpite of all the learning, combinations, and ſagacity the wit of man is ſuſceptible of. Indeed, ſome authors, who have had Veſuvius before their eyes for forty years, have likewiſe fallen into ſtrange indefenſible opinions concerning its component parts, original formation, and modes of operating. Attachment to ſyſtem miſleads us all, and frequently cauſes us to ſee things, not as they are, but as we wiſh to find them. Nothing but the deſire of proving Veſuvius to be a primordial mountain, and not the produce of eruptions, could have brought Padre della Torre to believe, that he ſaw regular, original, calcarious, and granite ſtrata, far down in the bowels of the mountain; where, if he ſaw any thing, it was probably ſtreaks of ſulphureous and mineral efflorescences adhering to the coats of the funnel. Nothing but ſyſtem could have ſo blinded Richard, as

to prevent his finding a ſingle pumice-ſtone, or other mark of fire, in the rocks of Poſilipo, where any trivial obſerver may meet with innumerable black calcined ſtones, though he may not be ſufficiently converſant in the ſubject to diſcover, that the whole rock owes its birth to the workings of volcanic fires. Without prejudices of this kind, could other authors have ſeen nothing in Monte Somma, and the hills of Naples, but primitive ſubſtances, unaltered ſince the deluge; when, in reality, every ſtone beſpeaks a fiery origin?

To be convinced that Veſuvius has been raiſed from the level of the plains, or, more properly ſpeaking, of the ſea, by the ſole action of fire contained in its bowels, requires, methinks, nothing but an eye accuſtomed to obſerve, and a ſound judgment unbiaſſed by party. I own I cannot entertain a doubt of it, after having conſidered the inſulated poſition, and apparent compoſition of the mountain, together with the ſoil of all the adjacent country; after having reflected upon the birth of Monte Nuovo thrown up to the perpendicular height of two hundred feet, in the ſhort ſpace of forty-eight hours; and upon the apparition of many iſlands raiſed out of the boſom of the waters by ſubmarine fires, of which both ancient and modern hiſtory afford examples. The iſland of Aſcenſion, and many in the Archipelago, one of which roſe out of the ſea in 1707, completely prove this aſſertion. The origin of the iſle of Rhodes, as related in Pindar's ſeventh Olympic, ſeems to be of the ſame claſs. This poet calls Rhodes a native of the floods, and tells us, "that ancient tales of men relate, "that when Jupiter and the Gods "divided the earth, Rhodes was "not viſible amidſt the marine "waves, but lay hid in the briny "deep*." Apollo, being abſent, was left out of the partition-treaty, and, on his appearance, Jupiter would have proceeded to a freſh diviſion; but the God of day declined the offer, contenting himſelf with dominions that did not interfere with any god's ſhare: "for (ſays he) I behold in the "frothy ſea a fruitful land riſing "from the bottom." And accordingly,

* Φαιῖὶ δανδράπων παλαιαὶ
Ῥησίς ἔπω ὀ'ῖε
Χθόνα δαλίοντο Ζεύς τε καὶ αἰθάλοις
Φανερὰν ες πελάγει
Ῥόδον ἐμμεν ποντίῳ.
Ἀλμυροῖς δ' ες βένθεσιν νᾶσον κεκρυφθαι

————————ἐπεὶ πολιᾶς
Εἶπε τὶν ἀυλὸς ἱρᾶν ἔνδον θαλάσσας
Ἀυξομέναν πεδόθεν
Πολυζόσκον, γαῖαν ἀνδρῶ
Ποσσὶ κ' ἔυρρονα μάλοις

Βλάστε μὲν ἐξ ἁλὸς ὑγρᾶς
Νᾶσος————————

cordingly, as he ſpoke, "Lo! "the iſland ſhot up out of the "waters." It is eaſy to trace this fable to its ſource, the heaving up of the ſoil at the bottom of the ſea by the vehemence of fire.

Whatever may have been the origin of Veſuvius, whether as a mountain it be coëval with the firſt-created protuberances of this globe, or whether it be an irregular production of ages ſubſequent to the creation, this we may ſafely affirm, that it has been a volcano beyond the reach of hiſtory or tradition. Long before it laid Herculaneum waſte, it was deſcribed by authors as bearing the marks of fire on its ſummit. Some even ſay, the report of its having vomited flames went ſo far back into antiquity as to border upon fable. A moſt animated deſcription of its ravages in 79 is left us by the younger Pliny, who was a woeful witneſs to all he relates. From that time, it now and then burſt out, and alarmed the neighbouring country; but ſeemed by degrees to loſe its vigour, till, in the lower ages, it ſcarce gave ſufficient alarm to merit a place in the chronicles of the times. In 1631, it broke out again with accumulated fury, and ſpread ſuch devaſtation around, as almoſt equalled the horrors of the firſt year of Titus. Since that epocha, it has had its periods of turbulence and repoſe; and of late years it has ſo redoubled its violence, as to emit ſmoke continually, and every year, at leaſt a torrent of lava. Whence it draws its immenſe ſupplies of combuſtibles, and how long its preſent cone will be able to bear theſe unremitting efforts, exceeds the power of all human calculation. I believe, however, that with all its terrors, Veſuvius, open and active, is leſs hoſtile to Naples, than it would be, if its eruptions were to ceaſe, and its ſtruggles were to be confined to its bowels: then undoubtedly would enſue moſt fatal ſhocks to the unſtable foundation of the Terra di Lavoro.

The day being clear, I made ſome ſtay on the top, to obtain a juſt idea of the topography of this curious country. There cannot be a more advantageous ſtation for examining Naples and its environs, as Veſuvius ſtands ſingle, at a diſtance from all other mountains, and commands the plains of Nola, Capua, and Sarno, the chain of the Apennines, the promontory of Sorrento, the hills and gulf of Naples, with all its iſlands. I obſerved, that the ridge extending weſtward from Poggio Reale to Monte Gauro, is entirely ſeparated by the plains from every other eminence, and conſtitutes a vaſt detached promontory, full of lakes and hollows, the craters of extinct volcanos. On ſurveying thoſe regions from this elevated pinacle, it appeared to me, that, in times of the remoteſt antiquity, there may have exiſted an enormous flaming mountain, with its centrical point between Iſchia and the Camaldoli, and that Solfatara, Aſtruni, Barbaro, &c. may be but the excreſcences and *montagnuole* of one gigantic maſs, which, after exhauſting its force, and wearing out the ſurface, till it grew unable to ſupport its own weight, may have ſunk, and been overwhelmed by the waves. The gulf of Baia, and the channels of Iſchia and

Procida, may have been formed by this cataclyſm. The ſize of Ætna renders ſuch an extent no objection to my hypotheſis, and ſhews to what a monſtrous bulk a mountain can ſwell itſelf. Monte Epomeo in Iſchia, and the Camaldoli, are both abruptly broken down facing each other, and both ſlope off very gradually different ways, till one is loſt in the Campi Leborini, and the other ſinks into the ſea.

Some Account of the Mare Piccolo *of* TARANTO—*of its* Shell-Fiſh—*of the* Nautilus—Coral—*and* Pinna Marina; *from the ſame.*

I DEVOTED the afternoon to a water party, taking with me one of the oldeſt and moſt intelligent of the Tarentine fiſhermen, to ſhew me the fiſhing and ſpawning places, and explain the different ſeaſons and methods of catching fiſh. We took boat, and rowed up the ſouthern ſhore of the Mare Piccolo, with an intention of meaſuring the whole circumference, which Strabo fixes at one hundred ſtadia, or twelve Engliſh miles and a half. According to my calculation, the circuit of the weſtern part is not more than half as great as that of the eaſtern one; and both together, by a rough eſtimate, are about ſixteen miles. This increaſe may be accounted for by the deſtruction of all the parapets and walls of the old city, the wearing away of the banks, and overflowing of the low grounds. A tide is very perceptible, eſpecially when the moon changes, and ſtill more ſo at the ſolſtices and equinoxes; but very feeble in compariſon of the tides in the ocean: however, it ſerves to keep the waters of this land-locked bay ſweet, and to bring in caravans of fiſh, that fatten and breed in its quiet pools. When the Scirocco blows hard, the waves are driven up with great violence, and navigation becomes perilous for ſmall veſſels.

The firſt objects of my curioſity were the beds of Cozzenere, or muſcles, the greateſt and moſt conſtant ſupply of the market. Their ſpawn is dropt in the mud. About the twenty-firſt of March, little muſcles begin to riſe up, and cling to long ſtakes driven by the fiſhermen into the water under the city wall, and in the caſtle ditch. There they thrive and grow in ſtill water, while the waſhings of the ſtreets ſupply them with rich and copious nutriment. In Auguſt they are as big as almonds, and are then drawn up with the poles, and ſown on the oppoſite ſide of the Mare Piccolo, among the freſh-water ſprings.

About the middle of October they are again dragged up, ſeparated, and ſcattered over a larger ſpace. In ſpring, they are brought to market, long before they arrive at their full growth. This haſte proceeds from the avidity of the officers of the revenue, who receive a duty of four carlini a cantaro for them, whether old or young.

When a long continuance of heavy rains ſwells the little ſtreams that diſcharge themſelves into this gulf, the waters become muddy, and theſe fiſh are then obſerved to grow diſtempered, rotten, and unwholeſome. The cauſe of this malady lies in the noxious fragment

ments of animals, putrid vegetables, oily, bituminous, and sulphureous particles, washed from the earth by the showers. They cut the tender fibres or fingers which the fish stretches out, mistaking them for wholesome food. The wounded parts fester, and poison the whole body. It is an observation made here, and confirmed by long experience, that all the testaceous tribe is fuller, fatter, and more delicate, during the new and full moon, than in the first and last quarters. The difference is accounted for by the tides and currents, which set in stronger in the new and full moon, and bring with them large quantities of bruised fishes, insects, fruits, and other fattening nurture. I was assured that nothing causes fish to spoil sooner than leaving them exposed to the beams of the moon; and that all prudent fishermen, when out by night, cover what they catch with an awning. If they meet with any dead fish on the strand, or in the market, they can always discern, by its colour and flabbiness, if it be *allunato*, moon-struck; and, except in cases of great necessity, abstain from it as unwholesome. Not having an opportunity of verifying this assertion, I give it as doubtful; for I know the Italians are apt to attribute to the baneful influence of the moon many strange effects, which philosophers of other nations do not ascribe to it. No Italian will lie down to sleep, where moonshine can reach him.

The Cozze Pelose, or velvet muscle, is first dragged for in the Great Sea, and then scattered to breed on Sciaie, or heaps of stones sunk by the fishermen at every head-land of the Mare Piccolo.

Under the Piano, or eastern shore, are the oyster-beds: no coast affords a more exquisite sort. In winter, large hampers of them are sent over-land to Naples. The season is confined by law to a term between the 25th of November and Easter Sunday.

Brundusium was the great supplier of oysters for the Roman tables. From that port, the spawn was carried to stock their public reservoirs at the Lucrene Lake, near Baiæ; and no mention is made by the ancients of the excellence of any Tarentine shell-fish except the scallop *. It is therefore not unlikely that oyster spawn has been brought to Taranto from Brindisi, and better preserved than at the original bed, where the obstructions in the mouth of the harbour have ruined all the fisheries †.

The papyraceous Nautilus is some-

* Pectinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum. HOR. Sat.

† I received from my friend, F. Ant. Minasi, the following list of Shell-fish found in the Tarentine waters. He drew it up according to the Linnæan system from a large assortment of specimens, which he was commissioned to class, before they were presented by the Archbishop of Taranto to the Infant Don Gabriel. Had my learned correspondent had an opportunity of visiting those seas, it is more than probable that his piercing and experienced eye would have discovered other species, if not genera, of fishes.

1. Chiton squamosus et cinereus 2. Lepas balanus

ſometimes, but very rarely, ſeen ſpreading the wonderful mechaniſm of its ſail and oars in the ſmooth bays of the Mare Grande; and ſometimes fiſhermen ſurpriſe trumpet-ſhells of a prodigious bulk aſleep floating on the ſurface of the wate in a ſultry day.

Very fine branchy coral is foun along the coaſt eaſt of the city

3. Lepas anatifera
4. Lepas teſtudinaria — altera radiis 6, et altera 5.
5. Pholas dactylus cum cardine recurvato connexoque cartilagine
6. Mya pictorum
7. Solen enſis
8. Solen legumen
9. Solen ſtrigilatus
10. Tellina anomala
11. Tellina carnaria
12. Tellina roſtrata
13. Tellina Punicea
14. Tellina fragilis
15. Tellina planata
16. Cardium aculeatum
17. Cardium edule
18. Cardium ruſticum
19. Mactra ſtriatula
20. Donax trunculus
21. Venus læta
22. Venus Paphia
23. Venus callypige
24. Venus deflorata
25. Spondylus Gæderopus
26. Chama antiquata
27. Arca Noæ
28. Arca barbata
29. Anomia ephiſſium
30. Mytilus edulis
31. Pinna nobilis
32. Argonauta Argo
33. Buccinum galea
34. Buccinum maculatum
35. Buccinum Tritonis
36. Echinus Cidaris
37. Echinus eſculentus
38. Echinus ſaxatilis
39. Echinus mamillaris
40. Echinus placenta
41. Serpula anguina
42. Oſtrea edulis
43. Oſtrea Jacobea
44. Oſtrea bullata
45. Oſtrea puſio
46. Oſtrea ſanguinea
47. Oſtrea varia
48. Oſtrea lima
49. Oſtrea radula
50. Cyprea talpa
51. Cyprea lurida
52. Cyprea caput ſerpentis
53. Cyprea pediculus
54. Conus monachus
55. Bulla aperta
56. Bulla Naucus
57. Bulla hydatis
58. Voluta cancellata
59. Voluta glabella
60. Buccinum echinophorum
61. Strombus pes pellicani
62. Strombus lentiginoſus
63. Murex ſaxatilis
64. Murex reticularis
65. Murex coſtatus
66. Murex cutaceus
67. Murex puſio
68. Murex cornutus
69. Murex erinaceus
70. Murex pileare
71. Murex triqueter
72. Murex fuſcatus
73. Trochus teſſulatus
74. Trochus umbilicaris
75. Turbo cochlus
76. Turbo pullus
77. Turbo nodoloſus
78. Helix picta
79. Nerita littoralis
80. Nerita canræna
81. Nerita rufa
82. Haliotis Midæ
83. Patella ſinuata
84. Patella lutea
85. Patella ruſtica
86. Patella fuſca
87. Patella puſtula
88. Patella Græca
89. Dentalium dentalis
90. Dentalium corneum
91. Serpula arenaria
92. Serpula vermicularis
93. Serpula contortuplicata

The

The places are kept a profound ſecret. Marks are ſet up on land, by which the Tarentines ſteer their courſe, and ſink their hooks and croſs-beams exactly in the middle of a coral bed, while ſtrangers muſt row about a whole day dragging, without a guide, or certainty of bringing up a ſingle twig. There was, a few years ago, ſuch abundance of coral near theſe ſhores, that a boat's crew was once known to draw up in one day as much as ſold for five hundred ducats (93*l.* 15*s.*) Large pieces may be had for about five ducats *per* rotolo, which at Taranto contains only thirteen ounces.

Under Cape St. Vito, once famous for an abbey of Baſilian monks, and in moſt parts of the Mare Grande, the rocks are ſtudded with the Pinna Marina. This bivalved ſhell of the muſcle tribe frequently exceeds two feet in length. It faſtens itſelf to the ſtones by its hinge, and throws out a large tuft of ſilky threads, which float and play about to allure ſmall fiſh: amidſt theſe filaments is generally found, beſides other inſects, a ſmall ſhrimp, called by the ancients, Cancer Pinnotheres, by the modern Tarentines, Caurella. This little cruſtaceous animal was imagined to be generated with the Pinna, and appointed by nature to act as a watchman, in apprizing it of the approach of prey or enemies; and that, upon the leaſt alarm, this guard ſlipt down into the ſhell, which was inſtantly cloſed: but more accurate obſervers have diſcovered, that the poor ſhrimp is no more than a prey itſelf, and by no means a centinel for the muſcle, which in its turn frequently falls a victim to the wiles of the Polypus Octopedia. In very calm weather, this rapacious pirate may be ſeen ſtealing towards the yawning ſhells with a pebble in his claws, which he darts ſo dexterouſly into the aperture, that the Pinna cannot ſhut itſelf up cloſe enough to pinch off the feelers of its antagoniſt, or ſave its fleſh from his ravenous tooth. The Pinna is torn off the rocks with hooks, and broken for the ſake of its bunch of ſilk called Lanapenna, which is ſold, in its rude ſtate, for about fifteen carlini a pound, to women that waſh it well with ſoap and freſh water. When it is perfectly cleanſed of all its impurities, they dry it in the ſhade, ſtraiten it with a large comb, cut off the uſeleſs root, and card the remainder; by which means they reduce a pound of coarſe filaments to about three ounces of fine thread. This they knit into ſtockings, gloves, caps, and waiſtcoats; but they commonly mix a little ſilk as a ſtrengthener. This web is of a beautiful yellow brown, reſembling the burniſhed gold on the back of ſome flies and beetles. I was told that the Lanapenna receives its gloſs from being ſteeped in lemon juice, and being afterwards preſſed down with a taylor's gooſe.

Natural Hiſtory of the Tarantula; *from the ſame.*

THE Tarantula is a ſpider of the third ſpecies of Linnæus's fourth family, with eight eyes, placed four, two and two; its colour commonly a very dark grey, but varies according to age and

and food. The bulk of its fore-part is almoſt double that of the hind part; the back of its neck raiſed high, and its leg ſhort and thick. It lives in bare fields, where the lands are fallow, but not very hard; and, from its antipathy to damp and ſhade, chooſes for its reſidence the riſing part of the ground facing the eaſt. Its dwelling is about four inches deep, and half an inch wide; at the bottom it is curved, and there the inſect ſits in wet weather, and cuts its way out, if water gains upon it. It weaves a net at the mouth of the hole. Theſe ſpiders do not live quite a year. In July they ſhed their ſkin, and proceed to propagation, which, from a mutual diſtruſt, as they frequently devour one another, is a work undertaken with great circumſpection. They lay about ſeven hundred and thirty eggs, which are hatched in the ſpring; but the parent does not live to ſee her progeny, having expired early in the winter. The Ichneumon fly is their moſt formidable enemy.

An Account of ſome Experiments on Mercury and Silver, made at Guildford, *in May* 1782, *in the Laboratory of* J. Price, M. D. F. R. S.

EXPERIMENT I.

Made May the 6th, 1782, *before the Rev. Mr.* Anderſon; *Capt.* Francis Groſe; *Mr.* Ruſſell *and Mr.* D. Groſe, *the Gentlemen mentioned in the Introduction as the moſt proper Witneſſes of the Proceſs, then reſident in* Guildford.

HALF an ounce of mercury provided by Capt. Groſe (bought at an apothecary's of the town) was placed in a ſmall Heſſian crucible, brought by Mr. Ruſſell, on a flux compoſed of borax, (alſo brought by him) a ſmall piece of charcoal taken out of a ſcuttle (fortuitouſly) by Mr. D. Groſe, and examined by the reſt of the company; and a ſmall piece of nitre, alſo taken out without ſelection, by the Rev. Mr. Anderſon, from a quantity in common uſe, in the laboratory; theſe being pounded together in a mortar which all the company had previouſly inſpected, were preſſed down into the crucible with a ſmall peſtle: on this flux the mercury was poured by Mr. Anderſon, and upon it half a grain, carefully weighed out by Mr. Ruſſell, of a certain powder of a deep red colour, furniſhed by Dr. P. was put on it by Mr. Anderſon.

The crucible was then placed in a fire of a moderate red heat by Dr. P. who from his greater facility in managing the fire from long habit, was thought moſt eligible to conduct the experiment. He repeatedly called the attention of the company to obſerve the ſtages of the proceſs, and to remark in every part of it that any voluntary deception on his part was impoſſible.

In about a quarter of an hour from the projection of the powder and the placing of the crucible in the fire, he obſerved to the company, who on inſpection found his obſervation—true, that the mercury, though in a red hot crucible ſhewed no ſigns of evaporation or even of boiling: the fire was then gradually raiſed, with attention on the part of the company, and repeated calls for that attention from Dr. P. that no un-

du-

the addition might be made to the matter in the crucible; in a ſtrong glowing red, or rather white-red, a ſmall dip was taken on the point of a clean iron rod, and when cold, the *ſcoriæ* ſo taken being knocked off, were ſhewn to the company, and found replete with ſmall globules of a whitiſh coloured metal, which Dr. P. obſerved to them could not be mercury, as being evidently fixed in that ſtrong heat: but as he repreſented to them *might be* an intermediate ſubſtance between mercury and a more perfect metal.

A ſmall quantity of borax (brought by Mr. R.) was then injected by him, and the fire raiſed, but with the ſame precautions on the part of Dr. P. to ſubject every thing to the minute inſpection of the perſons preſent; and after continuing the crucibles in a ſtrong red-white heat for about a quarter of an hour, it was carefully taken out, and gradually cooled: on breaking it, a globule of yellow metal was found at bottom, and in the ſcoriæ ſmaller ones, which, collected and placed in an accurate balance by Mr. Ruſſell, were found to weigh *fully* ten grains. This metal was in the preſence of the above-mentioned gentlemen ſealed up in a phial, impreſſed with the ſeal of Mr. Anderſon, to be ſubmitted to future examination, though every one preſent was perſuaded that the metal was gold.

The ſeal being broke the next morning, in the preſence of the former company, and of Captain Auſten, and the metal hydroſtatically examined, the weight of the larger globule (the others being too minute for this mode of examination) was found to be in air 9 grains and a quarter, and in diſtilled water of temp. Fahren. 50 plus, it loſt ſomething more than $\frac{3}{8}$ (but not quite an half) of a grain: the difference was not appreciable, as no ſmaller weight than the eighth of a grain was at hand, but was judged by all the company to be nearly intermediate; i. e. $\frac{7}{16}$:—at half a grain the ſp. gr. would be rather more than 18 : 1; if only $\frac{3}{8}$ were loſt in water, the ſp. gr. would exceed 24 : 1. the intermediate, would be 21. $\frac{1}{7}$ nearly; but as the loſs ſeemed rather more than the intermediate, though apparently and decided leſs than half a grain, the ſpecific gravity muſt have been nearly as 20 : 1. and in this eſtimate all preſent acquieſced.

After this hydroſtatical examination, the globule was flattened by percuſſion into a thin plate, and examined by Mr. Ruſſell, in the manner of artiſts for commercial purpoſes; on finiſhing his ſcrutiny, he declared it to be as good gold as the grain gold of the *refiners*, and that he would readily purchaſe ſuch gold as that which he had juſt examined at the higheſt price demanded for the pureſt gold.

The plate being then divided, one half was before the company ſealed up by Mr. A. to be ſubmitted to a trial of its purity, which Dr. P. propoſed, requeſting his friend Dr. Higgins, of Greek-ſteeet, to make; the remainder being put into aq. regia of nit. acid and ſal. ammon. afforded a ſolution ſufficiently rich, before the company ſeparated, to yield with ſol. of tin. a richly coloured crimſon precipitate.

Capt.

Capt. G. was accidentally abſent when the precipitate was made, but ſaw it next day. In about four hours the portion of metal employed was completely diſſolved; and the next morning, before Capt. and Mr. D. Groſe, and Mr. Ruſſell, (Mr. A. being prevented from coming) the ſolution being divided into three portions, the following experiments were made*.

To the firſt portion, diluted with water, was added a quantity of cauſtic vol. alk. and the precipitate, which was copious, being duly ſeparated and dried, about a grain of it, placed on a tin plate, was heated and found to explode ſmartly. This experiment was repeated three times.

To the ſecond portion, diluted, was added a portion of ſol. of tin, in aq. reg. A beautiful crimſon coloured precipitate was immediately formed in conſiderable quantity; which, when dried, was mixed with a fuſible frit, compoſed of flint-powder, and the fluxes proper for the ruby glaſs of caſſius, in the proportion of 5 grains of the precipitate to ʒij of the frit, and in a vitrifying heat afforded in about three hours a tranſparent glaſs, which, by heating again, aſſumed an elegant crimſon colour: and the remainder which continued in the fire alſo acquired a bright red colour.

The third portion being mixed with vitriolic ether, imparted it the yellow colour given to th fluid by ſolutions of gold: and th ether being evaporated in a ſha low veſſel, a thin purpliſh pellic adhered to the ſide, ſpotted in ſe veral places with yellow.

Dr. Higgins ſoon after receiv ing the piece of metal, favoure the author with an anſwer, i which he notified that the packe came to him under the prope ſeal:—That he was well ſatisfie of the *purity* of the gold he receiv ed; and that he conſidered th author's experiments as excluſive ly ſufficient to have aſcertaine the nature and purity of the me tal.

Experiment II.

Made at Dr. Price's *May 8th*, 1782 *before Sir* Philip Clarke, *Dr* Spence, *the Rev. Mr.* Ander ſon, *Capt.* Groſe, *Mr.* Ruſſell *and Mr.* D. Groſe.

HALF an ounce of mercury procured from one Mr. Cunning ham, an apothecary of the town was placed on a flux compoſed o an ounce of powdered charcoal two drachms of borax, and on ſcruple of nitre, and on it when little warmed projected one grai of a white powder, furniſhed b Dr. Price.

After the crucible had acquire a red heat, the company all ſaw the mercury lying quiet at the bot-

* The ſmall plate falling by accident on a globule of mercury on the table readily amalgamated with it. This is mentioned in conſequence of an obſervation in the Critical Review. The Smiris Hiſpanica is not in the leaſt employed in the preparation injected on the mercury.

The proceſs is more analogous to that of Dr. Brandt, referred to by the ingenious Reviewer of this article, in his very candid and ſatisfactory Critique.

, without boiling or ſmoking the leaſt, and it continued in tranquil ſtate after it had ined a full red heat. It was ntinued in a fire gradually aug-nted to a white heat, near three arters of an hour, a ſmaller cru-le *previouſly inſpected*, being in-rted on it, to prevent coals falling in: and the cruci-being then withdrawn and oled, many globules of white tal were found diffuſed through whole maſs of ſcoriæ: of theſe obules were collected to the ght of ten grains, before the mpany ſeparated, and conſign-to the care of Mr. Ruſſell, who k them away with him.

Part of the remaining globules ng afterwards collected, by nding the crucible and waſh-over the powder, the whole en melted together amounted thirteen grains.

Dr. Price remarked on this pro-, that having taken too great uantity of charcoal, the glo-s were thereby diſperſed over whole maſs, and the powder ing been ſprinkled againſt the s of the crucible had not pro-ed its greateſt effect. And ſome of the mercury which eſcaped its action muſt have volatilized by the heat; and on inſpection of the covering cible was found to be true. experiment was therefore the morning repeated in preſence Mr. Anderſon, Capt. and En-Groſs and Mr. Ruſſell.

Experiment III.

he remaining half ounce of cury was employed; the char-and borax both taken without tion from large quantities in the laboratory, were powdered by Mr. Groſe, and the mercury plac-ed in the crucible as in the former experiment.

Barely half a grain of the white powder, weighed out by Mr. Ruſſell, was projected on the mercury, which by ſome accidental delay had begun to boil in the crucible; but on the application of the powder the ebullition ceaſed, although the crucible and contained mercury was ſubjected to a *much greater* heat; and it continued without boiling, even when of a red heat. The crucible was gradually heated to a *white* heat, and when cooled and broke, there was found in the bottom a well collected bead of fine white metal, weighing four grains.

Experiment IV.

On the ſame day, and the ſame perſons being preſent as at the preceding experiment, the following was made on ſilver.

Mr. Ruſſell weighed out ſixty grains (one drachm) of grain ſilver, which he had purchaſed of Meſſrs. Floyer and Co. refiners in Love-lane, Wood-ſtreet, Cheapſide: this quantity was placed in a ſmall crucible on ſome of the flux made as above, before the company; and on the ſilver, when in fuſion, was projected a bare *half grain* of the red powder, uſed in Experiment I. The crucible was then replaced in the fire, and continued there for about a quarter of an hour; a piece of borax taken at a venture, out of a jar containing a large quantity, was thrown on the metal by Mr. Groſe.

Dr. Price ſoon after, from the appearance of the flux imagining the

the crucible to be cracked (by the cold and moiſture of the borax) took it out of the fire, and finding that what he ſuſpected had happened, did not replace it; when cool it was broke, and the button of metal was found in the bottom, which, when weighed, appeared not to have loſt any of its original weight, ſo that fortunately only the flux had tranſuded.

Experiment V.

That no doubt might ariſe from the failure of the crucible in the laſt experiment, a ſimilar one was made in the preſence of the ſame perſons, with the addition of J. D. Garthwaite, of ———, Eſq; who was alſo preſent at the latter part of Experiment IV.

Thirty grains of the abovementioned grain ſilver was by Mr. Ruſſell weighed out, and put into a ſmall Heſſian crucible on a flux of charcoal and borax made before the company, with the ſame precautions as in Experiment I. On the ſilver, when fuſed, was projected by Mr. Anderſon a bare *half grain* of the red powder, and about five minutes after, ſome glaſs of borax (to avoid the moiſture contained in crude borax) was thrown in by one of the company. The crucible after being kept in a red-white heat for about fifteen minutes was taken out, and when cold broke: at the bottom of the ſcoriæ or rather flux, which in this experiment was neatly fuſed, lay the button of metal, which was found *nearly, if not exactly, of its original weight.*

It was then tried by Mr. Ruſſell, in the artiſts' manner; as was alſo the piece of metal obtained in Experiment IV. He found *both* of them to contain gold; the la ter in larger quantity, as mig be expected, from the relati proportion of the powder and ſi ver in the two experiments.

Dr. Price alſo examined t metal on the touchſtone (baſalte and with nitrous acid; when the company ſaw the mark gold remaining, while a ma made by a piece of the very pare of grain ſilver from which the po tion uſed in theſe experiments h been taken, and placed by the ſi of the mark from the enrich ſilver, totally vaniſhed on wetti it with the aqua fortis.

The mark from the enrich ſilver remained (of a yellow c lour) after repeated affuſions weak and ſtrong aqua fortis. that the company were entire convinced that gold was now co tained in the fuſed ſilver.

The chemical reader will pr bably anticipate the author's o ſervation; — that of the know metallic ſubſtances of a gold c lour, ſulphurated tin, could n without decompoſition, have ſu tained the heat employed in the experiments; and that copper, regulus of Nickel, would ha been diſſolved by the nitrous aci equally with the ſilver. The r mark is indeed ſcarce neceſſar for had it been poſſible to ha ſecretly introduced into the cru ble any of theſe metals, (and no of the company would for a m ment tolerate the idea of ſuch attempt having been made) t *identity* of weight obſerved w ſufficient to prove that nothing b the crimſon powder had be added.

After the pieces of metal h been thus ſeparately examine th

they were melted together, and when cool it was remarked that the ſurface of the culot of metal was elegantly radiated with alternate ſtriæ and furrows; an appearance not uſual in fuſed ſilver. Ten grains were reſerved by Dr. Price, for his own examination; and the other 80 grains were taken by Mr. Ruſſell, to be aſſayed in the refiners' manner.

Dr. Price found the proportion of gold to be $\frac{1}{8}$ of the whole maſs.

Mr. Ruſſell in the courſe of a few days cauſed all the abovementioned gold, ſilver, and mixture of gold and ſilver, to be aſſayed in the artiſts' manner, for the refiners, at the office of Meſſrs. Pratt and Dean, aſſay-maſters near Cheapſide.

They aſſayed each portion ſeparately, and reported the gold and ſilver to be of the moſt compleat purity: and the enriched ſilver to contain gold in the proportion of one eighth of the joint weight: and this report he alſo repeated before the ſpectators of Experiment VII. on May 25.

It was remarkable that both the refiner and the aſſay-maſter *at firſt* affirmed the impoſſibility of ſucceſs in the proceſs; and prejudiced by received opinions, queſtioned the purity of the metals, though they owned they *looked* much like ordinary gold. The aſſay removed their doubts; and they owned, with ſurprize, that the metals were entirely pure, and certified their purity in their official report.

Experiment VI.

Made May 15, 1782, *before Sir* Philip Horton Clarke, *the Rev.* B. Anderſon, *Capt.* Groſe, *Dr.* Spence, *Mr.* D. Groſe *and Mr.* Hallamby, *and ſeveral times repeated before Mr.* Anderſon, *and Dr.* Spence.

TWO ounces of Mercury were, by one of the company, taken out of a ciſtern in the laboratory, containing about two hundred weight of quickſilver (for experiments on the gaſſes) and in a ſmall Wedgewood's-ware mortar rubbed with a drop or two of vit. ether: on this mercury, which was very bright and remarkably fluid, barely a grain of the white powder was put, and afterwards rubbed up with it for about three minutes.

On pouring the mercury out of the mortar, it was obſerved to have become blackiſh and to pour ſlug iſhly; after ſtanding ten minutes, on being poured out of the veſſel in which it had ſtood, it was found conſiderably leſs fluid than before; and in a quarter of an hour's time ſo increaſed in ſpiſſitude as hardly to pour at all; but ſeemed full of lumps. Being now ſtrained through a cloth, a ſubſtance like an amalgam, of a pretty ſolid conſiſtence, remained behind; the unfixed mercury being expelled from this maſs, by placing it on a charcoal and directing the flame of a lamp on it with a blow-pipe, a bead of fine white metal remained fixed in a ſtrong red heat; which by every ſubſequent trial appeared to be ſilver: the weight of the bead thus collected, weighed and examined before the company ſeparated, was 18 grains: but much remaining in the ſtrained mercury, this was afterwards ſeparated, and weighed 11 grains: the whole obtained

was

was therefore 29 grains, or in proportion to the powder as 28 : 1.

Five drachms of mercury, taken out in the ſame manner as the above two ounces, were rubbed up with vit. ether, and afterwards with barely a quarter of a grain of the red powder; a maſs like an amalgam being obtained by ſtraining it after it had ſtood about a quarter of an hour, and the mercury driven off before the blow-pipe, as in the former experiment, a bead of yellow metal remained, weighing 4 grains; and after ſtanding ſome time longer, gr. 2. and ¼ more were obtained, both which reſiſted aqua fortis on the touch-ſtone; and a ſmall quantity being diſſolved in aqua regia, a purple precipitate was produced from the ſol. by the ſol. of tin, and a browniſh one by ſol. ferri vitriolati, bergm. (green vitriol or copperas); in this experiment therefore the quantity of gold was to the powder employed, as 24 : 1, excluſive of the weight of the powder.

The former part of this experiment was repeated on Saturday the 18th day of May, before the Rev. Mr. Manning, the Rev. Mr. Fulham, the Rev. Mr. Anderſon, the Rev. Mr. Robinſon and Dr. Spence.

Two ounces of mercury, treated as before mentioned, (after exhibiting phænomena ſimilar to thoſe above related) afforded a maſs, one half of which only (to avoid the noxious fumes of the whole) after having the mercury expelled from it by a white heat before the blow-pipe, yielded upwards of twelve grains of a white metal, that in every trial to which it was ſubmitted, appeared to be ſilver.

The product * therefore including the ſilver contained in the ſtrained mercury would have been nearly as 28 ; 1 ; as in the former experiment.

A ſmall portion (about ʒij) of the above mercury being put into another veſſel, and about the ſixth of a grain of the red powder put on it, the mercury, after being ground up with it, and ſtanding ſome time, was ſtrained as the former, and the ſmall maſs ſo obtained, placed before the blow-pipe. It yielded ſomething more than a grain of metal, which examined by nit. acid on the Touch-ſtone, evidently contained gold; as was apparent to the company before their leaving the laboratory. It was intended to have been ſubmitted to other trials, but from its minuteneſs and form, was accidentally loſt.

Experiment VII.

Made on Saturday May 25th, 1782, in the preſence of the Lords Onſlow, King *and* Palmerſton, *Sir* Robert Barker, *Sir* Philip H. Clarke, *Barts. the Rev.* O. Manning, G. Pollen, B. Anderſon, J. Robinſon, *Clerks*; *Dr.* Spence, Wm. Mann God-

* The author, by the words *product, produced*, and the like, here and in other places, means only to expreſs that a quantity of precious metal was really obtained; and neither to affirm or deny any ſpeculative opinions relative to the mode of action of the matter projected on the mercury, or concerning the *manner* in which the precious metal is contained in mercury.

ſchall,

ſchall, Wm. Smith, W. Godſchall, *Jun. Eſqs.*—*Meſſers* Gregory *and* Ruſſel.

℥j mercury were taken from ciſtern formerly mentioned, in a ſimilar manner, and rubed up with a few drops of vit. ber, in a ſmall mortar, as in periment VI.

A bare grain of the white powwas projected, and afterwards bbed up with it. The mercury, hich before the addition of the wder had been very bright and uid, was now perceived by the mpany to be dull, and run heay: it was poured out into a all glaſs veſſel, and after ſtandg for about 45 minutes was put to a cloth to be ſtrained. It now ured ſo ſluggiſhly that the latter rtions of it ſeemed in a ſtate termediate, between fluidity and lidity, or to uſe a term leſs ientific, but, like many other lgar ones, very deſcriptive, oured grouty.

Great part of the ſuperfluous ercury being ſtrained off, a maſs milar to an amalgam was left in e cloth: and the remaining ercury which could not be preſd out, being driven off by fire om a portion (about a fourth) f the whole maſs, a globule of hite metal, which had all the apearance of ſilver, remained, and as kept in a white heat for about wo minutes, before the blowipe.

On the ſame day and before the me reſpectable company:—half n ounce of mercury reviſied from innabar, brought by the Rev. Mr. Anderſon, was by him placed a ſmall round Engliſh crucible, aken from among a number of others in the laboratory, by Lord Palmerſton, on a flux compoſed of a ſmall piece of charcoal and a piece of borax, both taken caſually by ſome of the company from large quantities, and pounded in a mortar previouſly inſpected by thoſe preſent.

This flux being preſſed down in the crucible with a ſmall peſtle, alſo examined, the mercury was poured into the depreſſion, by one of the ſpectators, and on it *half a grain*, bare weight, of the red powder, was put by Lord Palmerſton. The crucible being then covered with a lid taken in the ſame manner as the crucible from among many others, and ſhewn round to the company, was placed in the furnace ſurrounded by lighted charcoal.

One or more of the company, particularly the Lords King and Palmerſton, were during the whole time of the experiment cloſe to the furnace and operator; and as requeſted by him gave the cloſeſt attention to every part of the proceſs.

When the crucible had acquired a full red heat, the cover was removed, and ſeveral of the company ſaw the mercury in a tranquil ſtate, neither evaporating nor boiling: in which ſtate it continued even when the mercury itſelf was completely ignited.

The cover being replaced, the fire was gradually raiſed to a white heat: the crucible being continued in this heat for thirty minutes, was taken out, cooled, and broke.

A globule of metal was found at bottom, neatly fuſed, and *exactly fitting* the concavity of the divided ſcoriæ. This globule fell

out by the blow, among the fragments of the crucible, and was taken up and ſhewn round to the company by Lord Palmerſton, and in their preſence replaced in the hollow of the vitrified borax, to which it was accurately adapted.

Many other globules were diffuſed through the ſcoriæ attached to the ſides of the crucible, fragments of which were diſtributed among the company at their requeſt.

The bead which lay at the bottom, weighed about ten grains, and was taken away, together with the ſilver, by Mr. Godſchall; and by him afterwards tranſmitted to Lord Palmerſton, to be ſubmitted to proper examination.

Mr. Godſchall returned the gold, with the aſſay-maſter's report on it and on the ſilver.

The aſſay-maſter, whom Mr. G. for greater certainty on this occaſion had the precaution to have recommended by the clerk of the gold-ſmith's company, reported both the gold and ſilver to be perfectly pure.

Dr. Price, though acquainted with the characters employed by aſſay-maſters in making their reports (which are peculiar to them) unwilling to rely entirely on his own knowledge, and being deſirous to offer collateral evidence to the public, ſhewed the gold and the report to Mr. Lock, an experienced gold-ſmith of Oxford, without informing him of any of the above particulars.

Mr. Lock affirmed the metal to be *by the report* pure gold: which he added, was confirmed by its appearance: and that it conſequently was *ſuperior* to gold of the Engliſh *ſtandard*.

Two experiments, ſimilar to thoſe made on Saturday May 25th were repeated on a larger ſcale before ſome of the above company on the Tueſday following; with the ſame attention on their part, and more on that of the author to the regulation of the fire, which he obſerved to them, being now leſs engaged, and his attention not divided, he could employ to produce a much greater effect.

By twelve grains of the white powder were obtained from thirty ounces of mercury upwards of an ounce and a quarter, or ſix hundred grains of fixed white metal *, or in the proportion of 50 to 1.—And two grains of the red powder produced from one ounce of mercury, two drachms, or 120 grains of fixed and tinged * metal; i. e. ſixty times its own weight.

Theſe laſt portions of gold and ſilver, as well as a part of the produce of the former experiment, have had the honour of being ſubmitted to the inſpection of his majeſty; who was pleaſed to expreſs his approbation.

This honour may be mentioned with the leſs impropriety, as it is conferred by a ſovereign equally revered for his patronage of ſcience and beloved for his amiable condeſcenſion.

* The words *fixed* and *tinged* are not uſed in conformity to any theoretical notions, but merely to denote the obvious properties of the metals obtained: and to avoid calling them gold and ſilver without the authority of an aſſay.

Some

Some Account of the Snakes of North America, *and of the Humming Bird: from the Letters by* J. Hector St. John, *an* American *Farmer.*

WHY would you prescribe this task; you know that what we take up ourselves seems always lighter than what is imposed on us by others. You insist on my saying something about our snakes; and in relating what I know concerning them, were it not for two singularities, the one of which I saw, and the other I received from an eye-witness, I should have but very little to observe. The southern provinces are the countries where nature has formed the greatest variety of alligators, snakes, serpents; and scorpions, from the smallest size, up to the *pine barren*, the largest species known here. We have but two, whose stings are mortal, which deserve to be mentioned; as for the black one, it is remarkable for nothing but its industry, agility, beauty, and the art of inticing birds by the power of its eyes. I admire it much, and never kill it, though its formidable length and appearance often get the better of the philosophy of some people, particularly of Europeans. The most dangerous one is the *pilot*, or *copperhead*; for the poison of which no remedy has yet been discovered. It bears the first name because it always precedes the rattle-snake; that is, quits its state of torpidity in the spring a week before the other. It bears the second name on account of its head being adorned with many copper-coloured spots. It lurks in rocks near the water, and is extremely active and dangerous. Let man beware of it! I have heard only of one person who was stung by a copperhead in this country. The poor wretch instantly swelled in a most dreadful manner; a multitude of spots of different hues alternately appeared and vanished, on different parts of his body: his eyes were filled with madness and rage, he cast them on all present with the most vindictive looks: he thrust out his tongue as the snakes do; he hissed through his teeth with inconceivable strength, and became an object of terror to all bye-standers. To the lividness of a corpse he united the desperate force of a maniac; they hardly were able to fasten him, so as to guard themselves from his attacks; when in the space of two hours death relieved the poor wretch from his struggles, and the spectators from their apprehensions. The poison of the rattle-snake is not mortal in so short a space, and hence there is more time to procure relief; we are acquainted with several antidotes with which almost every family is provided. They are extremely inactive, and if not touched, are perfectly inoffensive. I once saw, as I was travelling, a great cliff which was full of them; I handled several, and they appeared to be dead; they were all entwined together, and thus they remain until the return of the sun. I found them out, by following the track of some wild hogs which had fed on them; and even the Indians often regale on them. When they find them asleep, they put a small forked stick over their necks, which they keep immoveably fixed on

the ground; giving the ſnake a piece of leather to bite: and this they pull back ſeveral times with great force, until they obſerve their two poiſonous fangs torne out. Then they cut off the head, ſkin the body, and cook it as we do eels; and their fleſh is extremely ſweet and white. I once ſaw a *tamed one*, as gentle as you can poſſibly conceive a reptile to be; it took to the water and ſwam whenever it pleaſed; and when the boys to whom it belonged called it back, their ſummons was readily obeyed. It had been deprived of its fangs by the preceding method; they often ſtroked it with a ſoft bruſh, and this friction ſeemed to cauſe the moſt pleaſing ſenſations, for it would turn on its back to enjoy it, as a cat does before the fire. One of this ſpecies was the cauſe, ſome years ago, of a moſt deplorable accident, which I ſhall relate to you, as I had it from the widow and mother of the victims. A Dutch farmer of the Miniſink went to mowing, with his negroes, in his boots, a precaution uſed to prevent being ſtung. Inadvertently he trod on a ſnake, which immediately flew at his legs; and as it drew back in order to renew its blow, one of his negroes cut it in two with his ſcythe. They proſecuted their work, and returned home; at night the farmer pulled off his boots and went to bed; and was ſoon after attacked with a ſtrange ſickneſs at his ſtomach; he ſwelled, and before a phyſician could be ſent for, died. The ſudden death of this man did not cauſe much enquiry; the neighbourhood wondered, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, and without any further examination the corpſe was buried. A few days after, the ſon put on his father's boots, and went to the meadow; at night he pulled them off, went to bed, and was attacked with the ſame ſymptoms about the ſame time, and died in the morning. A little before he expired the doctor came, but was not able to aſſign what could be the cauſe of ſo ſingular a diſorder; however, rather than appear wholly at a loſs before the country people, he pronounced both father and ſon to have been bewitched. Some weeks after the widow ſold all the moveables for the benefit of the younger children; and the farm was leaſed. One of the neighbours, who bought the boots, preſently put them on, and was attacked in the ſame manner as the other two had been; but this man's wife being alarmed by what had happened in the former family, diſpatched one of her negroes, for an eminent phyſician, who fortunately having heard ſomething of the dreadful affair, gueſſed at the cauſe, applied oil, &c. and recovered the man. The boots which had been ſo fatal, were then carefully examined; and he found that the two fangs of the ſnake had been left in the leather, after being wrenched out of their ſockets by the ſtrength with which the ſnake had drawn back its head. The bladders which contained the poiſon, and ſeveral of the ſmall nerves were ſtill freſh, and adhered to the boot. The unfortunate father and ſon had been poiſoned by pulling off the boots, in which action they imperceptibly ſcratched their legs with the points of the fangs through

through the hollow of which, ſome of this aſtoniſhing poiſon was conveyed. You have no doubt heard of their rattles, if you have not ſeen them; the only obſervation I wiſh to make is, that the rattling is loud and diſtinct when they are angry; and on the contrary, when pleaſed, it ſounds like a diſtant trepidation, in which nothing diſtinct is heard. In the thick ſettlements, they are now become very ſcarce; for wherever they are met with, open war is declared againſt them; ſo that in a few years there will be none left but on our mountains. The black ſnake, on the contrary, always diverts me, becauſe it excites no idea of danger. Their ſwiftneſs is aſtoniſhing; they will ſometimes equal that of an horſe; at other times they will climb up trees in queſt of our tree toads; or glide on the ground at full length. On ſome occaſions they preſent themſelves half in the reptile ſtate, half erect; their eyes and their heads in the erect poſture, appear to great advantage: the former diſplay a fire which I have admired, and it is by theſe they are enabled to faſcinate birds and ſquirrels. When they have fixed their eyes on an animal, they become immoveable; only turning their head ſometimes to the right and ſometimes to the left, but ſtill with their ſight invariably directed to the object. The diſtracted victim, inſtead of flying its enemy, ſeems to be arreſted by ſome invincible power; it ſcreams; now approaches, and then recedes; and after ſkipping about with unaccountable agitation, finally ruſhes into the jaws of the ſnake, and is ſwallowed, as ſoon as it is covered with a ſlime or glue to make it ſlide eaſily down the throat of the devourer.

One anecdote I muſt relate, the circumſtances of which are as true as they are ſingular. One of my conſtant walks, when I am at leiſure, is in my lowlands, where I have the pleaſure of ſeeing my cattle, horſes, and colts. Exuberant graſs repleniſhes all my fields, the beſt repreſentative of our wealth; in the middle of that track I have a cut a ditch eight feet wide, the banks of which nature adorns every ſpring with the wild ſalendine, and other flowering weeds, which on theſe luxuriant grounds ſhoot up to a great height. Over this ditch I have erected a bridge, capable of bearing a loaded waggon; on each ſide I carefully ſow every year, ſome grains of hemp, which riſe to the height of fifteen feet, ſo ſtrong and ſo full of limbs as to reſemble young trees: I once aſcended one of them four feet above the ground. Theſe produce natural arbours, rendered often ſtill more compact by the aſſiſtance of an annual creeping plant which we call a vine, that never fails to entwine itſelf among the branches, and always produces a very deſirable ſhade. From this ſimple grove I have amuſed myſelf an hundred times in obſerving the great number of humming birds with which our country abounds: the wild bloſſoms every where attract the attention of theſe birds, which like bees ſubſiſt by ſuction. From this retreat I diſtinctly watch them in all their various attitudes; but their flight is ſo rapid, that you cannot diſtinguiſh the motion of their wings. On

this little bird nature has profuſely laviſhed her moſt ſplendid colours; the moſt perfect azure, the moſt beautiful gold, the moſt dazzling red, are for ever in contraſt, and help to embelliſh the plumes of his majeſtic head. The richeſt pallet of the moſt luxuriant painter, could never invent any thing to be compared to the variegated tints, with which this inſect bird is arrayed. Its bill is as long and as ſharp as a coarſe ſewing needle; like the bee, nature has taught it to find out in the calix of flowers and bloſſoms, thoſe mellifluous particles that ſerve it for ſufficient food; and yet it ſeems to leave them untouched, undeprived of any thing that our eyes can poſſibly diſtinguiſh. When it feeds, it appears as if immoveable, tho' continually on the wing; and ſometimes, from what motives I know not, it will tear and lacerate flowers into a hundred pieces: for, ſtrange to tell, they are the moſt iraſcible of the feathered tribe. Where do paſſions find room in ſo diminutive a body? They often fight with the fury of lions, until one of the combatants falls a ſacrifice and dies. When fatigued, it has often perched within a few feet of me, and on ſuch favourable opportunities I have ſurveyed it with the moſt minute attention. Its little eyes appear like diamonds, reflecting light on every ſide: moſt elegantly finiſhed in all parts it is a miniature work of our great parent; who ſeems to have formed it the ſmalleſt, and at the ſame time the moſt beautiful of the winged ſpecies.

As I was one day ſitting ſolitary and penſive in my primitive arbour, my attention was engaged by a ſtrange ſort of ruſtling noiſe at ſome paces diſtance. I looked all around without diſtinguiſhing any thing, until I climbed one of my great hemp ſtalks; when, to my aſtoniſhment, I beheld two ſnakes of conſiderable length, the one purſuing the other with great celerity through a hemp ſtubble field. The aggreſſor was of the black kind, ſix feet long; the fugitive was a water-ſnake, nearly of equal dimenſions. They ſoon met, and in the fury of their firſt encounter, they appeared in an inſtant firmly twiſted together; and whilſt their united tails beat the ground, they mutually tried with open jaws to lacerate each other. What a fell aſpect did they preſent! their heads were compreſſed to a very ſmall ſize, their eyes flaſhed fire; and after this conflict had laſted about five minutes, the ſecond found means to diſengage itſelf from the firſt, and hurried toward the ditch. Its antagoniſt inſtantly aſſumed a new poſture, and half creeping and half erect, with a majeſtic mein, overtook and attacked the other again, which placed itſelf in the ſame attitude, and prepared to reſiſt. The ſcene was uncommon and beautiful; for thus oppoſed they fought with their jaws, biting each other with the utmoſt rage; but notwithſtanding this appearance of mutual courage and fury, the water ſnake ſtill ſeemed deſirous of retreating toward the ditch, its natural element. This was no ſooner perceived by the keen-eyed black one, than twiſting its tail twice round a ſtalk of hemp, and ſeizing its adverſary by the throat, not by means of its

its jaws, but by twiſting its own neck twice round that of the water ſnake, pulled it back from the ditch. To prevent a defeat the latter took hold likewiſe of a ſtalk on the bank, and by the acquiſition of that point of reſiſtance became a match for its fierce antagoniſt. Strange was this to behold; two great ſnakes ſtrongly adhering to the ground mutually faſtened together by means of the writhings which laſhed them to each other, and ſtretched at their full length, they pulled, but pulled in vain; and in the moments of greateſt exertions that part of their bodies which was entwined, ſeemed extremely ſmall, while the reſt appeared inflated, and now and then convulſed with ſtrong undulations, rapidly following each other. Their eyes ſeemed on fire, and ready to ſtart out of their heads; at one time the conflict ſeemed decided; the water-ſnake bent itſelf into two great folds, and by that operation rendered the other more than commonly out-ſtretched; the next minute the new ſtruggles of the black one gained an unexpected ſuperiority, it acquired two great folds likewiſe, which neceſſarily extended the body of its adverſary in proportion as it had contracted its own. Theſe efforts were alternate; victory ſeemed doubtful, inclining ſometimes to the one ſide and ſometimes to the other; until at laſt the ſtalk to which the black ſnake faſtened, ſuddenly gave way, and in conſequence of this accident they both plunged into the ditch. The water did not extinguiſh their vindictive rage; for by their agitations I could trace, though not diſtinguiſh their mutual attacks. They ſoon re-appeared on the ſurface twiſted together, as in their firſt onſet; but the black ſnake ſeemed to retain its wonted ſuperiority, for its head was exactly fixed above that of the other, which it inceſſantly preſſed down under the water, until it was ſtifled, and ſunk. The victor no ſooner perceived its enemy incapable of farther reſiſtance, than abandoning it to the current, it returned on ſhore and diſappeared.

USEFUL PROJECTS

Some Account of the Chymical *and* Pharmaceutical Hiſtory *of the* Red Peruvian Bark, *in order to ſhew its Efficacy as a Part of the* Materia Medica *to be ſuperior to that of the common* Bark: *extracted from* Obſervations *on the ſuperior Efficacy of the* Red Peruvian Bark, &c. *by* William Saunders, M. D. &c. &c.

Experiment I.

TO an ounce of red bark, reduced to a fine powder, were added ſixteen ounces of diſtilled water; and after remaining together twenty-four hours in a Florence flaſk, the liquid was carefully filtered. The ſame experiment was made with the Peruvian bark commonly in uſe.

The colour of the two infuſions was very different, that made with the red bark being much deeper. The taſte and flavour of the infuſion of the red bark were conſiderably more powerful than of the other. In the opinion of many gentlemen who taſted the infuſions, the cold infuſion of the red bark was more ſenſibly impregnated than even the ſtrongeſt decoction of the common bark.

Experiment II.

TO two ounces of the cold infuſion of the red bark, were added *twenty* drops of the *Tinctura Florum Martialium*. It immediately became of a darker colour, ſoon loſt its tranſparency, and after a ſhort time precipitated black powder.

Experiment III.

TO two ounces of the cold infuſion of the common bark were added *twenty* drops of the *Tinctura Florum Martialium* in the ſame manner as to the other. It retained its tranſparency ſome time, and afterwards became of a dark colour, but there was no precipitation from it as from the laſt.

Experiment IV.

TO an ounce of red bark, reduced to a coarſe powder, were added *ſixteen* ounces of diſtilled water, and after boiling until one half was evaporated, the liquid while hot was ſtrained through a piece of linen. The ſame experiment, under ſimilar circumſtances, was made with the common bark. The ſuperior taſte and flavour of the decoction of the red bark was equally obſervable with that of the infuſion. The decoction of the red bark, in cooling, precipitated a larger quantity of reſinous matter than the decoction of the common bark.

The

The difference of colour was likewiſe very diſtinguiſhable.

EXPERIMENT V.

TO one ounce of red bark, reduced to a coarſe powder, were added *eight* ounces of proof ſpirit, and, after ſtanding a week together, the tincture was filtered.

The ſame experiment, under ſimilar circumſtances, was made with the common bark. The tincture of the red bark, both when taſted by itſelf and under precipitation by water, had more flavour and taſte than that of the common bark.

The tincture from the red bark is of a much deeper colour than the other.

EXPERIMENT VI.

TO each *reſiduum* of the above tinctures were added *eight* ounces of proof ſpirit, which were infuſed in a moderate ſand heat for the ſpace of *twenty-four hours*, and afterwards allowed to remain together a week, occaſionally agitating them. The tinctures were then poured off, that of the red bark evidently appearing to be the ſtrongeſt.

The tinctures both of experiments V. and VI. were by a gentle heat evaporated to the conſiſtence of a reſinous extract.

The extract from the tincture of the red bark was of a ſmooth, homogeneous appearance, not unlike the Balſam of Peru, when thickened: the flavour and taſte of the original tincture were entirely preſerved in it.

The extract from the common bark had a very different appearance. It ſeemed coarſe and gritty, and by no means ſo characteriſtic of its original tincture.

The quantity of extract procured from the red bark was conſiderably greater than from the ſame quantity of common bark; but, as the *reſiduum* of neither was rendered entirely inert, the abſolute quantity could not be aſcertained.

EXPERIMENT VII.

A tea ſpoonful of each of the tinctures, prepared by experiment V. was added to two ounces of water; the reſinous precipitation from the red bark was not only more copious, but fell more quickly to the bottom of the glaſs than that from the other, and yet what remained ſtill diſſolved in the water, was infinitely more in the red bark than in the common bark, ſo far as we could judge from the taſte and flavour of both.

EXPERIMENT VIII.

IN imitation of the experiments of my ingenious friend Dr. Percival, I added to *two* ounces of the watry infuſion of each bark a few drops of the *Sp. Vitriol, ten.* The acid loſt its taſte more in the infuſion of the red, than in the common bark; ſo that there were more obvious appearances of its being neutralized.

EXPERIMENT IX.

A decoction of both red and common Peruvian bark was prepared by taking an ounce of each and boiling them in a pint and a half of water, to *one* pint; the former had greatly the ſuperiority in ſtrength and power, as mentioned in a preceding experiment. A pint of freſh water was added to each decoction; the boiling ſtill continued till that quantity was evaporated. The decoction of the com-

mon Peruvian bark ſeemed gradually to loſe its ſenſible qualities, while that of the red bark ſtill retained its own.

The ſame quantity of water was added as before to each, and the decoction repeated until a gallon of water was exhauſted; at the expiration of which time, the common Peruvian bark was rendered almoſt taſteleſs; the red bark ſtill retained nearly its former ſenſible qualities. This experiment proves that the common practice of boiling the bark is hurtful to its powers.

By my deſire Mr. Skeete, a very ingenious and attentive young gentleman from Barbadoes, and a ſtudent of medicine in Guy's Hoſpital, made ſeveral experiments in order to aſcertain the comparative antiſeptic power of red bark, with the common Peruvian bark; and he found that the infuſion of red bark preſerved animal matter much better, and for a longer time, than the infuſion, or even decoction of the common bark; indeed, the decoction of common bark, after its powdery part had ſubſided, was leſs bitter, and preſerved animal matter for a ſhorter time than the infuſion of the ſame bark. His experiments were conducted with great accuracy, and the reſult of them were ſubmitted to the examination of many gentlemen at Guy's Hoſpital.

The concluſions to which the above experiments evidently lead, are,

Firſt, That the red bark is more ſoluble than the Peruvian bark, both in water and ſpirit.

Secondly, That it contains a much larger proportion of active and reſinous parts.

Thirdly, That its active parts even when greatly diluted, retain their ſenſible qualities in a higher degree than the moſt ſaturated ſolutions of common bark.

Fourthly, That it does not undergo the ſame decompoſition of its parts by boiling as the common Peruvian bark.

Fifthly, That the red bark is more aſtringent than the common Peruvian bark.

Sixthly, That its antiſeptic powers are greater; as an additional proof of this it may be proper to obſerve here, that both its cold infuſion and decoction preſerved entire their bitter and other medicated powers in the month of June, in the elaboratory of Guy's Hoſpital for five weeks, and perhaps for a much longer time, while a decoction of common bark gave evident marks of a change in a few days. In the decoction of red bark, the powder, which is ſeparated during the cooling of it, remains intimately diffuſed through the liquor, which therefore continues loaded and turbid when at reſt. In the decoction of common bark, the powder quickly ſubſides to the bottom; the red bark therefore contains in it a large proportion of mucilaginous parts, ſuch as have been propoſed by the late Dr. Fothergill, to be added to the decoction of the common Peruvian bark, in order that it may remain turbid when at reſt, and thereby that its reſinous parts be more perfectly ſuſpended in the body of the liquor. It is obvious that this circumſtance will favour exceedingly the action of the ſtomach upon it.

The advantages therefore to be expected

xpected from the red bark cannot be obtained from any quantity of common bark. The beſt common bark, compared with the red bark, appears inert and effete.

All the above experiments were executed in the preſence of ſeveral gentlemen.

I was led more particularly to proſecute this ſubject, from an opinion that the red bark might impregnate cold water by infuſion, as to cure intermittent fevers with more certainty than could be done even by the decoction or powder of common bark. The ſenſible qualities which appear from the above experiments, being ſo much greater, in the cold infuſion of the one than in the decoction of the other.

It cannot I think be denied, that the experiments above related, and which have been executed and frequently repeated with great accuracy, ſufficiently prove that the red Peruvian bark exceeds the other in its ſenſible qualities, and that it contains a much larger proportion of thoſe reſinous and active parts on which the power and efficacy of bark have been by all writers on the practice of medicine and *Materia Medica* believed to depend.

Account of Trials at large made, by Mr. TADMAN, *to determine* the comparative Advantages of the Drill and Broad-caſt Methods of Culture of Wheat and Lucerne: *and of an Experiment made by Mr.* REBECCA, to diſcover what Increaſe may be obtained from a Grain of Wheat, in one Year; from repeated Tranſplantations; *communicated to the* Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, *and inſerted at their Requeſt: from* Memoirs of Agriculture, &c.

To the honourable and laudable Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING been honoured with your premium for the culture of turneps amongſt beans, for which I return you thanks, I find you are deſirous of being informed of the beſt method to cultivate wheat, either by drills, or broad-caſt, both of which I am well acquainted with: having experienced them many times upon all ſorts of land. But the greateſt experiment was in 1752 and 1753. In the year 1752, I had twenty-two acres of bean-gratten dunged for the beans about forty loads per acre, which I managed as follows:

I firſt plowed it; after which I ſowed my wheat in this manner. Every other rod in breadth was in the broad-caſt way: the other was in drills. In the ſpring I horſe-hoed the drills, and harrowed it; as I did, alſo, that which was ſown in the broad-caſt way. Both of them ſeemed to make a good appearance. When harveſt came, I directed the reapers to cut each rod ſeparate; and to make the ſheaves as nearly of the ſame ſize as poſſible. By this I found a great deficiency in the drilled wheat: not having near ſo many ſhocks. This was tried on a ſandy loam ſoil.

The next year I had a field of twenty-three acres, adjoining to the other, managed in the ſame manner: I found the ſame deficiency;

ciency; and I think it very eaſy to be accounted for. In the ſpring of the year, when the wheat begins to riſe from the ground, the land being very clean by the hoeing, and the ground very fine by ſo doing, the ſhowers, that are very frequent in March, cauſe the fine mould to riſe on the tender part of the wheat: which, when it happens, prevents it from growing any farther.—It is a very good way, to ſow clover in wheat in February. I never could find, that drilling any thing but beans, peaſe, and tares, would produce near ſo good a crop: neither will they do any way ſo well, as in drills: by which means the land is kept clean; and makes a good ſeaſon for wheat.

Now, in regard to lucerne, ſainfoin, &c. being put in drills, it is in a manner the ſame as in the caſe of wheat. I have a deal of lucerne: part of it in drills; which I have endeavoured to keep clean by hand-hoeing. But, after a hard rain, ſeeing my horſes would not eat it, I found upon inſpection, the earth was ſo much waſhed into it*, that it was a good reaſon for ſowing the other part broad-caſt way. I immediately cut off that they eat upon: and I then ſowed the land over in broad-caſt, and raked it with a hand-rake. I have not found any thing of the ſame kind happen ever ſince.

If this information may be of any utility, I ſhall be happy in having given it: as I may be ſuppoſed to know ſomething of the farming buſineſs: having been i it near forty years. I began a firſt har-how-boy: from that, went through every other part o plowing, ſowing, &c. and befor I was twenty-four years of age, paid eighteen hundred pounds pe year rent.

I have another thing to offer t this ſociety, which I can explain It is that three crops may grow i the ſame year, with the ſame cu ture, and expence, as one crop and that they will not inter fere with one another: but quite otherwiſe, wherever one good, the other two will be likewiſe. I hold at this tim about two thouſand two hundre acres of arable, meadow, an paſture land.

I am, with the utmoſt deferenc and reſpect,

Your honour's moſt obedient,
and humble ſervant,

Higham, 19th Dec. 1772. WM. TADMAN

To Mr. *Shield*'s nurſeryman, Lambeth, Surry.

SIR,

IF the following ſingle exp riment, proceſs, and product of ſingle grain of wheat, will gi you any pleaſure, and y.u ſha think it worth laying before th Society for the Encouragement Arts, and particularly Agricu ture, I ſhall think myſelf amp paid for the pains I took in mak ing the experiment. The increa appears aſtoniſhing to me: I hav therefore, communicated it

* This inconvenience attending drilled lucerne is peculiar to Mr. Tadman and ſuch other very ſandy land. For many inſtances can be produced of drill lucerne, now growing, which is entirely free from it.

you

you, though there may appear nothing wonderful in it, when read before your learned body *: and I may be ſmiled at, for my rural ſimplicity, and ignorance. As, poſſibly, there may be many more wonderful inſtances of vegetable increaſe, ſhould that be the caſe, you will, in a ſingular manner, oblige me by communicating them to me; who am fond of ſuch ſubjects of admiration.

I am with great eſteem, Sir,
Your moſt obedient,
and humble ſervant,

Amerſham, Bucks, 12th Jan. 1773. WM. REBECCA.

The produce of a ſingle grain of wheat, propagated in the garden of the Rev. Dr. *Drake*, rector of Amerſham, Bucks, by *Wm. Rebecca*, gardener.

ON the firſt day of Auguſt, 1771, I ſowed, or rather ſet, a *ſingle* grain of the red wheat: and, in the later end of September, when the plant had tillered, I took it up; and ſlipped or divided it into four ſets, or ſlips.—Thoſe four ſets I planted; and they grew and tillered as well as the firſt. In the end of November I took them up a ſecond time, and made thirty-ſix plants, or ſets. Theſe I again planted, which grew till March, 1772: in which month, I, a third time, took up my plants, and divided them into two hundred and fifty-ſix plants, or ſets. For the remaining part of the ſummer, till the month of Auguſt, they had nothing done to them, except hoeing the ground clean from weeds, till the corn was ripe. When it was gathered, I had the ears counted, or numbered, and they were three thouſand five hundred and eleven: a great part of which proved as good grain as ever grew out of the earth. Many of the ears meaſured ſix inches in length: ſome were middling grain; and ſome were very light and thin. This was the reaſon I did not number the grains: but there was better than half a buſhel of corn in the whole produce of this one grain of wheat in one year.

Query, would not this practice (ſpring-planting) be of great uſe,† where the crops do miſs, by various

* Mr. Millar made the ſame trial at Cambridge, ſome years ago, and with very little difference in the manner. The reſult was ſimilar, as to the produce; and he communicated an account of the experiment to the Royal Society, who publiſhed it in their Memoirs. Others have repeated the experiment with a correſpondent ſucceſs.—The making more generally known, however, what rapid increaſe corn, and other herbs of the gramineous tribe, admit of by tranſplantation and diviſion, from the property of the quick production of off-ſets from their roots, may, at preſent, be of utility: when attempts are making to improve the culture of wheat, on that principle: to which the knowledge of this prodigious multiplication of the plants, by diviſion of the roots, gave riſe. The Society have in this view offered a premium to encourage trials of the application of tranſplantation, to practiſe in particular caſes where it may be advantageous.

† Mr. Rebecca is not ſingular in this opinion. Though the tranſplanting wheat, as a general mode of culture, is not eaſily reducible to conſtant practice; yet

rious accidents incident to farming?

I can prove the above facts, by the atteſtation of ſufficient witneſſes, if doubted.

Accounts of Methods of Rearing Calves without Milk, or ſaving it after a ſhort Time; communicated by Mr. BUDD, *Mr.* FORSTER, *and Mr.* CARR, *to the* Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, *and inſerted at their Requeſt: from the ſame.*

To the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING obſerved in your book of premiums, for the year 1771, your offer of a gold medal for an account of the beſt method of rearing black cattle without milk; and having made many experiments, for theſe four or five years paſt, I am induced to become a candidate for it. I, therefore, lay before you the following method of rearing black cattle without milk *.

In two or three days after they are calved, I take the calves from the cows, and put them in a houſe by themſelves.—I then give them a kind of water-gruel, compoſed of barley about one-third, and two-thirds of oats, ground together very fine. I then ſift the mixture through a very fine ſieve; put it into the quantity of water (mentioned below); and boil it half an hour, when I take it off the fire, and let it remain till it is milk-warm. I then give each calf about a quart in the morning, and the ſame quantity in the evening; and increaſe it, as the calf grows older. It requires very little trouble, to make them drink it. After the calves have had this

yet in ſuch caſes, as he intimates, where conſiderable parts of land have failed after autumn-ſowing, it may be done with great convenience. Nor does there, after a very careful examination of the ſubject, appear any ſolid reaſon, why, in the ſeaſons when the autumn-culture of wheat has failed much, freſh land might not be planted with off-ſets of that grain, as well to private emolument, as public advantage. This practice is the more promiſing, becauſe the tranſplantation may be performed much later than the laſt made by Mr. Rebecca, even till the end of April, with the ſame certainty of ſucceſs: and land which had borne turneps, cole-ſeed, or other plants for ſpring-food, even late in the ſeaſon, might be made to afford a large crop of wheat the ſame ſummer with great profit, when there was a proſpect of ſcarcity. The apprehenſion of the too high expence of labour has been made the great objection to this practice. But the introduction of the *ſetting* wheat inſtead of ſowing it, which is now done, in ſome places, on great quantities of land with very conſiderable profit, has ſet this matter in ſo clear a light, from large experience, that all difficulty on this ſcore muſt be given up, where thoſe facts are known. For the ſaving in the quantity of ſeed, when the corn is ſet, nearly pays for the difference of the expence of labour betwixt that method and ſowing: and this ſaving is ſtill much greater in the caſe of tranſplanting than in ſetting, though the expence of the labour differs but little.

* This account was deemed fully ſatisfactory, and the gold medal was accordingly adjudged to Mr. Budd.

diet

diet for about a week or ten days, I tie up a little bundle of hay; and put it in the middle of the houſe; which they will, by degrees, come to eat. I alſo put a little of the meal above mentioned in a ſmall trough for them, to eat occaſionally; which I find of great ſervice to them. I keep them, in this manner, till they are of proper age to turn out to graſs: before which, they muſt be at leaſt two months old. Therefore the ſooner I get them in the ſpring, the better.

About a quart of the above meal, mixed with three gallons of water, is ſufficient for twelve calves in the morning, and the ſame quantity in the evening. I increaſe the quantity in proportion as they grow older. By this method, I have reared between fifty and ſixty beaſts within theſe four years: forty of which I have now in my poſſeſſion; having ſold off the others, as they became of a proper age; and by the ſame method calves may be reared with a trifle of expence.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
WM. BUDD.

No. 2, Somerſet-houſe, Stable-yard, Strand, October 10, 1771.

SIR,

HAVING obſerved, that the Society ordered a medal to be given for the rearing of black cattle without milk, I thought the Society would not be diſpleaſed with an account of feeding calves, intended for the market, and for butchers meat, without milk.—Frequently accounts of improvement in huſbandry are handed about, which never have been tried, and can have no ſucceſs when put to the proper teſt by experience.

The account I preſume to lay before the Society is founded on an experience of ſeveral years.—A farmer's wife in Pruſſia, who had employed this method, kept it very ſecret: but keeping only two or three cows, and yet buying conſtantly ten or twelve calves, and fattening them in a ſhort time ſo advantageouſly, that the butchers always preferred her calves to thoſe they could get of other farmers, it was ſuſpected, ſhe had deviſed a new and cheap method in feeding them. Some of my relations afterwards learned this method from the farmer's wife; and found it anſwer better than the beſt milk for fattening calves. Becauſe, it not only ſucceeded in a ſhorter time, and gave the veal the moſt delicate and ſavory taſte; but it made the meat whiter; and was upon the whole cheaper than in the common way: as the whole milk of the dairy could be ſpared for the purpoſe of making butter.

The infuſion of malt, or freſh wort, is the ſubſtitute to milk. In ſummer, it may be given cold: but in winter, it muſt have the ſame degree of warmth, as the milk juſt coming from the cow. The quantity is the ſame, as the milk commonly given at once to a calf: and it muſt be increaſed in proportion as the calf grows.

I wiſh, that in caſe the Society ſhould approve of it, a new trial may be made of this method; and

if

if found to anſwer the purpoſe, that it may be publiſhed for the benefit of the public; as a great quantity of milk may be thus ſpared for the purpoſe of making cheeſe and butter, in order to reduce theſe two articles of our proviſions to a more moderate price than they have hitherto been.

Before I leave this ſubject, give me leave, Sir, to communicate to the ſociety another cheap method employed in Pruſſia for rearing black cattle. After the expreſſion of the linſeed oil from linſeed, the remaining huſks, or droſs, are made up into round balls, of the ſize of a fiſt, and afterwards dried. Two or three of theſe balls are infuſed, and diſſolved in hot water: and a third or fourth part of freſh milk is added in the beginning; but afterwards, when the calves are grown, the farmers employ only the ſkim-milk, which they mix with the infuſion. If this method ſhould deſerve the attention of the Society, it would at once ſpare great quantities of milk towards making cheeſe and butter; and afford a good uſe for the droſs left after the expreſſion of the linſeed oil.

As an ardent wiſh to be of ſome ſervice to mankind, by every little addition in ſaving huſbandry, and a view to reduce the exorbitant price of proviſions to the poorer, and manufacturing part of my fellow-creatures in this country, prompted me chiefly to draw up this account, I hope it will meet with approbation from the Society, if not on account of its real merit and uſefulneſs, at leaſt for the intention, and like endeavours to fulfil, in ſome meaſure, thoſe great and noble purpoſes of humanity, and patriotiſm, which the Society itſelf propoſes in all its tranſactions.

I am, with due regard,
Your moſt obedient,
and humble ſervant,
J. R. FORSTER.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. *Carr*, reſpecting the Rearing of Calves, in ſuch a Manner as to ſave the Milk.

IT is well known by ſome of the old houſewives of Norfolk, to this day, the manner of rearing calves is with fleeted milk and water warmed: which being too lean and thin, turns ſour within them, and ſometimes kills them; but in general they are pot-bellied, with their hair ſtaring: and ſometimes they turn louſy, which ſeldom is cured till young graſs purges the bad humours off: which effect is cuſtomary alſo with reſpect to hogs.—In large dairies they always put their fleeted milk into a ciſtern, from day to day, in order to turn ſour, and curdle before they give it them; and even they put an equal quantity of water to it: otherwiſe it heats and binds them; wherefore they will not take enough to fatten them. But from the cooling quality of the water they will drink twice as much when thus mixed: and we find, from experience, they do much better in this way.

The beſt method I ever found of rearing calves, and which I have purſued for thirty years, is to take them off the cows in three weeks, or a month; and to give nothing

thing but a little fine hay till ey begin, through neceſſity, to k a little. I then cut ſome of e hay, and mix it with bran and ts in a trough, and ſlice ſome rneps about the ſize of a crown-ece: which they will ſoon, by cking for want of liquor, learn eat. When the work is thus ne, give them but turneps e-ugh, and they will do well. ive them no water, unleſs the rneps be left off.

Obſervations on the Damage done to Arable Land, by carrying off the Stones from the Surface; in a Letter from Mr. PRICE: *—and an Account of a Method of preventing Blights on Fruit-trees, and eſculent Plants, in two Letters from Mr.* GULLET; *—communicated to the* Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; *and inſerted at their Requeſt: from the ſame.*

r. Price's Obſervations on picking off Stones from Arable Land.

o the Honourable Society of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.

T has been a thing well known, for a great while, to ſeveral the moſt experienced farmers, many parts of England, that king away the ſmall ſtones and nts is highly detrimental to al-oſt all kinds of plowed land, t particularly ſo to thin ſtapled, light lands; and likewiſe to lands of a binding nature.— his I find has been long the opi-on of many ſkilful farmers in different parts of the kingdom; but it never did, I believe, enter the thoughts of any one till of late years, that the damage could be nearly ſo great as it is now found to be, ſince unuſual quantities of flints, and other ſtones, have been repeatedly gathered for the uſe of the turnpike-roads.—Indeed, the damage done by this practice to many kinds of land, eſpecially to ſuch as are mentioned above, is found to be ſo great, as to be almoſt incredible to any one, who has not particularly obſerved, for a number of years, the progreſs of this deſtruction. I ſhall, therefore, here give a few inſtances, out of a great many, that have come to my knowledge, from which it will appear, how exceedingly great the damage muſt be throughout the extent of the kingdom.

In the pariſh of Stevenage, in Hertfordſhire, there is a field of land well known in that neighbourhood, by the name of Chalkdell Field, containing about two hundred acres. The land in this field was formerly equal, if not ſuperior, to moſt lands in that county: in a word, it was good to a proverb. But lying conveniently for the ſurveyors of the roads, they have picked it ſo often, and ſtripped it of the flints and ſmall ſtones to ſuch a degree, that it is now inferior to lands, that were formerly reckoned not worth above one half its value, acre for acre. I mean ſuch lands as, lying at a good diſtance from the roads, have, for that reaſon, either not been picked at all, or not nearly ſo much as this field. All the farmers, and other perſons, who have known the field for a good

good number of years, and have obſerved the management, and produce of it, do unanimouſly declare, that the crops of grain from Chalkdell Field have not, for theſe laſt fourteen years, been much, if any, above half what they were the fourteen years immediately preceding, notwithſtanding the late improvements in huſbandry: and this is entirely owing, as they all agree, to ſtripping the land of the ſtones.—Nor is it Chalkdell Field alone that has materially ſuffered in that county by the above mentioned practice: on the contrary, the oldeſt and moſt experienced farmers in the pariſhes of Gravely, Stevenage, &c. ſome of whom have been well acquainted with farming for upwards of thirty or forty years, and have in general lived always on the ſpot, do declare, and ſay, they are ready to atteſt it upon oath, if called upon, that ſeveral thouſand acres, bordering on the turnpike-road from Welwyn to Baldock in Herts, have been ſo much impoveriſhed by having the ſtones frequently taken away, that they are not now ſo good as they would have been, had the ſtones been left upon the land, ſome by one-fourth; ſome by one fifth; ſome more, ſome leſs, of their whole preſent value. But that all, in general, have been materially damaged, ſo that the loſs to the inheritance for ever, in the aforeſaid lands, muſt be computed at a great many thouſand pounds; to ſay nothing of what the public has ſuffered in the deficiency of the crops of grain.

But it may be aſked, if the damage by taking away the ſtones be ſo great as I repreſent; how comes it to paſs, that the farme who hold the afore mention lands, have not either brok thrown up their farms, or their rents lowered? None which has generally happene This I grant; but then let very high price of grain for nu bers of years paſt, and the fami of thouſands of ſtarving poor, a ſwer theſe queſtions.—I am th roughly convinced, that the hi price of grain has been the pri cipal reaſon; and a dreadful re ſon it is; why none of theſe h generally happened: and any on who knows the progreſs of tra for thirty or forty years paſt, a the different value of money that period, may form to himſ other concurrent circumſtanc What puts it beyond doubt, t this prodigious impoveriſhing the land is owing to no ot cauſe whatſoever, but picking a carrying away the ſtones, is, t thoſe lands have generally be moſt impoveriſhed, which ha been moſt frequently picked; a ſo on in proportion. Nay, I kn a field, part of which was picke and the other part plowed up b fore they had time to pick the part that was picked loſt ſev or eight parts in ten of two ſu ceeding crops of grain, thou the whole field was, manured a managed in all reſpects alike. What proves inconteſtibly, t this almoſt incredible damage owing ſolely to picking the ſton is, it went to an inch, as far they were picked, and no furth —I ſhall mention but one inſta more at preſent.—A gentleman the neighbourhood of Poulton, Lancaſhire, who farmed a par his eſtate, ordered the ſton wh

which lay very thick on ſome grounds, to be carefully picked up, and carried away. He did this from an imagination, that they prevented the grain from growing out of the earth. Thoſe grounds had always before produced very good crops: but he now found, to his aſtoniſhment, that he could hardly get any crops at all. He aſked the neighbouring farmers what they thought might be the reaſon of it; they were of opinion, it muſt be his cleaning the land of the ſtones; and adviſed him to carry them back, and ſpread them again all over the land; which he did at a great expence. He had excellent crops immediately; ſuch as the land had produced before the ſtones had been cleared away.

Many perſons have been ready to imagine, becauſe nothing can grow upon a bare ſtone, that, therefore, it can be of no manner of ſervice to the corn, but rather the reverſe, in preventing it from growing freely out of the ground. But this concluſion is by far too precipitate; ſince ſtones are of ſurpriſing and manifold uſes. For inſtance, they greatly aſſiſt the plough in working the land. They alſo prevent land of a binding quality from running together, and hardening like mortar in a wall. They ſcreen the tender blade from blaſts and blights. They prevent the crop, where the ſtaple is thin, from being ſcorched up by the heat in ſummer: and they prevent the exudations of the earth from evaporating; and by that means greatly promote vegetation.

Should a doubt ariſe, whether the turnpike-roads, which are now mended chiefly with materials gathered from plowed lands, may be kept in as good repair as they are at preſent, without any conſiderable additional expence, if the power of gathering materials from plowed lands be taken away, let it be conſidered, that the beſt turnpike-roads in England are thoſe which are intirely made with round pebbles, and ſuch other materials as are dug from under ground: and, on the contrary, that thoſe which are made chiefly with materials gathered from lands, are, generally ſpeaking, the very worſt. This is a circumſtance any perſon may be ſatisfied in with very little inquiry. The turnpike road from London to two or three miles beyond Hatfield, and thoſe from thence to Hitchin, if compared together, will furniſh a ſtriking inſtance of the truth of this obſervation. Therefore, ſhould there, in ſuch a caſe, be at firſt an additional expence, there can be no doubt, but that it will be more than compenſated for in the excellence, and duration of the roads. At the ſame time I make this obſervation, I am not clear, that, upon the whole, there would be even at firſt an additional expence of any great conſequence.

In ſome places, I believe, the reverſe would be the caſe. The above inſtances and obſervations are ſubmitted, and earneſtly recommended to the ſerious conſideration of the honourable Society of Arts &c.

by their moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervant,

Knelworth, Herts,
January 23, 1773.

R. PRICE.

Mr. *Gullet*'s Letter on Blights.

SIR,

EVERY member of the community, however distant from the metropolis, or private his station, who knows any thing of your laudable institution, which not only takes under consideration, but encourages the propagation of every thing useful, from the Cedar of Libanus, to the Hyssop of the wall, must, if he be a friend to mankind, or a lover of his country, not only wish it well, but wish also to contribute somewhat towards the general good. It is that which occasions my giving you this trouble; and, at the same time, makes me hope you will pardon my presumption, in sending you the following observations on so seemingly trivial a subject. —Viz. *the preventing cabbage-plants from being eat by caterpillars*; together with some reasons, why the same means seem capable of preventing blights, and their effects on fruit trees, or others.—These thoughts I have likewise extended in idea, to the preservation of crops of turneps from the fly; as also of crops of wheat from the yellows, and other destructive insects. If these latter experiments should succeed on trial, as I am strongly inclined to think they will, then the same means, which produced these effects, may be extended to an almost infinite variety of cases for the preservation of the vegetable kingdom.

But *risum teneatis amici*, how will you think you are insulted, when I tell you, all this is to be performed with a *bush of stinking elder*.—Great effects are frequently produced from seemingly trivial causes. Why may they not in the present case?—Of the virtue of elder, in preserving cabbage from being destroyed by caterpillars, I can already say, *probatum est*.—We all know how very offensive to the olfactory nerves a bush of green elder-leaves is. No body wishes to smell to it, because it is so disagreeable; and for that reason every one avoids touching it. I consider the olfactory organ of a butterfly as much superior to ours, in delicacy and nicety, as their bodies are to ours.—If so why should not what is so offensive to our smell, be much more so to theirs? We often see them alight and remain on cabbage-plants but who ever saw them on a bush of green elder?

Laughable as this experiment seems to be, I, last year, determined to try it.—Accordingly I took some young elder-bushes, the stems of which I held inclosed in a paper, that my hands might not stink of it, and whipped the cabbage-plants well with it, (but so gently as not to hurt the plants) just as the butterflies first appeared. After this, I never saw a butterfly come on them; nor was there, I believe, a single caterpillar blown on any of the plants so whipped, during the residue of the season. I could often observe the butterflies fluttering and hovering round the plants (like gnomes or sylphs) but never alight on them: although another bed of cabbage-plants, in the same garden, which had not been whipped, was infested, and eat by the caterpillars, as this had usually been. I have tried the same experiment again this year, doubting not but to have the same success

and I shall be happy, if, (from its simplicity) your Society should not think it beneath their notice, but take it under their patronage.

Reflecting on the effects of this experiment, and the cause which produced them; and thinking, that blights are chiefly and generally occasioned by small flies, and minute insects, and that their olfactory nerves are as much superior in delicacy to butterflies, as they are inferior in size, I whipped the limbs of a wall plum-tree, when in full blossom, as high as I could reach, with a bush of young elder, whose leaves I had bruised, that the effluvia might be the stronger, and so as not to hurt the blossom. The effects produced by this whipping are, that the leaves of these limbs are very green, fresh, smooth, and flourishing: the fruit has set very fair, thick, and thriving; and there is not the least appearance of a blight on any of the limbs so whipped: while those not six inches higher, and from thence to the top of the tree, are blighted, and shrivelled up as usual; and, as those of this tree had been for several years past; and not one third so much fruit set on the unwhipped part, as on the limbs whipped: though the blossom was equal: and there is more fruit promising to ripen this summer, on the two limbs whipped, than has been on the whole tree for three years past.—I have since endeavoured to restore one of the blighted shoots, by whipping the leaves, and tying up a twig of elder among them; which hath, in part, had the desired effect, by the offensive effluvia driving away the flies.—By this means, those leaves have revived, which were not absolutely rolled up in a scrowl, where the insects are out of harm's way, and the smell of the elder.—I have tried the like experiment on another tree with the like success.

This has suggested a thought, whether an elder-plant, now esteemed noxious and offensive, may not be one day seen planted with, and entwining its branches among fruit-trees, in order to preserve the fruits.

I struck over a bed of young cauliflower-plants, which had been bit, and almost destroyed by insects, (either fleas, or flies) with an elder-bush: since which, they do not appear to have been touched, or hurt, but are recovering a-pace: and I promise myself, they will not be infested again with any sort of insects, unless some can be discovered fond of living on elder-leaves.

This circumstance has determined me to try the following experiment on a crop of young turneps, (which I am about to till.) When they come up to the height at which they are usually eat, and greatly damaged by insects of some kind or other, (either flies or fleas) I intend to let a man draw a bush or two of elder, spread so as to cover the breadth of a ridge at once, up and down smoothly over the young turneps; and I have little doubt of their being effectually preserved.

Crops of wheat, I flatter myself, may be preserved, in like manner, from what the farmers call the *yellows*, and other like accidents, which they consider as a kind of mildew; but which is in fact (as I have no doubt but you well know) occasioned by a small

fly, that blows in the ear of the corn; and produces a worm almoſt inviſible to the naked eye, but appearing through a microſcope a large yellow maggot, of the colour and gloſs of amber, with eggs like a very fine yellow powder.—Was a perſon to draw an elder-buſh lightly up and down over a ridge of corn, when the ears are firſt formed, and before thoſe flies have blown, I have little or no doubt, but the parent inſects would be effectually deterred, and prevented from pitching their tents in ſo noxious a ſituation.

As theſe thoughts, and the length I have extended them to, in a variety of other caſes in my own imagination, have afforded me ſome pleaſure, I truſt you will pardon my troubling you with them,—when I aſſure you, that, though the baſis of this ſubject is only a ſimple buſh of ſtinking elder, yet the communication of it is meant as a proof of that reſpect, which, as a member of the community, I owe to ſo truly laudable an inſtitution, and is intended (however it may be received) *pro bono publico*.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
CHRIS. GULLETT.

Taviſtock, Devon,
4 June, 1771.

P. S. Since writing the foregoing account, I have obſerved, that the ſame cauſe is the deſtruction of great part of our apple-bloſſom; and, could the above method of whipping our apple-trees take place, I have little or no doubt of its contributing eſſentially to the increaſe of our cyder-bearings. For, allured by the fragrancy of the apple-bloſſom, or guided by inſtinct, or both, not only a ſmall black fly produces ſwarms of young ones in the leaves, which contract, ſhrivel, and blight them; but they, or ſome other flies, blow alſo into the bloſſom, which produces a white maggot, in conſequence of which, the bloſſom is contracted, ſhuts itſelf cloſe round the worm, and forms a complete covering to it, like a ſhell; where it continues devouring the heart of the bloſſom till that is effectually deſtroyed, and turned to a yelloviſh red colour, like a dried dock-leaf.

Mr. *Gullett*'s ſecond letter on Blights.

SIR,

YOUR obliging letter, of the 20th inſtant, in conſequence of mine of the 4th ultimo, gives me pleaſure, as well as confers an honour upon me, which I was apprehenſive the ſimplicity of my ſubject would ſcarcely entitle me to; and therefore demands, and you have my thanks, Sir, for the early notice you have been pleaſed to take of it, and your promiſe of laying it before the Society.—I was, and ſtill am doubtful, whether you meant to have an immediate anſwer to your queries, or at any time before your next meeting in October; but concluded upon the whole, it was better to err in ſhewing my over-readineſs, than the leaſt backwardneſs to enter on a correſpondence with ſo worthy a Society of literati, which would do me ſo much honour; more eſſentially, as I think with you, that the ſubject under conſideration may be of public utility;

which

which I conſider as the baſis of your inſtitution, and which ſhould animate every individual to encourage it. Therefore, as the poor widow threw her mite of money into the public treaſury of riches, ſo do I my mite of obſervation into your Society, the public treaſury of uſeful arts, and the great promoter of commerce: and which has ſo largely contributed to that aſcendency this kingdom is gaining over the reſt of Europe in theſe ſeveral branches.

The elder I made uſe of was the *ſambucus fructu in umbella nigro*, the common hedge-elder. But then it was ſolely of the young ſhoots of this laſt ſpring, which, at that time, ſmelled much ſtronger, and more offenſive than they do at preſent, when arrived at their bloſſoming ſeaſon. For the rind, or outer ſkin, of the ſhoots of this year, is now much thicker than when I uſed them; and conſequently leſs permeable to the juices, which are now become more viſcid, beginning to loſe their fluidity, and to acquire an arborical quality. The large ſtems of elder, which are covered with a thick rough cortex, do not, I apprehend, give any ſtrong ſmell: and the expreſſions in my former letter were meant to be confined ſolely to young elder twigs, or ſhoots of this ſpring only. The dwarf kind of elder, mentioned in your letter, which botaniſts, I apprehend, call *ebulus*, being more offenſive than the young ſhoots of common elder, muſt undoubtedly be much preferable to it; by ſo much, as the ſmell is more offenſive. Since all the virtues I attributed to elder, are derived merely from the ſtrong, ill-flavoured, diſagreeable effluvia it emits:—of which, I apprehend, it loſes conſiderably, the nearer it approaches to its bloſſoming ſtate; as the bloſſom in particular ſcarce retains any of the genuine flavour. I do remember to have ſeen the ebulus.

Since my laſt letter, I have been informed of the following fact, which ſeems to coroborate my hypotheſis, viz. that, when this county was infeſted with ſuch ſwarms of cock-chafers, or oak-webbs, about eight or nine years ago, in many pariſhes, like the Egyptian locuſts, they eat up every green thing, but elder; and there was ſcarce a green leaf left, unleſs on the elder-buſhes. I have been credibly aſſured, that they remained untouched, amidſt the general devaſtation; which can only, I think, be accounted for from their unpalatableneſs, which muſt certainly be great, to occaſion their eſcaping ſo voracious a multitude.

As the farm I keep in hand is at ſome diſtance from this town, I ordered my hind to be ſure to draw an elder-buſh over the wheat fields, as I mentioned in my laſt, as ſoon as the corn was eared, and before it began to bloſſom: but the very dry, hot weather, bringing on the corn ſooner than was expected, I was ſurpriſed, and greatly vexed, on taking a ride thither one day, to find it got, and getting into fine bloſſom.—I, however, ordered, and accordingly next morning, at day break, two ſervants went with two elder buſhes on each ſide the ridge, from end to end, and ſo back again; and drew them over ſuch of the fields as were not got too far in bloſſom. Theſe I examined laſt week, and found pretty clear

of the yellows, much more so than those which were not elder-struck. And I have little doubt, but that, had the operation been performed sooner, it would have totally prevented their being at all touched. But the evening before they were struck, in going through the fields, and looking attentively at the ears of corn, I discovered vast numbers of the flies, which occasion the damage, already on the corn, seven or eight flies on a single ear. Therefore I have no doubt, but that the eggs of the yellows, which are there now, were lodged before the corn was struck with the elder: as prevention, and not cure, is all to be expected from the operation. —I took notice of the manner of the flies. They are about the size of gnats, with a yellow body, and blueish wings, depositing their eggs; which they do on the outside of the husk of the ear, about the upper, or middle part of the husk: from whence, I suppose, they descend into the husk by the next showers of rain, or dews. One fly in particular I saw lay a great number of eggs, after the rate of about one egg every second of time, till at length I caught her by the wing; and, in carrying her across three or four ridges, I thought I perceived something on my thumb, which I took up, and, on viewing it through a pocket microscope, found it to be at least eight or ten eggs, of an oval form, which she had laid in that time, and which I preserved for some time, and shewed to several people.—Judge then of their fecundity.—As a further proof of which, I will inform you, that the day I received your letter, I examined some corns of one ear, and found the following numbers of living yellow maggots, or insects, in the husk of one single grain, viz. in the first corn fifteen, in the second nineteen, in the third twenty-nine, and in the fourth forty-one. — So large a number as forty-one insects in one single grain, seems sufficient to eat up all the corn in a whole ear; and we must suppose, either that, like the northern nations of old, or modern Arabs, when they have consumed all their old stock, they decamp in search of more; or that they are starved and perish in their citadel. This last seems the most likely: as, first, it appears difficult for them to get out; and, next, should such innumerable multitudes all survive, or did not innumerable multitudes perish, they would threaten us with an entire destruction of the next wheat harvest.

I am much obliged to you for the opportunity you have afforded me of repeating my respects for your laudable Society, and subscribing myself, as with great truth I am,

Your obliged,
and obedient servant,
CHRIS. GULLETT.

Tavistock,
27 July, 1771.

Discovery of the Construction of a Machine for preventing the ill Effects of the Fumes of Mercury rising in the Operation of Water-gilding upon Silver, Copper, and other Metals; by Mr. J. HILLS.

To the President and Members of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

I THOUGHT it necessary, at the introducing of the Model, which

which I hope will be found a preventive againſt the ill effects of Mercury in Water-gilding, to endeavour to explain its uſe, as follows—

The injury received, is at the time the work remains out of the fire, from which ariſes a viſible vapour impregnated with the groſſeſt part of mercury, which, for want of proper conveyance, the workman muſt inevitably receive each time he breathes: to prevent thoſe ill effects, I have contrived a pair of bellows, which immediately draw the effluvia that would otherwiſe diſperſe about him. The tin receiver, in which runs a tube from the bottom of the bellows, is to receive that part of the vapour which the valve of the bellows repels every time it goes down. This is made of tin, but would be found more efficacious if made of common copper, gilt on the inſide with leaf-gold, by reaſon of the mercury adhering thereto. It is perhaps proper to mention, what otherwiſe may be thought an inconvenience, namely, the blowing of the bellows, which may be done at any time by a boy; but as it is not ſo laborious as the treading of a turner, and many other ways of buſineſs, perſons ſo inclined may work them with a ſtirrup, without other aſſiſtance, and will find great benefit by the moderate perſpiration it will in courſe bring on: to which a farther precaution might be added; that, if the workman chuſes, he may put a piece of gold in his mouth and noſtrils; but every continued obſtruction to breathing in the manner that nature has ordered, muſt prove detrimental to the conſtitution; therefore, upon the whole, I diſapprove of ſuch practices. The glaſs, which I have made to take off and bring on, as occaſion requires, will ſupply them. I have ſtill added one of a different make, on a plan which I think in the largeſt ſort of work will be found moſt effectual; a draught of which I have annexed to the model, and will here briefly deſcribe. It is a frame glazed to go all round the tin receiver, and come down as low as the perſon's lap; two holes with valves, made of leather, receive the arms, and will not be found inconvenient in working, by reaſon that the ſhirt ſleeves are then always up.—Having thus far deſcribed the principal parts of this model, ſhall leave it to your better judgment; and if approved, will give great pleaſure and ſatisfaction to,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient
humble ſervant
J. HILLS.

Roſamond's Row, Clerkenwell, Dec. 9th, 1773.

EXPLANATION.

To give a diſtinct idea of this invention, a more circumſtantial deſcription muſt be attempted; and the intended application being therewith likewiſe ſhewn, a better judgment of its utility may be formed. It is generally underſtood, that the gilder is placed before an open furnace or raiſed fire-place, putting in and taking out alternately the pieces of metal that are gilding. The memorial points out, that the injury received is during the time the work is out of the fire.—The reaſon of that is obvious; the workman is then

then bruſhing, or laying on more amalgama, holding the piece almoſt under his noſe; and as a ſmall degree of heat raiſes mercury into fumes, it readily occurs, that the heat of the metal forms that noxious vapour which he receives into his lungs every time he breathes, unleſs it be diverted by ſome current of air; and then its baneful effect may, in a leſs degree, ſpread in the room, ſtill be felt by him and thoſe who are obliged to be with him.—To remove all that miſchief, the inventor has thought of collecting the noxious vapour together, and conveying it directly up into the chimney.—To do this he has contrived a funnel fixed againſt the breaſt of the chimney, over the ſpot where the work is held during the operation, and from which the fumes muſt riſe into it. This funnel, or receiver, as he calls it, is, as to ſhape, like a common, wide, flatted, tin tube, with a joint or return in the upper part, carried through the brick-work into the flue, as a channel of conveyance into the chimney: but the aſcent of the vapour being ſlow and uncertain, without a draught of air to lead it up, he hath farther contrived a tin pipe, one end of which is fixed in the lower part of the funnel, and the other in the valve or draught-hole of a large fized bellows, reſting upon the upper part or returning joint of the funnel, and having its nozel led (over the funnel) through the brick-work into the flue.—The effect of theſe bellows is to draw up, and force the floating fumes into the chimney; and that is obtained by the operator's working them with his foot, by means of a line faſtened to the upper handle of the bellows, and carried over a pulley ſkrewed into the ceiling, or into a piece of wood projecting from the chimney, and thence brought down and tied to a ſtirrup, with which it is moved up and down like a treadle.—Another part of the invention, is a glazed frame or window-ſaſh, placed between the operator and his work, to ſkreen him from the approach of the noxious fumes; it is either ſtraight, and of the breadth of the chimney, without a return, and made to ſlide up and down; or elſe, as he ſays, for large work, made circular, and of a ſize to encompaſs the funnel, and cloſe againſt the corners of the chimney; and then, inſtead of a ſliding part, to have in front two of the ſquares not glazed, but lined with leather ſleeves for the arms to paſs through to the work; which, by either of thoſe modes of prevention, he aſſures, may be done without hurt to the health of the operator.

The ſubject of the memorial, and the invention diſcloſed by the model, being taken into conſideration, the Society reſolved, That a machine of a proper ſize for a common chimney ſhould be conſtructed at their expence: and Mr. Platts, a workman in the water-gilding way, being found willing to make the trial, the machine was put up in his room; and a day being fixed, ſeveral members of the Society went to ſee its effect, and reported, that they had not felt any of the, ſo called, ſweet vapour, during the operation; after which the following letter was received by the Secretary.

To

To Mr. *More*.

SIR,

HAVING been informed, it was neceſſary that I ſhould deliver my opinion of the machine for preventing the ill effects of mercury in water-gilding; I have the pleaſure to inform you, that I have made uſe of it ever ſince the trial, and wiſh I had been ſo happy as to have had the uſe of ſuch an invention twenty years ago; I make no doubt but I ſhould have been free from the diſorder I have ſo long laboured under. As the gentlemen have been ſo indulgent as to favour me with the opportunity of experiencing theſe ſalutary effects, I ſhall from gratitude be ready to inform every perſon of the conſtruction of the machine, as far as lyes in my power.

I am, Sir
your humble ſervant,
M. PLATTS.

Upon the confirmed report, and the additional circumſtance of *cheapneſs and ſimplicity of conſtruction*, recommended in the advertiſement *for the preſervation of the health of poor workmen*, it was reſolved, That the candidate, Mr. *J. Hills*, was juſtly entitled to the Premium, being twenty guineas, offered for diſcovering to the Society an effectual method of preventing the ill effects in Water-gilding Silver, Copper, or other Metals.

N. B. Mr. *Hills*, originally a Seal-engraver, ſince moved to No. 82, Berwick-ſtreet, Soho, keeps a ſhop of Natural and Artificial Curioſities; and of Glaſs ſtained by his particular invention.

Account of the Uſefulneſs of waſhing the Stems of Trees. By Mr. Robert Marſham, *of* Stratton, *F. R. S. From the* Philoſophical Tranſactions, *vol.* lxxi. *part* 2.

THE following account is a kind of poſtcript to my letter to Dr. Moſs, Lord Biſhop of Bath and Wells, in 1775, which the Royal Society did me the honour to publiſh in the Philoſophical Tranſactions in 1777. In that I ſhewed how much a beech increaſed upon its ſtem being cleaned and waſhed; and in this I ſhall ſhew, that the benefit of cleaning the ſtem continues ſeveral years: for the beech which I waſhed in 1775 has increaſed in the five years ſince the waſhing eight inches and ſix-tenths, or above an inch and ſeven-tenths yearly; and the aggregate of nine unwaſhed beeches of the ſame age does not amount to one inch and three-tenths yearly to each tree. In 1776 I waſhed another beech (of the ſame age, *viz.* ſeed in 1741); and the increaſe in four years ſince the waſhing is nine inches and two-tenths, or two inches and three-tenths yearly, when the aggregate of nine unwaſhed beeches amounted to but one inch and three-tenths and a half. In 1776 I waſhed an oak which I planted in 1720, which has increaſed in the four years ſince waſhing ſeven inches and two-tenths, and the aggregate of three oaks planted the ſame year (*viz.* all I meaſured) amounted to but one inch yearly to each tree. In 1779 I waſhed another beech of the ſame age, and the increaſe in 1780 was three

three inches, when the aggregate of fifteen unwaſhed beeches was not full fifteen inches and ſix-tenths, or not one inch and half a tenth to each tree; yet moſt of theſe trees grew on better land than that which was waſhed. But I apprehend the whole of the extraordinary increaſe in the two laſt experiments ſhould not be attributed to waſhing: for in the autumn of 1778 I had greaſy pond mud ſpread round ſome favourite trees, as far as I ſuppoſed their roots extended; and although ſome trees did not ſhow to have received any benefit from the mud, yet others did, that is, an oak increaſed half an inch, and a beech three-tenths, above their ordinary growth. Now though the beech gained but three tenths, yet, perhaps, that may not be enough to allow for the mud; for the ſummer of 1779 was the moſt ungenial to the growth of trees of any ſince I have meaſured them; ſome not gaining half their ordinary growth, and the aggregate increaſe of all the unwaſhed and unmudded trees that I meaſured (ninety-three in number of various kinds) was in 1779 but ſix feet five inches and ſeven-tenths, or ſeventy ſeven inches and ſeven-tenths, which gives but eight-tenths and about one-third to each tree; when in 1778 (a very dry ſummer in Norfolk) they increaſed ſeven feet and nine-tenths, or near eighty-five inches, which gives above nine tenths to each tree: and this ſummer of 1780 being alſo very dry, yet the aggregate increaſe was above hal an inch more than in 1778. Bu the beſt increaſe of theſe thre years is low, as there are bu twenty of the ninety-three tree that were not planted by me, an greater increaſe is reaſonably ex pected in young than old trees yet I have an oak now two hun dred years old * (1780), which i ſixteen feet and five inches in cir cumference, or one hundred an ninety-ſeven inches in two hun dred years. But this oak canno properly be called old. The an nual increaſe of very old trees i hardly meaſurable with a ſtring as the ſlighteſt change of the ai will affect the ſtring more than year's growth. The largeſt tree that I have meaſured are ſo fa from me, that I have had no op portunity of meaſuring them ſecond time, except the oak nea the honourable Mr. Legge's Lodg in Holt Foreſt, which does no ſhow to be hollow. In 1759 found it was, at ſeven feet (for large ſwelling rendered it unfai to meaſure at five or ſix feet) trifle above thirty-four feet in cir cumference, and in 1778 I found it had not increaſed above half a inch in nineteen years. This more entire remain of longevity merit ſome regard from the lovers o trees, as well as the hollow oak at Cowthorp in Yorkſhire, which Dr. Hunter gives an account of i his edition of Evelyn's Silva, an calls it forty-eight feet round a three feet. I did not meaſure i ſo low; but in 1768 I found it, a

* I cannot miſtake in the age of this oak, as I have the deed between my anceſtor Robert Marſham and the Copyhold Tenants of his Manor of Stratton dated May 20, 1580, upon his then incloſing ſome of his waſte; and the abutal is clear.

four

four feet, forty feet and six inches; and at five feet, thirty-six feet and six inches; and at six feet, thirty-two feet and one inch. Now, although this oak is larger near the earth than that in Hampshire, yet it diminishes much more suddenly in girt, *viz.* eight feet and five inches in two feet of height (I reckon by my own measures, as I took pains to be exact). Suppose the diminution continues about this rate (for I did not measure so high) then at seven feet it will be about twenty-eight feet in circumference, and the bottom fourteen feet contain six hundred and eighty-six feet round or buyers measure, or seventeen ton and six feet; and fourteen feet length of the Hampshire oak is one thousand and seven feet, or twenty-five ton and seven feet, that is, three hundred and twenty-one feet more than the Yorkshire oak, though that is supposed by many people the greatest oak in England.

I am unwilling to conclude this account of washing the stems of trees without observing, that all the ingredients of vegetation united, which are received from the roots, stem, branches, and leaves of a mossy and dirty tree, do not produce half the increase that another gains whose stem is clean to the head only, and that not ten feet in height. Is it not clear that this greater share of nourishment cannot come from rain? for the dirty stem will retain the moisture longer than when clean, and the nourishment drawn from the roots, and imbibed by the branches and leaves, must be the same to both trees. Then must not the great share of vegetative ingredients be conveyed in dew? May not the moss and dirt absorb the finest parts of the dew? and may they not act as a kind of skreen, and deprive the tree of that share of air and sun which it requires? To develope this mysterious operation of nature would be an honour to the most ingenious, and the plain fact may afford pleasure to the owners of young trees; for if their growth may be increased by cleaning their stems once in five or six years (and perhaps they will not require it so often) if the increase is but half an inch yearly above the ordinary growth, it will greatly over-pay for the trouble, besides the pleasure of seeing the tree more flourishing. Although the extra increase of my first washed beech was but four-tenths of an inch, the second was nine-tenths and a half, and the third near two inches, so the aggregate extra increase is above one inch and one-tenth yearly; and the increase of the oak is eight-tenths. But calling it only half an inch, then six years will produce above five cubic feet of timber, as the oak is eight feet round, and above twenty feet long, and sixpence will pay for the washing, so there remains nine shillings and sixpence clear gain in six years.

Stratton,
Oct. 29, 1780.

ANTI-

ANTIQUITIES.

Some Account of Lichfield, *and its Cathedral; extracted from* Pennant's *Journey from* Cheſter *to* London.

LICHFIELD is a place of Saxon origin, and owes its riſe to Ceadda, or Chad, the great ſaint of Mercia. I omit the legend of the thouſand Chriſtians, diſciples of St. Amphibolus, that were martyred here under Dioclesian; or the three kings ſlain at this place in battle, as ſculptured over the town-hall. I take up its hiſtory about the year 656, when Oſway, king of the country, eſtabliſhed a biſhoprick here, and made Dwina, or Dinma, the firſt prelate. To him ſucceeded Cellach and Trumberct; and on his demiſe, the famous Ceadda. This pious man at firſt led an eremitical life, in a cell, at the place on which now ſtands the church of his name, and ſupported himſelf by the milk of a white hind. In this place he was diſcovered by Rufine, the ſon of Wolphere, who was privately inſtructed by him till the time of his martyrdom, before-recited. Remorſe, and conſequential converſion, ſeized the Pagan prince. As ſome ſpecies of expiation, he preferred the apoſtle to the vacant ſee. He built himſelf a ſmall houſe near the church, and, with ſeven or eight of his brethren, during the interval of preaching, read and prayed in private. On the approach of his death, flights of angels ſang hymns over his cell. Miracles at his tomb confirmed the holineſs of his life. A lunatic, that by accident eſcaped from his keepers, lay a night on it, and in the morning was found reſtored to his ſenſes. The very earth taken out of it was an infallible remedy for all diſorders incident to man or beaſt. * Ceadda was of courſe canonized; a ſhrine was erected in honour of him; great was the concourſe of devotees: the place increaſed and flouriſhed.

The hiſtory of our cathedrals is, in its beginning, but the hiſtory of ſuperſtition, mixed with ſome truth and abundance of legend: humiliating proof of the weakneſs of the human mind! yet all the fine arts of paſt times, and all the magnificent works we now ſo juſtly admire, are owing to a ſpecies of piety that every lover of the elegance of architecture muſt rejoice to have exiſted.

* Bede Hiſt. lib. iv. c. 3.

We

We are told, that in the days of Jaruman, about the year 666, the cathedral was founded.

I shall not trouble the reader with a dry list of prelates, but only mention those distinguished by some remarkable event, that befel the see during their days.

In those of Winfrid, successor to St. Chad, in 674, Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, thought fit to divide the bishoprick into two, and to establish the other at Sidnaceſter, in Lincolnshire, the present Stow. Winfrid disapproving this defalcation, was deprived for contumacy. The diocese might well bear dividing; for at that time it contained the whole kingdom of Mercia. At present, it comprehends all Staffordshire, except Brome and Clent, which belong to Worcester; the larger part of Warwickshire; and about half Shropshire.

In the time of Bishop Adulf, Offa, King of the Mercians, procured liberty from the pope of erecting the see into an archbishoprick, in 786, and to assign him for suffragans Wincheſter, Hereford, Lageceſter (Leiceſter), Helmham, and Dunwick. This honour died with Adulf.

A Bishop Peter, in 1067, the year succeeding the conquest, removed the see to St. John's, in Chester; where he died, and was interred, in 1085.

His successor, Robert de Limesey, smitten with the love of the gold and silver * with which the pious Earl Leofric had covered the walls of his new convent at Coventry, in 1095 removed the see to that city, and at once scraped from a single beam, that supported a shrine, 500 marks worth of silver †.

I now speak of a prelate of a different temper; to whose munificence both the church and city were highly indebted. Roger de Clinton, consecrated in 1129, took down the antient Mercian cathedral. We are not informed of the dimensions or nature of the building, any more than we are of that built by this bishop. It must have been, according to the reigning mode of the times, of the species of architecture usually called *Saxon*, with massy pillars and round arches. There is not at present the least relique of this stile. But I am unacquainted with the accident, or calamity, which destroyed the labours of this pious prelate; who took up the cross, and died at Antioch, on a pilgrimage to the holy sepulchre.

After a succession of twelve prelates, Walter de Langton, treasurer of England, was consecrated bishop of this see, in 1296. He was highly favoured by Edward I. His prosperity was interrupted by the resentment of the prince, who meanly revenged on the bishop a short imprisonment he had suffered in the time of his father, for riotously destroying his deer. After a persecution and confinement of above two years, he emerged from all his difficulties, and resumed his pastoral charge in a manner that did him great honour. He may be considered as the third architect of this cathe-

* Wharton's Angl. Sacr. i. 433.

† William of Malmsbury, as quoted by Dugdale, Hist. Warwick, i. 157.

dral:

dral: to him we are indebted for the preſent elegant pile. He laid the foundation for our lady's chapel; an edifice of uncommon beauty, finiſhed after his death with money left for that purpoſe. He built the cloyſters, and expended 2000*l.* upon a ſhrine for St. Chad. He beſtowed on the choir ſeveral rich veſtments, a chalice, and two cups of beaten gold, to the value of 200*l.* To the vicars choral he gave a ſtanding cup, and an annual penſion of 20*l.* and procured for them and the canons great immunities: in particular, there was an order from the king to the juſtices of Staffordſhire, that, without trial, they ſhould hang upon the next gallows divers perſons that by force kept their lands from them. This prelate alſo ſurrounded the cloſe with a wall and ditch, made the great gate at the weſt end, and the poſtern at the ſouth. He gave his own palace, at the weſt end of the cloſe, to the vicars choral, and built a new one for himſelf at the eaſt end. He partly built, or enlarged, the caſtle at Eccleſhal, and the manors of Heywood and Shugborow, and the palace in the Strand. He finiſhed his uſeful life in Nov. 1321, and was buried in the chapel of his own founding.

The cathedral continued in the ſtate it was left by Biſhop Langton, till the time of the diſſolution, when the rich ſhrine of St. Chad, and other objects of ſimilar devotion, fell a prey to the rapacity of the prince. The building continued in its priſtine beauty till the unhappy wars of the laſt century, when it ſuffered greatly by three ſieges. The ſituation of the place on an eminence, ſurrounded by water and by deep ditches, and fortified with walls and baſtions, rendered it unhappily a proper place for a garriſon.

In 1643, it was poſſeſſed by the royaliſts of the county, under the Earl of Cheſterfield; when it underwent the attack rendered memorable by the death of Lord Brook, commander of the parlementary forces. His lordſhip, in reconnoitring the cathedral, in a wooden porch in Dams-ſtreet, was ſhot into the eye by a muſket-ball, on March 2d, 1643. This happened to be the feſtival of St. Chad, the patron of the church. The cavaliers attributed the direction of the fatal bullet to the influence of the ſaint, in reſentment of the ſacrileges this nobleman was committing on his cathedral. What ſhare the ſaint had in this affair, I will not pretend to ſay; but the muſket was aimed, and the trigger drawn, by a neighbouring gentleman poſted in the leads, known by the name of dumb Dyot. The loſs of Lord Brook gave very ſhort reſpite to the garriſon; which was taken almoſt immediately after, by Sir John Gell.

In April, in the ſame year, it was attacked by Prince Rupert. At that time it was commanded by Colonel Rouſwel; a ſteady governor over an enthuſiaſtic garriſon. He defended the place with vaſt reſolution. A breach was made by the blowing up of a mine. The attack was made with great bravery, but great loſs. At length the garriſon gave up, on

the moſt honourable condi-
ons *. The colonel took care
plunder the church of the com-
union-plate, during the time the
natics were in poſſeſſion. They
ed every ſpecies of profanation;
nted a cat in it with hounds,
enjoy the fine echo from the
of; and brought a calf, dreſſed
linen, to the font, and ſprin-
ed it with water, in deriſion of
ptiſm †.

The prince appointed Colonel
ervey Bagot ‡ the governor;
ho kept poſſeſſion till the ruin of
e king's affairs, in 1646; when
e colonel, and other command-
s, being ſatisfied that the king
d not an hundred men in any
e place in the field, nor any gar-
on unbeſieged, ſurrendered on
ry honourable terms, on the
th of July, to Adjutant Lou-
ian ||.

The ſtate of this church, after
many ſieges, may eaſily be con-
ived. The honour of reſtoring
to its former ſplendor, was re-
rved for John Hacket, preſent-
to this ſee in 1661. On the
y next day after his arrival, he
his coach-horſes, with teams,
remove the rubbiſh; and in
ht years time reſtored the ca-
thedral to its preſent beautiful
ſtate, at the expence of twenty
thouſand pounds §; one thouſand
of which was the gift of the dean
and chapter; the reſt was done
either at his own charge, or by
benefactions reſulting from his own
ſolicitations. He died in 1670.
A very handſome tomb was erect-
ed in the choir to his memory,
with his effigies laid recumbent on
it, with a mitre on his head, and
in his epiſcopal dreſs.

The weſt front is of great ele-
gance, adorned with the richeſt
ſculpture, and, till of late, with
rows of ſtatues of prophets, kings
of Judah, &c. and, above all, a
very bad one of Charles II. who
had contributed to the repair of
the church, by a liberal gift of
timber. This ſtatue was the
work of a Sir William Wilſon,
originally a maſon from Sutton
Coldfield, who, after marrying a
rich wife, arrived at the dignity
of knighthood.

The ſculptures round the doors
were very elegant; but time, or
violence, hath greatly impaired
their beauty.

James II. when Duke of York,
beſtowed on this church the mag-
nificent weſt window. The fine

* Clarendon, ii. 235. † Mr. Green's MSS.

‡ During the time this gentleman commanded at Lichfield, he received the
llowing extraordinary challenge from a Captain Hunt, a parlementary com-
nder in Tamworth. Mercurius Aulicus, p. 1347.

" Bagot, thou ſonne of an Egiption hore, meete mee half the way to-morrow
morning, the half way betwixt Tamworth and Litchfeald, if thou dareſt; if
not, I will whippe thee when ſoever I meete thee,

" Tamworth, this " Tho. Hunt."

" Decemb. 1644.

Colonel Bagot met him, and after a briſk action, whipped the fellow himſelf
o his retreat, and narrowly miſſed taking him.

|| Articles of Surrender.

§ Br. Biogr. iv. 2457. A MS. with which Mr. Greene favoured me, makes
e ſum much leſs.

painted glaſs was given of late years, by Dean Addenbrook.

The northern door is extremely rich in ſculptured moldings: three of foliage, and three of ſmall figures in ovals. In one of the loweſt is repreſented a monk baptizing a perſon kneeling before him. Probably the former is intended for St. Chad; the latter for Wulferus. It is a misfortune, that the ornaments of this cathedral are made of ſuch friable ſtone, that what fanaticiſm has ſpared, the weather has impaired.

In the front are two fine ſpires, and a third in the centre, of a vaſt height, and fine proportion.

The roof was till of late covered with lead, but grew ſo greatly out of repair, that the dean and chapter were obliged to ſubſtitute ſlates inſtead of metal, on account of the narrow revenues left to maintain this venerable pile; and, after the ſtricteſt œconomy, they will be under the neceſſity of contributing from their own income, in order to complete their plan. The excellent order that all the cathedrals I have viſited are in, does great credit to their members; who ſpare nothing from their own incomes to render them not only decent, but elegant.

The body is lofty, ſupported by pillars formed of numbers of ſlender columns, with neat foliated capitals. Along the walls of the aiſles are rows of falſe arches, in the gothic ſtile, with a ſeat beneath.

The upper rows of windows, in the body, are of an uncommon form, being triangular, including three circles in each.

In each tranſept are two place formerly chapels; at preſent co ſiſtory courts, and the vica veſtry-room.

The choir merits attention, account of the elegant ſculptu about the windows, and the e battled gallery that runs bene them. On each ſide are ſix f tues, now much mutilated, pla ed in beautiful gothic niches, a richly painted. The firſt on t left is St. Peter; the next is t Virgin; the third is Mary Ma dalene, with one leg bare, to d note her legendary wantonne The other three are St. Phili St. James, and St. Chriſtophe with Chriſt on his ſhoulders.

The beauty of this choir is mu impaired by the impropriety a rich altar-piece, of Grecian a chitecture, terminating this el gant gothic building.

Behind this is St. Mary's ch pel, with a ſtone ſkreen, the m elegant which can be imagine embattled at top, and adorn with ſeveral rows of gothic niche of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip each formerly containing a ſma ſtatue. Beneath them are thi teen ſtalls, with gothic work o each. In this chapel are ni windows, more narrow, lofty, a of more elegant work than any the others; three on each ſid and three at the end.

In this chapel ſtood the ſhri of St. Chad. Here was interr Ceolred *, King of the Mercian and in later times, here was pla ed the magnificent tomb (on t ſite of the ſhrine) of the firſt Lo Paget, adorned with column with two kneeling figures of

* Saxon Chr. 51.

man and woman between the front and back pillars. These were destroyed in the blind fury of civil war; as was another fine tomb of a Lord Basset of Drayton, who died in 1389. Few indeed escaped. Of those are the effigies of the great Bishop Langton, with his pastoral staff in one hand, and the other hand in the action of benediction: another, of Hugh de Pateshul, who died in 1241, remarkable for having the *stigmata*, or marks of our Saviour's wounds in the hands and feet: a respectful superstition of antient times. Dean Heywood is represented in his habit, and again naked, with the emaciated change which death occasions.

Here are several monuments within the walls, of a most frugal nature, having no appearance of any part but the head and feet. From an intermediate bracket, it is probable some favourite saint might have been honoured with a rich image.

Some Account of the antient Verulamium, *near St.* Albans—*of its Ruins, &c. from the same Author.*

IMMEDIATELY after quitting this place, I entered the celebrated Verulamium, at a spot distinguished by a great fragment of the ancient wall, known by the name of Gorhambury-block, which probably bounded one side of one of the *portæ*, or entrances, being exactly opposite to that on the eastern part. The precinct departs from the rectangular form of the Romans, this being among those which were laid out, *Prout loci qualitas aut necessitas postulaverit* *. It inclines to an oval shape; is placed on a slope, and the lower side bounded by the river Ver, which in former times might have spread into a lake, and given greater security to the town. According to Humphry Lloyd †, it gave also the name to the place, Gwerllan, or the temple on the Ver; rightly bestowing on the Britons a pre-occupancy of it to the Romans. I shall not dispute the notions of the particular ford over which Cæsar crossed the Thames, when he penetrated into our island. It probably was at or near Coway Stakes. Cæsar leaves us no room to depart from that opinion, as he expressly tells us that he led his army to the river Thames, towards the borders of the territories of Cassivelaunus ‡, the golden-locked leader of the country of the Cassi: and these Cassi are reasonably supposed to have been a clan of the Cattieuchlani, and to have inhabited the hundred of this county now called Cashio, in which Verulamium stood. But I must contend, that the distance of that city is far too remote from the fordable parts of the Thames, to admit it to have been the town of the British leader destroyed by the invader.

* Vegetius, lib. i. c. 23. † Commentariol, 31.

‡ Cæsar cognito consilio eorum ad flumen Tamasin in fines Cassivelauni exercitum duxit. Bel. Gal. lib. v.

Preceding this, he speaks of the *fines Cassivelauni*, as being *a mari circiter millia passuum* lxxx.

It lies, in the neareſt line, thirty-ſeven miles from thoſe parts of the river: a diſtance too great for the time given to Cæſar for his ſecond campaign in Britain. The town, or rather poſt, which was forced by him, was not remote from the camp occupied by him on the ſide of the river; and moſt likely was that which is ſtill very entire, in the park of her Grace the Dutcheſs Dowager of Portland, at Bulſtrode, about fifteen miles diſtance from the Roman camp; whoſe veſtiges are ſtill to be ſeen, not far from the famous ford *. Partly by length of time, partly by conſtant cultivation, this poſt has loſt ſome of the characters aſcribed by Cæſar to the town of Caſſivelaunus; for it wants at preſent the marſhy defence it had in his days.

The town alluded to was within the territories of the Britiſh chieftain, and one of the ſtrong holds into which the Britons were uſed to drive their cattle in time of danger. This, by Cæſar's account, was certainly not the moſt capital; for his firſt relation informs us, it only contained *ſatis numerus pecorum*, a pretty conſiderable number of cattle. Notwithſtanding his vanity, a few lines lower, ſwells his booty into *magnus numerus*, a vaſt number †. Near Shepperton, alſo, near that place, in a field called War Cloſe, are found ſpurs, ſwords, bones, and other marks of a battle. See Cambden, i. 366: but in all likelihood, the firſt is the neareſt to the truth.

Verulamium was the capital this country, and the reſidence its princes. I do not reckon Caſſivelaunus among them; he w a chieftain of the Caſſi, and, f his great abilities, elected gener on the Roman invaſion, if o Britiſh hiſtory is to be truſted. H was a guardian to his nephew Anarway and Tenefan ‡ (the laſ father to Cunoboline, whoſe coi are ſo frequent. Here was o of the Britiſh mints; for we fin the word Ver on the coins, b no prince's name to diſtinguiſh t reign.

After the Romans had effecte their conqueſt, they added wal to the ordinary Britiſh defence ramparts, and ditches. Man great fragments of the former ſti remain, proofs of the ſtrengt and manner of the Roman ma ſonry. On the one ſide is a va foſs; on another, two. The wal are twelve feet thick, where en tire, formed of flints bedded i mortar, now grown into amazin hardneſs. By intervals of abou three feet diſtance, are three, an in ſome places four, rows of broa and thin bricks, or tiles, whic were continued the whole lengt of the walls, which ſeem deſigne as foundations to ſuſtain the layer of flints and lime, while the la was in a moiſt ſtate. Ther were, beſides, round holes, whic penetrated quite through ‖; bu theſe are either filled up, or eſcap ed my notice. According to Doc tor Stukely's meaſurement, th area is five thouſand two hundre feet in length, and the greate

* *Sylvis Paludibuſque munitum.*
† Lewis Hiſt. Br. 73.
‡ Stukely Itin. i. 117.
‖ See Doctor Stukely's admirable plan of this place.

breadt

breadth about three thouſand. It is at preſent incloſed into fields; but under the hedges, in many places, are veſtiges of buildings, and, as I am told, when it is under tillage, the ſites of the ſtreets appear, by the different colour of the corn above them. The Watling-ſtreet comes to the Porta Decumana, the gate on the weſtern ſide, and paſſes quite through the city. There is another road goes on the outſide of the ſouth ſide; a ſmall military way, like that which paſſed from turret to turret on Severus's wall *, for the conveniency of external paſſengers.

This place, by its attachment to the conquerors, acquired the privileges of a free borough, a *municipium*, or municipal city, whoſe inhabitants enjoyed all the rights of the Roman citizens; for which reaſon ſuch towns derive their name a *muneribus capiendis*, their power to bear public offices. They had their ſenators, knights, and commons; magiſtrates and prieſts; cenſors, ediles, queſtors, and flamens.

The attachment of this town to its new maſters, proved the cauſe of a heavy misfortune, which befel it under the reign of Nero. Boadicea, widow of Praſutagus, king of the Iceni, enraged at the cruel indignity offered to her and her daughters, raiſed an inſurrection againſt the Romans and their friends, and repaid with the moſt dreadful cruelties the injuries they had received. Camolodunum, Londinium, and Verolamium, ſuffered from the fury of the Britons; and ſeventy thouſand citizens and allies fell by the edge of the ſword. This city was remarkable for its wealth †; which was another incentive for the Britons to attack it, added to a particular animoſity againſt a people who had forſaken the cuſtoms and religion of their anceſtors.

The place in a ſhort time emerged from its misfortune; and had the honour of producing Albanus, the proto-martyr of Britain, a wealthy citizen of Verulamium, and, by privilege, of Rome alſo. He had been a Pagan, but was converted by means of a gueſt, whom he had ſheltered during the great perſecution of Dioclefian, as I have before related. St. Alban ſuffered in the year 302. Let not legend deſtroy the credibility of the martyrdom, by aſſigning attendant miracles, long after their ceſſation. We are told, that after he had refuſed to ſacrifice to the heathen gods, the uſual teſt of the alledged crime of Chriſtianity, he was, as cuſtomary, whipped with rods, and then led to execution, and beheaded on Holmhurſt, where the town of St. Alban's at preſent ſtands. In his paſſage, the torrent, which then divided the place from Verulamium, like the Red-ſea, divided its waters, and gave dry paſſage to the ſaint and his followers: a fountain ſprung up where the martyr kneeled: one of the executioners relenting, was converted, and ſuffered with Albanus; another, who performed the deed, loſt his eyes, as a penalty for his

* Tour Scotl. 1772. part ii. p. 288.

† Taciti Annal. lib. xiv. c. 31, &c.

cruelty; for they dropped out of his head in the moment in which he gave the blow*. St. Alban was interred on the ſpot; and his remains were miraculouſly diſcovered ſeveral centuries after their interment.

In 429, this place was honoured with a ſynod, in which St. Germanus and Lupus, two French prelates, aſſiſted. A chapel was erected, about the year 945, by Abbot Ulſin, in honour of the former, on the ſpot in which he preached; whoſe ruins were to be ſeen the beginning of this century.

After the Saxon invaſion, the name of the town was changed for that of Verlamceſter and Watlinceſter. The Britiſh hero, Uther Pendragon, after a long ſiege, wreſted it out of the hands of the Saxons, and held it during his life; after which they ſoon recovered it; but by reaſon of the cruel wars that raged during the conteſt between them and the Britons, the place became totally deſolated.

Like the antient Deva †, Verulamium had its great vaults, or ſubterraneous retreats, ſtrongly and artfully arched. Theſe are ſuppoſed, by Sir Henry Chauncy, to have been deſigned as places of retreat in time of war for the women and children, and for the concealing of the moſt valuable effects. In 960, they were found to give ſhelter to thieves and proſtitutes; which cauſed Eldred, the eighth abbot, to ſearch after theſe ſouſterrains, and found ſeveral ways and paſſages; all which he cauſed to be deſtroyed, but preſerved the tiles and ſtones for the rebuilding the church, then in ruins ‡.

The preſent St. Alban's aroſe from the ruins of Verulamium. Offa King of the Mercians, directed, ſays legend, by a viſion from heaven, diſcovered the reliques of St. Alban, by beams of glory ſpringing from the grave ||. In 793, he erected on the ſpot the magnificent monaſtery, for the maintenance of a hundred Benedictine or black monks, and in a parlimentary council, which he held in the ſame year, beſtowed on it moſt liberal endowments. Verulamium was now reduced to the ſtate elegantly deſcribed by Spencer, aſſuming the character of the genius of the place.

I was that city which the garland wore
Of Britain's pride, delivered unto me
By Roman victors, which it wore of yore;
Though nought at all but ruins now I be,
And lie in mine own aſhes, as you ſee.
Verlame I was: what boots it that I was,
Sith now I am but weeds and waſteful graſs?

Ruines of Time.

Before I quit theſe ancient precincts, I muſt note the church of St. Michael, built within them, by the ſame pious abbot who founded the chapel of St. German. It became an impropriation of the abbey, and, after the diſſolution, a vicarage. The church is ſmall, ſupported within by round arches. It is moſt diſtinguiſhed by the monument of the great Lord Ve-

* Bede Hiſt. Ecc. lib. i. c. 7. Father Creſſy, in his Church Hiſtory, lib. vi. has given a much longer detail.

† Tour in Wales, p. 108.

‡ Chauncy, 431.

|| Creſſy, lib. xxv. c. 6.

rulam

Julian. His figure is of white marble, placed ſitting in a chair, reclining, in the eaſy attitude of meditation. He is dreſſed in robes lined with fur, and a high-crowned hat. Any emblems of greatneſs would have been unneceſſary attendants on this illuſtrious character. The ſpectator's ideas muſt render every complimental ſculpture ſuperfluous. The epitaph conveys high honour to the grateful ſervant: his maſter could receive nothing additional.

H. P.
Franciſc. Bacon, Baro de Verulam, Sanct. Albani viceco'
Seu notioribus titulis
Scientiarum lumen facundiæ lex,
Sic ſedebat:
Qui poſtquam, omnia naturalis ſapientiæ
Et civilis arcana evolviſſet,
Naturæ decretum explevit.
Compoſita ſolvantur.
Anno Dom. MDCXXVI.
Æt. LXVI.

Tanti viri
Mem.
Thomas Meautys
Superſtitis cultor.
Defuncti admirator.

Some Account, and Deſcription, of the Tomb of Humphry *Duke of* Gloceſter; *from the ſame Author.*

ON the ſouth ſide of the chapel of St. Alban is the magnificent tomb * of Humphry Duke of Gloceſter, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *The Good*. He was uncle to Henry VI. and regent of the kingdom, under his weak nephew, during twenty-five years. His many eminent qualities gained him the love of the people; his popularity, the hatred of the queen and her favourites. His life was found to be incompatible to their views. They firſt effected the ruin of his ducheſs by a ridiculous charge of witchcraft, and after that, brought as groundleſs a charge of treaſon again himſelf. He was conveyed to St. Edmond's Bury, where a parlement was convened in 1446; before which the accuſation was to be made. His enemies, fearing the public execution of ſo great and ſo beloved a character, cauſed him to be ſtifled in his bed, and then pretended that he died of vexation at his ſudden fall. His body was interred in this church, the ſcene of his detection of the pretended miracle of the blind reſtored to ſight at the virtuous ſhrine of St. Alban. Shakeſpear gives us the relation admirably †. Gloceſter had a predilection for this place: he had beſtowed on it rich veſtments, to the value of three thouſand marks,

* Finely engraven in Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory, p. 318.
† Henry VI. part ii. ſc. 2. taken from Grafton, p. 597, 598.

and the manor of Pembroke, that the monks ſhould pray for his ſoul: and he alſo directed that his body ſhould be depoſited within theſe holy walls. The fees attendant on his funeral, were not of the moſt moderate kind; unleſs we may ſuppoſe, as probably was the caſe, that the houſe was at the charge of erecting the monument to ſo great a benefactor. Sir Henry Chauncy expreſsly ſays *, that Abbot Whethamſted adorned Duke Humphry's tomb; which ſhews, that part at leaſt of the expences were borne by the convent. The account is curious.

" *Charges of the burial of* Humphry *Duke of* Gloceſter, *and obſervances appointed by him, to be perpetually born by the convent of the monaſterie of St.* Alban †.

	£.	s.	d.
" *Firſt.* The abbat and convent of the " ſaid monaſtarie have payd for markynge " the tumbe & place of ſepulture of the ſeid " duke, within the ſeid monaſterie, above " the ſume of — — —	CCCCXXXIII.	2.	VIII
" *Item.* To two monks preſts, dayly ſeiying " meſſe at the auter of ſepulcture of the " ſeid prince, everich takyng by 1 day VI[d] " ſma. thereoff, by 1 hole yere — —	XVIII.	V*s*.	
" *Item.* To the abbat ther yerely, the day " of the anniverſary of the ſeid prince, at- " tending his exquys ther — —	XL*s*.		
" *Item.* To the priour yerly thre, the ſame " day, in likwyſe atteinding — —	XX*s*.		
" *Item.* To XL monks preſts, yerly, to " everich of them, in the ſame day, VI*s*. " VIII*d*. ſm. theroff — —	XII.	VI.	VIII.
" *Item.* To VIII monks not preſts, yerly, " in the ſeid day, to everich of them 3*s*. 4*d*. " ſm. theroff — — —	XXVI*s*.	VIII*d*.	
" *Item.* To II ankereſſes, I at St. Peter " church, another at St. Mich. the ſeid day, " yerly, to everich ſm. — —	IIII*s* 4*d*.		
" *Item.* In money, to be diſtribut to pore " peple ther, the ſeid day, yerly —	XL*s*.		
" *Item.* To XIII pore men berying torches, " the ſeid day, about the ſeid ſepulture	II*s*.	II*d*.	
" *Item.* For wex brennyng dayly at the " meſſes, and his anniverſary of torch, yerly	VI.	XII.	III
" *Item.* The kechen of the convent ther " yerly, in the relief of the great decay of " the huſtode of the ſeid monaſteri in the " marches of Scotland, which before tyme " ſhall be appointed to the kichyn —	X.		

* 448.

† Cotton Library Claudii, A. 8. fol. 195. A copy of this is hung up in the church.

This

This beautiful tomb was once inſulated, as appears by one of theſe *items*. In the middle is a pervious arch, adorned above with the coat of arms of the deceaſed; and others again along a freeze; with his ſupporters, two antelopes with collars. From the freeze ariſes a light elegant tabernacle-work, with niches; containing on one ſide the effigies of our princes; the other ſide is deſpoiled of the figures.

In 1703, the vault in which repoſed the remains of this illuſtrious perſonage was diſcovered. The body was preſerved in a leaden coffin, in a ſtrong pickle; and over that was another caſe, of wood, now periſhed. Againſt the wall is painted a crucifixion, with four chalices receiving the blood; a hand pointing towards it, with a label, inſcribed *Lord have mercy upon me.*

The epitaph has long ſince been defaced; but was as follows:

Hic jacet Umphredus dux ille Gloceſtrius, olim
Henrici regis protector, fraudis ineptæ
Detector; dum ficta notat miracula cæci *
Lumen erat patriæ, columen venerabile regni:
Pacis amans muſiſque favens melioribus; unde
Gratum opus Oxonia † quæ nunc ſcola ſacra refulget.
Invida ſed mulier regno, regi, ſibi, nequam
Abſtulit hunc, humili vix hoc dignata ſepulchro.
Invidia rumpente tamen poſt funera vivit.

On the Military Machines of the Antients, and the Uſe they made of them; tranſlated from the Italian *of Count* Algarotti.

I HAVE for ſome days delayed anſwering your laſt letter: in order to which, I found it requiſite to ſend a meſſenger to town, and to wait for his return. You queſtion me on two particulars; on the force of the military engines of the ancients, and the uſe which they made of them in war. Of their force you have a very ſlight idea: and you imagine the only uſe of them was to defend the camp. You think therefore that argument will not hold good, by which I deduced the expediency of adopting the ancient method of fighting, from the ancients themſelves having had machines which anſwered to our artillery. You think no compariſon can be made between the *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ* of the Romans, and the artillery of the moderns; and that the prodigious force and efficacy of the fire-arms have effected, if not an entire, yet at leaſt a very conſiderable change in the art of war. To clear up your doubts, I conſidered that I muſt not truſt to conjecture alone, but muſt proceed upon certain and inconteſtable authority; and having formerly, in the courſe of my reading, made ſome extracts to this purpoſe, I ſent for the collection. And now, armed with theſe authorities, I am ready to anſwer your objections.

With regard to the force of the military engines of the ancients, I ſhall not inſiſt on the authority of the poets, who repreſent them in

* Alluding to the detection of the impoſtor.
† He founded the beautiful divinity-ſchool at Oxford.

different

different paſſages to have been ſo dreadful. You would have good reaſon to decline ſuch authority; and I myſelf conſider the poets as the *velites*, or light-armed troops, who have but a ſmall ſhare in the action. But the beſt hiſtorians, and the moſt reſpectable writers among the ancients, expreſsly and uniformly confirm the ſlaughter and deſtruction which the *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ* brought with them. Nor can any thinking perſon entertain a doubt of the violence of machines conſtructed to annoy troops ſo well protected by defenſive armour, to batter walls founded by nations, who built them to laſt for ever. The effects of their machines were ſpoken of juſt in the ſame terms as thoſe of our cannon are; and the ſame complaints were made at the invention of them.

Non più la gagliardia, non più l'ardire,
Per te può in campo al paragon venire,

ſays Arioſto, repeating what was in every one's mouth at that time. In the ſame manner Archidamas, the ſon of Ageſilaus, on ſeeing the *catapulta* juſt arrived from Italy, exclaimed, "By heaven! it is all over with perſonal valour." The truth is, that thoſe machines made a moſt dreadful havock, and went off with a moſt terrible exploſion, oftener, and with more certainty of hitting their object, than the ſhots of our artillery. The ſame may be obſerved with regard to the ſuperiority of the croſs-bow over the arquebuſe: for which reaſon M. D. Langeay was of opinion, that we ſhould ſtill retain the croſs-bow, an arm that was not entirely out of uſe in the fifteenth century.

Theſe machines threw to a conſiderable diſtance ſtones of an incredible weight, infinitely beyond that of the balls even of the Turkiſh artillery: the only reſource they had to deaden their violence, were ſacks of wool, which are uſed to this day againſt the cannon. They diſmantled the large towers, and deſtroyed the merlons of the walls; nay, they even battered down the towers themſelves, which were the principal defence of cities. Vegetius ſays nothing could withſtand them; like lightning they carried all before them; inſomuch that there have been perſons, well ſkilled in the art of war, who were for re-eſtabliſhing the uſe of the *baliſta*, which they thought would anſwer the ſame dreadful purpoſe as the cannon, and be at the ſame time more eaſily conſtructed and tranſported from one place to another. This was the opinion of Folard, who made experiments on ſome machines in miniature, after the model of the ancients; and of Count Saxe, as I myſelf heard from his own mouth, who had dedicated the greateſt part of a life crowned with glory to the ſtudy of his profeſſion.

Do you think I have ſufficiently proved the firſt part of my theſis, to ſpeak in the uſual ſtyle; and, after what you have heard, would you be above bowing to a ſhot from a *catapulta* or *baliſta*? With regard to the ſecond part of my ſubject, that is, the uſe which the ancients made of theſe machines in war, we are informed by Monticucculi, a man who was no leſs emi-

eminent in letters than in arms, that among the Spartans and Macedonians, the machines that answered to our artillery were distributed between the several divisions of the phalanx. I cannot, for my own part, recollect any other example of this kind, but that of Maccanidas, tyrant of Sparta, who, when marching towards Mantinea against Philopemen, took a large train of machines along with him; which in the engagement he placed in the intervals along the front of his army, in the same manner as our field-pieces are disposed of. But, with regard to the Roman armies, we find in Vegetius, that each cohort in the legion was provided with an *onagrum*, or a *baliſta*, and each century with a *carrobaliſta*, or a *catapulta*, as our battalions are with their field-pieces. The *carrobaliſta* was drawn by mules; and eleven men were assigned to load and point it. He informs us, that it was not only useful in defending the camp, but also in annoying the enemy in the field. These machines were, according to the same author, placed behind the heavy-armed troops, over whose heads they made their discharge upon the enemy: their situation was however changed, when circumstances of ground and position required it. They were sometimes placed on an eminence, whence they might command the country, and do the more execution, as was done in the battle between Vitellius and Otho, which decided their dispute for the imperial throne. On other occasions they were placed in redoubts, on the wings of the army, to protect the flanks from an enemy superior in number; of which Julius Cæsar afforded an instance in Gaul. Having taken possession of a gentle eminence, with a multitude of Gauls in front, who might easily surround him, he caused trenches to be made in an oblique direction on the right and left of his army, and a fortress to be erected, where he placed the machines: then, his flanks being secured, he offered battle to the Gauls, who declined it. We find also the machines posted on the flanks, on two rising grounds, by Arrian, and part of them behind the legions, which were between the two rising grounds, when he had to defend, against a great number of the Alani, the province of Cappadocia, to the government of which he had been appointed by Adrian. The *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ* were thus disposed of, in the same manner with our artillery, as the commander judged expedient, or as the situation required it; and particularly in those parts whence they might do the most execution, and be the least liable to insult. The large stones that were discharged by them, put the enemy in disorder, swept away whole files of men, and wrought the most dreadful carnage and destruction. The only method to prevent their terrible effects, was either to close in, and not give them time to do mischief, as Philopemen did with Maccanidas, or to surround and cut them off: and, as we now often hear of the enemy's cannon being taken or spiked, so among the ancients were sallies frequently made to cut the ropes, or destroy the springs of the machines.

Not only in field engagements,

but in all the other operations of war, the ancients made the ſame uſe of their machines, as we do of our cannon. With them they formed batteries, to impede and deſtroy the enemy's works, and to defend their own; ſo that they might be ſaid in a manner to *cannonade* one another. With them they battered their adverſaries at a diſtance, harraſſed their watering and foraging parties, and reduced them to the greateſt miſery and diſtreſs. When they wanted to gain an eminence or a bank occupied by the enemy, they firſt threw a ſhower of ſtones from their ſlings, and their machines, which, when well pointed, carried every thing before them.

They battered likewiſe, on ſome occaſions, the enemy's camp with their machines, as we do with our cannon. This method of proceeding, Pompeius Sabinus adopted againſt the Thracians: having ſurrounded them with an entrenchment, he erected a redoubt, whence he poured upon them a continual diſcharge of ſtones, darts, and fire.

Nor were the machines unemployed in the paſſing of rivers. On the bank of the river which was to be croſſed, they raiſed batteries of *catapultæ* and *baliſtæ*, with which they kept the enemy at a diſtance, whilſt they were conſtructing the bridge. It was in this manner that Germanicus croſſed the Eder; and the ſame method was practiſed by Alexander in Thrace. When the river was large, they launched veſſels, on which they built towers, and placed the machines in them, to diſorder the enemy on the other ſide, who was alſo provided with machines to prevent the paſſage. Or, having conſtructed part of the bridge, they raiſed a tower on the moſt advanced pier; and, under cover of the diſcharge of ſtones and darts from it, they carried on the work to the oppoſite bank. I ſhall not enlarge on the methods they took of defending a paſs, or covering a retreat with their archers, or light artillery, by placing them in the moſt advantageous poſitions: ſuch paſſages are obvious enough in the ancient authors.

I hope now, that I have proved to your ſatisfaction, that the ancients made the very ſame uſe of their machines of war, as we do of our artillery. If we find them ſeldom taken notice of in the account of field-engagements, the reaſon is, that it was the cuſtom with them to draw their ſwords, and come quickly to a cloſe conflict: and if this was the practice in our armies, the artillery would not have ſo conſiderable a ſhare, as it has at preſent, in the deciſion of a battle.

On the Sieges and Naval Armaments of the Ancients, and their Reſemblance to thoſe of the Moderns; from the ſame.

I NEVER could ſubſcribe to the univerſal opinion, that the diſcovery of gun-powder, the compaſs, and the art of printing, have produced an entire change, and that for the better, in the ſyſtem of affairs. The compaſs indeed was a noble invention. It cannot be denied, but ſociety has derived wonderful benefits from the diſcovery of an inſtrument, which

which in the darkeſt atmoſphere points out to us the pole, guides us with ſecurity, and makes us in ſome meaſure maſters of the whole extent of the ocean. It may be called the very ſoul of navigation. The Cynoſure alone would never have conducted us to the diſcovery of America; and we have cauſe to boaſt, that a middling pilot in our age knows more than in the times of the ancients did Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, or Hanno, the Columbus of the Carthaginians. The art of printing has alſo made a great alteration in the face of affairs, by rendering that common, which formerly was a luxury which the great only could partake of. But are we to conclude, that letters have received any augmentation from an art that is ſo productive of literary abortions, and by which are multiplied the means of propagating falſe ſcience, which is far worſe than ignorance itſelf? Again, does it appear, that the invention of gun-powder has introduced any univerſal changes in the military ſyſtem? Our armies march at preſent in the ſame manner, and with the ſame precautions, as thoſe of the ancients; our orders of battle are the ſame; we put in practice the ſame ſtratagems; and we encamp, or at leaſt we ſhould encamp, as they did. Nothing is changed in the fundamental principles of war. Put in the place of the *catapultæ* and the *baliſtæ* our cannon and our mortars, and all is parallel.

It gives me pleaſure to find that your idea ſo nearly coincides with mine. With regard to the field operations, which form the moſt conſiderable branch of war, you have no longer any doubts remaining. But you are not ſo clear on what relates to naval operations and ſieges, on which you deſire my opinion. I know not whether I ſhall be able to find, among my little collection of notes, wherewithal to ſatisfy you fully in this particular. To begin with ſieges: however univerſally it may be thought, that the invention of artillery has entirely changed the nature of them; yet it will be found, by thoſe who conſider the matter attentively, that the fundamental modes of the attack and defence of places are the very ſame at this day as they were in the times of the ancients. The towers, with which they flanked the curtain, jutted out juſt like our baſtions, and, according to the doctrine of Vitruvius, ſhould be at the diſtance of a bow-ſhot from each other: this correſponds with our line of defence, which is to be equal to the range of a muſket-ſhot. Perhaps we ſhall not find any great difference between theſe two diſtances; for we are informed, by a paſſage in Vegetius, that the arrows carried to the diſtance of ſix hundred feet, which is about the range of a point-blank-ſhot from a fire-lock. They alſo made projectures in their walls, to flank the aſſailants; and the ſtreets leading to the gates were not in a direct line, but crooked. They were not without ditches, to keep the enemy at a diſtance; nor terre-plains, nor eſplanades, in the defences, to ſtop the enemy, in caſe he had got poſſeſſion of any part of the rampart: and they directed, agreeable to the precepts of the beſt modern engi-

neers,

neers, that the works, and the places of arms, ſhould be made large and ſpacious, that there might be room for whole cohorts to draw up in them. Such was in ſubſtance their ſyſtem of defence. Their mode of attack was alſo extremely ſimilar to ours. When they pitched their camp before a town, they took care to fortify it as well from thoſe within, as from thoſe who might come from without, to ſuccour the beſieged; in which they ſhewed wonderful ingenuity. The wells, which were uſed at the ſiege of Philipſburg, to protect the lines, and the wolf-traps that were made at the blockade of Prague, for the ſame purpoſe, were but ſlight imitations of what was contrived in the like circumſtances by the antients. They carried on their approaches as much as poſſible under cover. Some will have it, that they were carried on by trenches, juſt as they are at preſent; others deny it: but they certainly ſecured the communication between the camp and the front of the attack with a ſpecies of trench. The beſiegers undermined the walls of the fortreſſes, and the beſieged likewiſe dug mines under the works of the beſiegers; in which ſharp conflicts often took place between the miners, who did all they could, with fumigations and fires, to deſtroy one another. The aſſault was uſually carried on under cover of a heavy diſcharge from the machines, and from the *velites*, who ſwept off with their ſtones and arrows all who ventured to ſhew themſelves upon the walls; and ſallies were likewiſe made in the ſame manner by the beſieged, to drive the enemy from the approaches. Batteries of *baliſtæ* were conſtructed, with which they diſmounted the machines of the enemy, and made breaches in the walls, when at a diſtance; as they did, when cloſe, with the battering-rams: and I mentioned in my laſt, that theſe machines had force enough to diſmantle the walls, and even to level the towers, in which the principal ſtrength of the fortreſſes conſiſted. Regulus had *baliſtæ* in his army, even ſo far back as the firſt Punic war. Veſpaſian had a prodigious number at the ſiege of Jotapata; and it was with theſe machines that Pompey battered the Temple of Jeruſalem, which for ſolidity was not inferior to the ſtrongeſt citadel. No wonder then, that the learned, after conſidering the mode of attacking and defending places in paſt ages, ſhould not ſuffer themſelves to be hurried away with the current, and ſhould judge, that in this branch of the art of war, there is little difference between the ancient and the modern practice. Count Leonardi, a man eminent for his knowledge of military architecture, aſſerted, that the whole of a fortification, conſiſting in the curtain, the flank, the ditch, the covert-way, the places of arms, and the batteries, no one, that underſtood any thing of modern fortification, would hold cheap the maxims of Vitruvius. And the famous Duke of Rohan affirms, that, though the invention of artillery may have produced a few changes in military architecture, yet the principles of attack and defence are at this day the ſame with thoſe of ancient times; and that the ſiege of Alexia is the exact counterpart of the

cele-

celebrated ſieges of the Prince of Orange, the Marquis of Spinola, and the Duke of Parma.

Now, if we paſs from a review of the military, to that of the naval, armaments of the ancients, we ſhall find them more conformable than is commonly imagined to thoſe of the preſent age. Their ſhips of war had the appearance of fortreſſes, as well as ours; and that not from their immenſe bulk alone, but from the nature of the arms with which they were furniſhed, which might be called great and ſmall artillery. We read in Diodorus Siculus, that Demetrius Poliorcetes had on the prows of his veſſels *catapultæ*, that carried to a prodigious diſtance, which correſpond with our bow-chaſes. On the firſt-rate ſhips the ancients erected towers and caſtles: as proof of which we have the

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium
Amice, propugnacula

of Horace; and the

Tanta mole viri turritis puppibus inſtant

of Virgil; and Florus tells us, ſpeaking of thoſe very ſhips of Mark Anthony, that they reſembled ſo many floating caſtles; that the wind could not move them without labour; and that they made the ſea groan under their weight. Theſe expreſſions might be applied with great propriety to that famous ſhip of two hundred guns, called the *Charante*, which was built by Lewis the Twelfth, or the *Anna*, of one hundred and fourteen large pieces of cannon, which I have myſelf ſeen in the port of Cronſtat, at the mouth of the Neva, in the Baltic ſea. From the machines mounted in theſe towers and caſtles they diſcharged ſtones, darts, and other miſſile weapons, as we are informed by Vegetius; and likewiſe red-hot arrows, prepared with oil, ſulphur, and other combuſtible materials, to fire the enemy's ſhips, in the ſame manner as at ſieges. Their machines were of great ſervice in the diſembarking of troops; which was effected under cover of their diſcharge, like that of ſo many batteries of cannon. It was thus that Cæſar landed on the Britiſh ſhore. Bringing his ſhips of war cloſe to the land, he kept ſo continual and heavy a diſcharge upon the Britons, as to diſlodge them, whilſt the troops landed from the tranſports; by which means, the Romans made good their deſcent on that iſland, which coſt them afterwards ſo much labour to ſubdue.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of veſſels armed, as one might call it, with artillery at the ſiege of Tyre, and at that of Rhodes, which was conducted by Demetrius Poliorcetes, the moſt memorable ſiege perhaps of all antiquity, on account of the various contrivances in engineering put in practice by that ingenious prince.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the wild-fires of the Greeks, which were thrown by means of pipes or pots upon the ſhips of the enemy; an invention of the lower empire: but the fire-ſhips we ſhall find to have been a very early invention. Their hold was filled with tow, pitch and roſin; and being ſet fire to, they were carried by the wind into the midſt of the enemy's fleet. It is ſuppoſed they were originally made uſe of at Tyre to deſtroy the

the immenſe dyke which Alexander threw acroſs the harbour, in order to cut off that city from all communication with the ſea: but I find Thucydides takes notice of theſe fire-ſhips in his hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war, which happened long before the ſiege of Tyre. And you may find a remarkable inſtance of their effects in the Commentaries of Julius Cæſar, where he relates, that a great part of his fleet was deſtroyed by them in the Sicilian ſeas.

But notwithſtanding all theſe fires, and theſe machines, the ancients did not ſtand to engage, and, as it were, to cannonade one another at a diſtance. As in their battles on ſhore, after the firſt diſcharge of their machines, and that iron ſhower of darts, which darken the air, as Virgil expreſſes it, they came to cloſe action, hand to hand; ſo did they likewiſe act in their naval engagements. Plutarch relates, that in the battle of Actium, the large ſhips of Mark Anthony being ſurrounded by the ſmaller and lighter Liburnian veſſels of Auguſtus, the combat had the appearance of an aſſault upon ſo many caſtles. They uſually endeavoured to ſink one another, the Greeks in particular, by boarding with the *roſtrum*, or beak, with which the ſhips prows were fortified. You remember that Duillius, the firſt naval commander of the Romans, who obtained the roſtral crown by his victory at Mylum, firſt thought of erecting on the prow of his ſhips the crow, or drawbridge; of which Polybius has given a minute deſcription. As ſoon as they had approached near enough, they let fall the draw-bridge on the bow or ſide of the enemy's ſhip, which it grappled with a kind of iron claw, that was fixed to the extremity of it. Thus they boarded the enemy; and the ſoldiers having filed over the draw-bridge, the ſea-fight became the ſame with an engagement on ſhore. Without this contrivance the Romans would never have ſucceeded in their firſt battle at ſea with the Carthaginians, a people ſo expert in maritime affairs; and this method of fighting they ſtill retained, after they had acquired ſome knowledge of naval operations. Their hiſtorians often ſpeak of their marine legions. Beſides, Vegetius expreſsly informs us, that the common practice was to let down the draw-bridges, board the enemy, and engage hand to hand. This was indeed, on all occaſions, the favourite method of the ancients, as that by which every blow has its effect, and which gives the fulleſt ſcope to perſonal valour. Thus, even at ſieges, the intention of all the works carried on by the aſſailants, was to bring them cloſer to the beſieged. And the Spartans, who placed their whole ſtudy in war, in which they went beyond all the other ſtates of Greece, thought their own arms the ſureſt defence, their own breaſts the ſtrongeſt ramparts of their city.

But, to conclude at once this long harangue, might we not venture to wager, that if thoſe brave Greeks and Romans were to return into the world, they would not make any alteration, in ſpite of the cannon, in their manner of fighting? Conſidering the ſyſtem of war as a machine, we may aſſert, that the moderns have not added

added a ſingle wheel or pulley to what was conſtructed and provided by the ancients. All that can be ſaid is, that one ſpring of the machine has acquired a greater degree of force and activity than it had formerly. I mean the fire-arms, which carry farther than the machines of the ancients. The expanſion of air, cauſed by the burning of gun-powder, has certainly greater force to drive a ball from the barrel of a cannon, than the elaſticity of the ſlender ſtrings, which they made uſe of, had to drive a ſtone from the *baliſta*. But what eſſential difference does it make, that one arm is contrived to ſtrike at a greater diſtance? No man ever took it into his head to imagine, that the principles of war in modern times are changed from thoſe of the ancient, becauſe the ſight of the engineer, the admiral, and the general, has been ſo much improved, and carried ſo much farther, by the invention of the teleſcope.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

A Diſcourſe delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Diſtribution of the Prizes, December 10, 1782, *by the Preſident.*

GENTLEMEN,

THE higheſt ambition of every artiſt is to be thought a man of genius. As long as this flattering quality is joined to his name, he can bear with patience the imputation of careleſſneſs, incorrectneſs, or defects of whatever kind.

So far indeed is the preſence of genius from implying an abſence of faults, that they are conſidered by many as inſeparable companions. Some go ſuch lengths as to take indications from them, and not only excuſe faults on account of genius, but they preſume genius from the exiſtence of certain faults.

It is certainly true, that a work may juſtly claim the character of genius though full of errors; and it is equally true, that it may be faultleſs, and yet not exhibit the leaſt ſpark of genius. This naturally ſuggeſts an enquiry, a deſire at leaſt of enquiring, what qualities of a work and of a workman may juſtly intitle a painter to that character?

I have in a former diſcourſe * endeavoured to impreſs you with a fixed opinion, that a comprehenſive and critical knowledge of the works of nature is the only ſource of beauty and grandeur. But when we ſpeak to painters, we muſt always conſider this rule, and all rules, with a reference to the mechanical practice of their own particular art. It is not properly in the learning, the taſte, and the dignity of the ideas, that genius appears as belonging to a painter. There is a genius particular and appropriated in his own trade, (as I may call it) diſtinguiſhed from all others. For that power, which enables the artiſt to conceive his ſubject with dignity, may be ſaid to belong to general education; and is as much the genius of a poet, or the profeſſor of any other liberal art, or even of a good critic in any of thoſe arts, as of a painter. Whatever ſublime ideas may fill his mind, he is a painter only as he can put in practice what he knows, and communicate thoſe ideas by viſible repreſentation.

If my expreſſion can convey my idea, I wiſh to diſtinguiſh excellence of this kind by calling it the genius of mechanical performance. This genius conſiſts, I conceive,

* Diſcourſe III.

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in the power of expreſſing that which employs your pencil, whatever it may be, *as a whole*; ſo as that the general effect and power of the whole may take poſſeſſion of the mind, and for a while ſuſpend the conſideration of the ſubordinate and particular beauties or defects.

The advantage of this method of conſidering objects, is what I wiſh now more particularly to enforce. At the ſame time I do not forget, that a painter muſt have the power of contracting as well as dilating his ſight; becauſe, he that does not at all expreſs particulars, expreſſes nothing; yet it is certain, that a nice diſcrimination of minute circumſtances, and a punctilious delineation of them, whatever excellence it may have, (and I do not mean to detract from it) never did confer on the artiſt the character of genius.

Beſides thoſe minute differences in things which are frequently not obſerved at all, and when they are make little impreſſion, there are in all conſiderable objects great characteriſtic diſtinctions, which preſs ſtrongly on the ſenſes, and therefore fix the imagination.

Theſe are by no means, as ſome people think, an aggregate of all the ſmall diſcriminating particulars; nor will ſuch an accumulation of particulars ever expreſs them. Theſe anſwer to what I have heard great lawyers call the leading points in a caſe, or the leading caſes relative to theſe points.

The detail of particulars, which does not aſſiſt the expreſſion of the main characteriſtic, is worſe than uſeleſs, it is miſchievous, as it diſſipates the attention, and draws it from the principal point. It may be remarked, that the impreſſion which is left on our mind, even of things which are familiar to us, is ſeldom more than their general effect; beyond which we do not look in recogniſing ſuch objects.

To expreſs this in painting, is to expreſs what is congenial and natural to the mind of man, and what gives him by reflection his own mode of conceiving. The other preſuppoſes *nicety* and *reſearch*, which are only the buſineſs of the curious and attentive, and therefore does not ſpeak to the general ſenſe of the whole ſpecies; in which common, and, as I may ſo call it, mother tongue, every thing grand and comprehenſive muſt be uttered.

I do not mean to preſcribe what degree of attention ought to be paid to the minute parts; this it is hard to ſettle. We are ſure that it is expreſſing the general effect of the whole which can give to objects their true and touching character; and wherever this is obſerved, whatever is neglected, we acknowledge the hand of a maſter. We may even go farther and obſerve, that when the general effect *only* is preſented to us by a ſkilful hand, it appears to expreſs that object in a more lively manner than the minuteſt reſemblance would do.

Theſe obſervations may lead to very deep queſtions, which I do not mean here to diſcuſs; among others, it may lead to an enquiry, Why we are not always pleaſed with the moſt abſolute poſſible reſemblance of an imitation to its original object? Caſes may exiſt in which ſuch a reſemblance may

be even diſagreeable. I ſhall only obſerve that the effect of figures in wax-work, though certainly a more exact repreſentation than can be given by painting or ſculpture, is a ſufficient proof that the pleaſure we receive from imitation is not increaſed merely in proportion as it approaches to minute and detailed reality; we are pleaſed, on the contrary, by ſeeing ends anſwered by ſeeming inadequate means.

To expreſs protuberance by actual relief, to expreſs the ſoftneſs of fleſh by the ſoftneſs of wax, ſeems rude and inartificial, and creates no grateful ſurprize. But to expreſs diſtances on a plain ſurface, ſoftneſs by hard bodies, and particular colouring by materials which are not ſingly of that colour, produces that magic which is the pride and triumph of art.

Carry this principle a ſtep further. Suppoſe the effect of imitation to be fully compaſſed by means ſtill more inadequate; let the power of a few well-choſen ſtrokes, which ſuperſede labour by judgment and direction, produce a complete impreſſion of all that the mind demands in an object; we are charmed with ſuch an unexpected happineſs, and begin to be tired with the ſuperfluous diligence, which in vain ſollicits an appetite already ſatiated.

The properties of all objects, as far as a painter is concerned with them, are, the outline or drawing, the colour, and the light and ſhade. The drawing gives the form, the colour its viſible quality, and the light and ſhade its ſolidity.

Excellence in any one of theſe parts of art will never be acquired by an artiſt, unleſs he has the habit of looking upon objects at large, and obſerving the effect which they have on the eye when it is dilated, and employed upon the whole, without ſeeing any one of the parts diſtinctly. It is by this that we obtain the ruling characteriſtic, and that we learn to imitate it by ſhort and dexterous methods. I do not mean by dexterity a trick or mechanical habit, formed by gueſs, and eſtabliſhed by cuſtom; but that ſcience, which, by a profound knowledge of ends and means, diſcovers the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way to its own purpoſe.

If we examine with a critical view the manner of thoſe artiſts whom we conſider as patterns, we ſhall find that their great fame does not proceed from their works being more highly finiſhed, or from a more minute attention to details, but from that enlarged comprehenſion which ſees the whole object at once, and that energy of art which gives its characteriſtic effect by adequate expreſſion.

Raffaelle and Titian are two names which ſtand the higheſt in our art; one for drawing, the other for painting. The moſt conſiderable and the moſt eſteemed works of Raffaelle are the cartoons, and his freſco works in the vatican; thoſe, as we all know, are far from being minutely finiſhed; his principal care and attention ſeems to be fixed upon the adjuſtment of the whole, whether it was the general compoſition, or the compoſition of each individual figure; for every figure may be ſaid to be a leſſer whole, though in regard to the general work to

which

which it belongs, it is but a part; the ſame may be ſaid of the head, of the hands, or feet. Though he poſſeſſed this art of ſeeing and comprehending the whole, as far as form is concerned, he did not exert the ſame faculty in regard to the general effect, which is preſented to the eye by colour, and light, and ſhade. Of this the deficiency of his oil pictures, where this excellence is more expected than in freſco, is a ſufficient proof.

It is to Titian we muſt turn our eyes to find excellence with regard to colour, and light and ſhade, in the higheſt degree. He was both the firſt and the greateſt maſter of this art. By a few ſtrokes he knew how to mark the general image and character of whatever object he attempted, and produced, by this alone, a truer repreſentation than his maſter Giam, Bellino, or any of his predeceſſors, who finiſhed every hair. His great care was to expreſs the general colour, to preſerve the maſſes of light and ſhade, and to give by oppoſition the idea of that ſolidity which is inſeparable from natural objects. When thoſe are preſerved, though with nothing more, the work will have in a proper place its compleat effect; but where any of theſe are wanting, however minutely laboured the picture may be in the detail, the whole will have a falſe, and even an unfiniſhed appearance, at whatever diſtance, or in whatever light, it can be ſhewn.

It is in vain to attend to the variation of tints, if, in that attention, the general hue of fleſh is loſt; or to finiſh ever ſo minutely the parts, if the maſſes are not obſerved, or the whole not well put together.

Vaſari ſeems to have no great diſpoſition to favour the Venetian painters, yet he every where juſtly commends *il modo di fare, la maniere, la bella pratica*; that is, the admirable manner and practice of that ſchool. On Titian, in particular, he beſtows the epithets of *giudicioſo bello, e ſtupendo*.

This manner was then new to the world, but that unſhaken truth on which it is founded, has fixed it as a model to all ſucceeding painters; and thoſe who will examine into the artifice, will find it to conſiſt in the power of generaliſing, and in the ſhortneſs and ſimplicity of the means.

Many artiſts, as Vaſari likewiſe obſerves, have ignorantly imagined they are imitating the manner of Titian when they leave their colours rough and neglect the detail; but, not poſſeſſing the principles on which he wrought, they have produced what he calls *goffe pitture*, abſurd fooliſh pictures; for ſuch will always be the conſequence of affecting dexterity without ſcience, without ſelection, and without fixed principles.

Raffaelle and Titian ſeemed to look at nature for different purpoſes; they both had the power o extending their view to the whole; but one looked only for the general effect as produced by form, the other as by colour.

We cannot entirely refuſe to Titian the merit of attending to the general *form* of his object, as well as colour; but his deficiency lay, a deficiency at leaſt when he is compared with Raffaelle, in not poſſeſſing the power, like him, of correcting the form of his model

by any general idea of beauty in his own mind. Of this his St. Sebaſtian is a particular inſtance. This figure appears to be a moſt exact repreſentation both of the form and of the colour of the model, which he then happened to have before him; it has all the force of nature, and the colour is fleſh itſelf; but, unluckily, the model was of a bad form, eſpecially the legs. Titian has with as much care preſerved theſe defects, as he has imitated the beauty and brilliancy of the colouring. In his colouring he was large and general, as in his deſign he was minute and partial; in the one he was a genius, in the other not much above a copier. I do not, however, ſpeak now of all his pictures; inſtances enough may be produced in his works, where thoſe obſervations on his defects could not with any propriety be applied; but it is in the *manner*, or language, as it may be called, in which Titian, and others of that ſchool, expreſs themſelves, that their chief excellence lies. This manner is in reality, in painting, what language is in poetry; we are all ſenſible how differently the imagination is affected by the ſame ſentiment expreſſed in different words, and how mean or how grand the ſame object appears when preſented to us by different painters. Whether it is the human figure, an animal, or even inanimate objects, there is nothing, however unpromiſing in appearance, but what may be raiſed into dignity, convey ſentiment, and produce emotion, in the hands of a painter of genius. What was ſaid of Virgil, that he threw even the dung about the ground with an air of dignity, may be applyed to Titian. Whatever he touched, however naturally mean and habitually familiar, by a kind of magic he inveſted with grandeur and importance.

I muſt here obſerve, that I am not recommending a neglect of the detail; indeed it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to preſcribe *certain* bounds, and tell how far, or when it is to be obſerved or neglected; much muſt, at laſt, be left to the taſte and judgment of the artiſt. I am well aware how a judicious detail will ſometimes give the force of truth to the work, and conſequently intereſt the ſpectator *. I only wiſh to impreſs on your minds the true diſtinction between eſſential and ſubordinate powers, and ſhew what qualities in the art claim your *chief* attention, and what may, with the leaſt injury to your reputation, be neglected; ſomething, perhaps, always muſt be neglected; the leſſer ought then to give way to the greater, and ſince every work can have but a limited time allotted to it, for even ſuppoſing a whole life to be employed about one picture, it is ſtill limited; it appears more reaſonable to employ that time to the beſt advantage, in contriving various methods of compoſing the work; of trying different effects of light and ſhade; and employing the labour of correction, in heightening by a judicious adjuſtment of the parts the

* See Diſcourſe III, page 105.

effects

effects of the whole, than that the time ſhould be taken up in minutely finiſhing thoſe parts.

But there is another kind of high finiſhing which may ſafely be condemned, as it ſeems to counteract its own purpoſe; that is, when the artiſt, to avoid that hardneſs which proceeds from the outline cutting againſt the ground, ſoftens and blends the colours to exceſs; this is what the ignorant call high finiſhing, but which tends to deſtroy the brilliancy of colour, and the true effect of repreſentation, which conſiſts very much in preſerving the ſame proportion of ſharpneſs and bluntneſs which is in natural objects. This extreme ſoftning, inſtead of producing the effect of ſoftneſs, gives the appearance of ivory, or ſome other hard ſubſtance, highly poliſhed.

The portraits of Cornelius Johnſon appear to have this defect, and conſequently want that ſuppleneſs which is the characteriſtic of fleſh; whereas, in the works of Vandyke we may obſerve that true mixture of ſoftneſs and hardneſs perfectly obſerved. The ſame defect is in the manner of Vanderwerf, in oppoſition to that of Teniers; and ſuch we may add is the manner of Raffaelle in his oil pictures, in compariſon with that of Titian.

The name which Raffaelle has ſo juſtly maintained as the firſt of painters, we may venture to ſay was not acquired by this laborious attention. His apology may be made by ſaying that it was the manner of his country; but if he had expreſſed his ideas with the facility and eloquence, as it may be called, of Titian, his works would certainly not have been leſs excellent; and that praiſe, which ages and nations have poured out upon his works, for poſſeſſing genius in the higher attainments of art, would have been extended to them all.

Thoſe who are not converſant in works of art, are often ſurpriſed at the high value ſet by connoiſſeurs on drawings which appear careleſs, and in every reſpect unfiniſhed; but they are truly valuable, and their value ariſes from this, that they give the idea of a whole, and this whole is often expreſſed by a dexterous facility which indicates the true power of a painter, even though roughly exerted; whether it conſiſts in the general compoſition, or the general form of each figure, or in the turn of the attitude which beſtows grace and elegance. All this we may ſee fully exemplified in the very ſkilful drawings of Parmegiano and Corregio. On whatever account we value theſe drawings, it is certainly not for high finiſhing, or a minute attention to particulars.

Excellence in every part, and in every province of our art, from the higheſt ſtile of hiſtory down to the reſemblances of ſtill-life, will depend on this power of extending the attention at once to the whole, without which the greateſt diligence is vain.

I wiſh you to bear in mind, that when I ſpeak of a *whole*, I do not mean ſimply an *whole* as belonging to compoſition, but an *whole* with reſpect to the general ſtyle of colouring; an *whole* with regard to the light and ſhade; an *whole*

of every thing which may ſeparately become the main purpoſe of a painter.

I remember a landſcape-painter in Rome, who was known by the name of Studio, from his patience in high finiſhing, in which he thought the whole excellence of art conſiſted; ſo that he once endeavoured, as he ſaid, to repreſent every individual leaf on a tree. This picture I never ſaw, but I am very ſure that an artiſt, who looked only at the general character of the ſpecies, the order of the branches, and the maſſes of the foliage, would in a few minutes produce a more true reſemblance of trees, than this painter in as many months.

A landſcape-painter certainly ought to ſtudy anatomically (if I may uſe the expreſſion) all the objects which he paints; but when he is to turn his ſtudies to uſe, his ſkill, as a man of genius, will be diſplayed in ſhewing the general effect, preſerving the ſame degree of hardneſs and ſoftneſs as the objects have in nature; for he applies himſelf to the imagination, not to the curioſity, and works not for the Virtuoſo or the Naturaliſt, but for the common obſerver of life and nature. When he knows his ſubject, he will know not only what to deſcribe, but what to omit; and this ſkill in leaving out, in all things, is a great part of knowledge and wiſdom.

The ſame excellence of manner which Titian diſplayed in hiſtory or portrait-painting, is equally conſpicuous in his landſcapes, whether they are profeſſedly ſuch, or ſerve only as back-grounds. One of the moſt eminent of this latter kind is to be found in the picture of St. Pietro Murtire. The large trees, which are here introduced, are plainly diſtinguiſhed from each other by the different manner with which the branches ſhoot from their trunks, as well as by their different foliage; and the weeds in the foreground are varied in the ſame manner, juſt as much as variety requires, and no more. When Algerotti, ſpeaking of this picture, praiſes it for the minute diſcriminations of the leaves and plants, even, as he ſays, to excite the admiration of a botaniſt, his intention was undoubtedly to give praiſe even at the expence of truth; for he muſt have known, that this is not the character of the picture; but connoiſſeurs will always find in pictures what they think they ought to find; he was not aware that he was giving a deſcription injurious to the reputation of Titian.

Such accounts may be very hurtful to young artiſts, who never have had an opportunity of ſeeing the work deſcribed; and they may poſſibly conclude, that this great artiſt acquired the name of the Divine Titian from his eminent attention to ſuch trifling circumſtances, which, in reality, would not raiſe him above the level of the moſt ordinary painter.

We may extend theſe obſervations even to what ſeems to have but a ſingle, and that an individual, object. The excellence of portrait-painting, and we may add even the likeneſs, the character, and countenance, as I have obſerved in another place, depends more upon the general effect exhibited by the painter, than the exact expreſſion of the peculiarities,

ties, or minute discriminations of the parts. The chief attention of the artist is therefore employed in planting the features in their proper places, which so much contributes to giving the effect and true impression of the whole. The very peculiarities may be reduced to classes and general descriptions, and there are therefore large ideas to be found even in this contracted subject. He may afterwards labour single features to what degree he thinks proper, but let him not forget continually to examine, whether in finishing the parts he is not destroying the general effect.

It were certainly a thing to be wished, that all excellence were applied to illustrate subjects that were interesting and worthy of being commemorated; whereas, of half the pictures that are in the world, the subject can be valued only as an occasion which sets the artist to work; and yet, the high value we set on such pictures, without considering, or perhaps without knowing the subject, shews how much our attention is engaged by the art alone.

Perhaps nothing that we can say will so clearly shew the advantage and excellence of this faculty, as that it confers the character of genius on works that pretend to no other merit; in which is neither expression, character, or dignity, and where none are interested in the subject. We cannot refuse the character of genius to the marriage of Paulo Veronese, without opposing the general sense of mankind, (great authorities have called it the triumph of painting) or, to the altar of St. Augustine at Antwerp, by Rubens, which equally deserves the same title, and for the same reason. Neither of those pictures have any interesting story to support them. That of Paulo Veronese is only a representation of a great concourse of people at a dinner; and the subject of Rubens, if it may be called a subject where nothing is doing, is an assembly of various saints that lived in different ages. The whole excellence of those pictures consists in mechanical dexterity, working however under the influence of this comprehensive faculty which I have so often mentioned.

It is by this, and this alone, that the mechanical power is ennobled and raised much above its natural rank. And it appears to me, that with propriety it acquires this character, as an instance of that superiority with which mind predominates over matter, by contracting into one whole what nature has made many.

The great advantage of this idea of a whole is, that a greater quantity of truth may be said to be contained and expressed in a few lines or touches, than in the most laborious finishing the parts where this is not regarded. It is upon this foundation that it stands; and the justness of the observation would be confirmed by the ignorant in art, if it were possible to take their opinions unseduced by some false idea of what they imagine they ought to see in a picture. As it is an art, they think they ought to be pleased in proportion as they see that art ostentatiously displayed; they will, from this supposition, prefer neatness, high-finishing, and gaudy colouring, to the truth, simplicity, and unity of nature. Perhaps too, the totally

tally ignorant beholder, like the ignorant artiſt, cannot comprehend a whole, nor even what it means. But if ſalſe notions do not anticipate their perceptions, they who are capable of obſervation, and who, pretending to no ſkill, look only ſtrait forward, will praiſe and condemn in proportion as the painter has ſucceeded in the effect of the whole. Here general ſatisfaction or general diſlike, though perhaps deſpiſed by the painter as proceeding from the ignorance of the principles of art, yet may help to regulate his conduct, and bring back his attention to that which ought to be his principal object, and from which he has deviated for the ſake of minuter beauties.

An inſtance of this right judgment I once ſaw in a child, in going through a gallery where there were many portraits of the laſt age, which, though neatly put out of hand, were very ill put together. The child paid no attention to the neat finiſhing, or naturalneſs of any bit of drapery, but appeared to obſerve only the ungracefulneſs of the figures, and put herſelf in the poſture of every figure which ſhe ſaw in a forced awkward attitude. The cenſure of nature, uninformed, faſtened upon the greateſt fault that could be in a picture, becauſe it related to the character and management of the whole.

I ſhould be ſorry, if what has been ſaid ſhould be underſtood to have any tendency to encourage that careleſſneſs which leaves works in an unfiniſhed ſtate. I commend nothing for the want of exactneſs; I mean to point to that kind of exactneſs which is the beſt, and which is alone truly to be ſo eſteemed.

So far is my diſquiſition from giving countenance to idleneſs, that there is nothing in our art which enforces ſuch continual exertion and circumſpection. It requires much ſtudy and much practice; it requires the painter's *whole* attention; whereas the parts may be finiſhed by nice touches, while his mind is engaged on other matters; he may even hear a play or a novel read without much diſturbance. The artiſt, who flatters his own indolence, will continually find himſelf evading this laborious attention, and applying his thoughts to the eaſe and lazineſs of finiſhing the parts.

No work can be too much finiſhed, provided the diligence employed be directed to its proper object; but I have obſerved, that an exceſſive labour in the detail has, nine times in ten, been pernicious to the general effect, even when it has been the work of great maſters. It indicates a bad choice, which is an ill ſetting out in any undertaking.

To give a right direction to your induſtry has been my principal purpoſe in this diſcourſe. It is this, which I am confident often makes the difference between two ſtudents of equal capacities, and of equal induſtry. Whilſt the one is employing his labour on minute objects of little conſequence, the other is acquiring the art, and perfecting the habit, of ſeeing nature in an extenſive view, in its proper proportions, and its due ſubordination of parts.

Before I conclude, I muſt make one obſervation ſufficiently connected with the preſent ſubject.

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The ſame extenſion of mind which gives the excellence of genius to the theory and mechanical practice of the art, will direct him likewiſe in the method of ſtudy, and give him the ſuperiority over thoſe who narrowly follow a more confined track of partial imitation. Whoever, in order to finiſh his education, ſhould travel to Italy, and ſpend his whole time there only in copying pictures, meaſuring ſtatues or buildings, (though theſe things are not to be neglected) would return with little improvement. He that imitates the Iliad, ſays Dr. Young, is not imitating Homer. It is not by laying up in the memory the particular details of any of the great works of art that any man becomes a great artiſt, if he ſtops without making himſelf maſter of the general principles on which theſe works are conducted. If he even hopes to rival thoſe whom he admires, he muſt conſider their works as the means of teaching him the true art of ſeeing nature. When this is acquired, he then may be ſaid to have appropriated their powers, or at leaſt the foundation of their powers, to himſelf; the reſt muſt depend upon his own induſtry and application. The great buſineſs of ſtudy is to form a *mind*, adapted and adequate to all times and all occaſions, to which all nature is then laid open, and which may be ſaid to poſſeſs the key of her inexhauſtible riches.

Capt. Inglefield's *Narrative, concerning the loſs of his Majeſty's Ship the* Centaur, *of ſeventy-four Guns; and the miraculous Preſervation of the Pinnace, with the Captain, Maſter, and Ten of the Crew, in a Traverſe of near 300 Leagues on the great Weſtern Ocean; with the Names of the People ſaved.*

THE Centaur left Jamaica in rather a leaky condition, keeping two hand-pumps going, and when it blew freſh, ſometimes a ſpell with a chain-pump was neceſſary. But I had no apprehenſion that the ſhip was not able to encounter a common gale of wind.

In the evening of the 16th of September, when the fatal gale came on, the ſhip was prepared for the worſt weather uſually met with in thoſe latitudes; the main-ſail was reefed and ſet, the top-gallant maſts ſtruck, and the mizen-yard lowered down, though at that time it did not blow very ſtrong. Towards midnight it blew a gale of wind, and the ſhip made ſo much water that I was obliged to turn all hands up to ſpell the pumps. The leak ſtill increaſing, I had thoughts to try the ſhip before the ſea. Happy I ſhould have been, perhaps, had I in this been determined. The impropriety of leaving the convoy, except in the laſt extremity, and the hopes of the weather growing moderate, weighed againſt the opinion that it was right.

About two in the morning the wind lulled, and we flattered ourſelves the gale was breaking. Soon after, we had much thunder and lightning from the S. E. with rain, when it began to blow ſtrong in guſts of wind, which obliged me to haul the main-ſail up, the ſhip being then under bare poles. This was ſcarcely done, when a

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guſt of wind, exceeding in violence every thing of the kind I had ever ſeen, or had any conception of, laid the ſhip upon her beam ends. The water forſook the hold, and appeared between decks, ſo as to fill the mens hammocks to leeward: the ſhip lay motionleſs, and, to all appearance, irrecoverably overſet. The water increaſing faſt, forced thro' the cells of the ports, and ſcuttled in the ports, from the preſſure of the ſhip. I gave immediate directions to cut away the main and mizen-maſts, hoping, when the ſhip righted, to wear her. The mizen-maſt went firſt upon cutting one or two lanyards without the ſmalleſt effect on the ſhip; the mainmaſt followed, upon cutting the lanyard of one ſhroud; and I had the diſappointment to ſee the foremaſt and bowſprit follow. The ſhip upon this immediately righted, but with great violence; and the motion was ſo quick, that it was difficult for the people to work the pumps. Three guns broke looſe upon the main deck, and it was ſome time before they were ſecured. Several men being maimed in this attempt, every moveable was deſtroyed, either from the ſhot thrown looſe from the lockers, or the wreck of the deck. The officers who had left their beds (when the ſhip overſet) naked, in the morning, had not an article of clothes to put on, nor could their friends ſupply them.

The maſts had not been over the ſide ten minutes, before I was informed the tiller had broke ſhort in the rudder-head; and before the chocks could be placed, the rudder itſelf was gone.—— Thus we were as much diſaſtered as it was poſſible, lying at the mercy of the wind and ſea: yet I had one comfort, that the pumps, if any thing, reduced the water in the hold; and as the morning came on, (the 17th) the weather grew more moderate, the wind having ſhifted in the gale to N. W.

At day-light I ſaw two line-of-battle ſhips to leeward; one had loſt her foremaſt and bowſprit, the other her mainmaſt. It was the general opinion on board the Centaur, that the former was the Canada, the other the Glorieux. The Ramilies was not in ſight, nor more than fifteen ſail of merchants-ſhips.

About ſeven in the morning I ſaw another line-of-battle ſhip ahead of us, which I ſoon diſtinguiſhed to be the Ville de Paris, with all her maſts ſtanding. I immediately gave orders to make the ſignal of diſtreſs, hoiſting the enſign on the ſtump of the mizen-maſt, union downwards, and firing one of the forecaſtle guns. The enſign blew away ſoon after it was hoiſted, and it was the only one we had left remaining; but I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Ville de Paris wear and ſtand towards us. Several of the merchant-ſhips alſo approached us, and thoſe that could, hailed, and offered their aſſiſtance; but depending upon the king's ſhip, I only thanked them, deſiring, if they joined Admiral Graves, to acquaint him of our condition. I had not the ſmalleſt doubt but the Ville de Paris was coming to us, as ſhe appeared to us not to have ſuffered in the leaſt by the ſtorm, and having ſeen her wear,

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we knew was under government of her helm; at this time alſo it was ſo moderate, that the merchantmen ſet their top-ſails, but approaching within two miles, ſhe paſſed us to windward; this being obſerved by one of the merchant-ſhips, ſhe wore and came under our ſtern, offering to carry any meſſage to her. I deſired the maſter would acquaint Captain Wilkinſon, that the Centaur had loſt her rudder, as well as her maſts, that ſhe made a great deal of water, and that I deſired he would remain with her, until the weather grew moderate. I ſaw this merchantman approach afterwards, near enough to ſpeak to the Ville de Paris, but I am afraid that her condition was much worſe than it appeared to be, as ſhe continued upon that tack. In the mean time all the quarter-deck guns were thrown over-board, and all but ſix, which had overſet, of the main-deck. The ſhip lying in the trough of the ſea, laboured prodigiouſly. I got over one of the ſmall anchors, with a boom, and ſeveral gun-carriages,—veered out from the head door by a large hauſer to keep the ſhip's bow to the ſea; but this, with a top-gallant-ſail upon the ſtump of the mizen-maſt, had not the deſired effect.

As the evening came on it grew hazy, and in ſqualls blew ſtrong. We loſt ſight of the Ville de Paris, but thought it a certainty that I ſhould ſee her in the morning. The night was paſſed in conſtant labour at the pumps. Sometimes the wind lulled; the water diminiſhed; when it blew ſtrong again, the ſea riſing, the water again increaſed.

Towards the morning of the 18th, I was informed there was ſeven feet water upon the Kelſon; that one of the winches was broke; that the two ſpare ones would not fit, and that the hand pumps were choaked. Theſe circumſtances were ſufficiently alarming; but upon opening the after-hold, to get ſome rum up for the people, we found our condition much more ſo.

It will be neceſſary to mention, that the Centaur's after-hold was incloſed by a bulk-head at the after part of the well; here were all the dry proviſions and ſhip's rum ſtowed upon twenty chaldron of coals, which unfortunately had been ſtarted in this part of the ſhip, and by them the pumps were continually choaked. The chain pumps were ſo much worn, as to be of little uſe, and the leathers, which, had the well been clear, would have laſted twenty days or more, were all conſumed in eight. At this time it was obſerved, that the water had not a paſſage to the well, for *here* there was ſo much, that it waſhed againſt the orlop deck. All the rum, twenty-ſix puncheons; all the proviſions, of which there were two months, in caſks were ſtove; having floated with violence, from ſide to ſide, until there was not a whole caſk remaining: even the ſtaves that were found upon clearing the hold were moſt of them broke in two or three pieces. In the fore-hold we had a proſpect of periſhing: ſhould the ſhip ſwim, we had no water but what remained in the ground-tier, and over this all the wet proviſions and butts filled with ſalt-water were floating,

ing, and with ſo much motion, that no man could with ſafety go into the hold. There was nothing left for us to try, but bailing with buckets at the fore-hatchway and fiſh-room; and twelve large canvas buckets were immediately employed at each. On opening the fiſh-room, we were ſo fortunate as to diſcover that two puncheons of rum which belonged to me had eſcaped. They were immediately got up, and ſerved out at times in drams; and had it not been for this relief, and ſome lime-juice, the people would have dropped.

We ſoon found our account in bailing; the ſpare pump had been put down the fore-hatchway, and a pump ſhifted to the fiſh-room; but the motion of the ſhip had waſhed the coals ſo ſmall, that they had reached every part of the ſhip, and the pumps ſoon choaked. However, the water by noon had conſiderably diminiſhed by working the buckets; but there appeared no proſpect of ſaving the ſhip if the gale continued. The labour was too great to hold out without water; yet the people worked without a murmur, and indeed with chearfulneſs.

At this time the weather was more moderate, and a couple of ſpars were got ready for ſhears to get up a jury-foremaſt; but as the evening came on, the gale again increaſed. We had ſeen nothing this day, but the ſhip who had loſt her main-maſt, and ſhe appeared to be as much in want of aſſiſtance as ourſelves, having fired guns of diſtreſs; and before night I was told her foremaſt was gone.

The Centaur laboured ſo much, that I had ſcarce a hope ſhe could ſwim till morning. However, by great exertion of the chain-pumps and bailing, we held our own, but our ſufferings for want of water were very great, and many of the people could not be reſtrained from drinking ſalt-water.

At day-light, the 19th, there was no veſſel in ſight; and flaſhes from guns having been ſeen in the night, we feared the ſhip we had ſeen the preceding day had foundered. Towards ten o'clock, forenoon, the weather grew more moderate, the water diminiſhed in the hold, and the people were encouraged to redouble their efforts to get the water low enough to break a caſk of freſh water out of the ground tier; and ſome of the moſt reſolute of the ſeamen were employed in the attempt. At noon we ſucceeded with one caſk, which, though little, was a ſeaſonable relief. All the officers, paſſengers and boys, who were not of the profeſſion of ſeamen, had been employed thrumming a ſail which was paſſed under the ſhip's bottom, and I thought had ſome effect. The ſhears were raiſed for the foremaſt; the weather looked promiſing, and the ſea fell; and at night we were able to relieve at the pumps and bailing, every two hours. By the morning, the 20th, the fore-hold was cleared of the water, and we had the comfortable promiſe of a fine day. It proved ſo, and I was determined to make uſe of it with every poſſible exertion. I divided the ſhip's company, with the officers attending them, into parties to raiſe the jury-foremaſt; to heave over-board the lower-deck guns; to clear the wrecks of the fore and after-holds;

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to prepare the machine for ſteering the ſhip, and to work the pumps. By night, the after-hold was as clear as when the ſhip was launched; for, to our aſtoniſhment, there was not a ſhovel-full of coals remaining, twenty chaldron having been pumped out ſince the commencement of the gale.—What I have called the wreck of the hold, was the bulk-heads of the after-hold, fiſh-room, and ſpirit-rooms. The ſtandards of the cock-pit, an immenſe quantity of ſtaves and wood, and part of the lining of the ſhip, were thrown overboard, that if the water ſhould again appear in the hold, we might have no impediment in bailing. All the guns were overboard, the foremaſt ſecured, and the machine, which was to be ſimilar to the one with which the Ipſwich was ſteered, was in great forwardneſs; ſo that I was in hopes, the moderate weather continuing, that I ſhould be able to ſteer the ſhip by noon the following day, and at leaſt ſave the people on ſome of the Weſtern Iſlands. Had we had any other ſhip in company with us, I ſhould have thought it my duty to have quitted the Centaur this day.

This night the people got ſome reſt by relieving the watches; but in the morning, the 21ſt, we had the mortification to find, that the weather again threatened, and by noon blew a ſtorm. The ſhip laboured greatly, and the water appeared in the fore and after-hold and increaſed. The carpenter alſo informed me, that the leathers were nearly conſumed; and likewiſe that the chains of the pumps, by conſtant exertion, and the friction of the coals, were nearly rendered uſeleſs.

As we had now no other reſource but bailing, I gave orders that ſcuttles ſhould be cut through the decks, to introduce more buckets into the hold; and all the ſail-makers were employed night and day in making canvas buckets: and the orlop deck having fallen in on the larboard-ſide, I ordered the ſheet-cable to be rouſed overboard. The wind at this time was at W. and being on the larboard tack, many ſchemes had been practiſed to wear the ſhip, that we might drive into a leſs boiſterous latitude, as well as approach the Weſtern Iſlands; but none ſucceeded: and having a weak carpenter's crew, they were hardly ſufficient to attend the pumps; ſo that we could not make any progreſs with the ſteering machine. Another ſail had been thrummed and got over, but we did not find its uſe; indeed there was no proſpect but in a change of weather. A large leak had been diſcovered, and ſtopt, in the fore-hold, and another in the lady's-hole, but the ſhip appeared ſo weak from her labouring, that it was clear ſhe could not laſt long. The after-cockpit had fallen in, the fore-cockpit the ſame, with all the ſtore-rooms down; the ſtern-poſt was ſo looſe, that as the ſhip rolled, the water ruſhed in on either ſide in great ſtreams, which we could not ſtop.

Night came on with the ſame dreary proſpect as on the preceding, and was paſſed in continual effort and labour. — Morning came, the 22d, without our ſeeing any thing, or any change of weather,

ther, and the day was ſpent with the ſame ſtruggles to keep the ſhip above water, pumping and bailing at the hatchways and ſcuttles. Towards night another of the chain pumps was rendered quite uſeleſs, by one of the rollers being diſplaced at the bottom of the pump, and this was without remedy, there being too much water in the well to get to it: we alſo had but ſix leathers remaining, ſo that the fate of the ſhip was not far off. Still the labour went on without any apparent deſpair, every officer taking his ſhare of it, and the people were always chearful and obedient.

During the night, the water increaſed; but about ſeven in the morning, the 23d, I was told that an unuſual quantity of water appeared all at once in the fore-hold, which, upon my going forward to be convinced, I found but too true; the ſtowage of the hold ground-tier was all in motion, ſo that in a ſhort time there was not a whole caſk to be ſeen. We were convinced the ſhip had ſprung a freſh leak. Another ſail had been thrumming all night, and I was giving directions to place it over the bows, when I perceived the ſhip ſettling by the head, the lower deck bow-ports being even with the water.

At this period the carpenter acquainted me the well was ſtove in, deſtroyed by the wreck of the hold, and the chain pumps diſplaced, and totally uſeleſs. There was nothing left but to redouble our efforts in bailing, but it became difficult to fill the buckets, from the quantity of ſtaves, planks, anchor-ſtocks, and yard-arm pieces which were now waſhed from the wings, and floating from ſide to ſide with the motion of the ſhip. The people, who, till this period, had laboured as determined to conquer their difficulties without a murmur or without a tear, ſeeing their efforts uſeleſs, many of them burſt into tears, and wept like children.

I gave orders for the anchors, of which we had two remaining, to be thrown overboard, one of which (the ſpare anchor) had been moſt ſurpriſingly hove in upon the fore-caſtle and mid-ſhips, when the ſhip had been upon her beam-ends, and gone through the deck.

Every time that I viſited the hatch-way I obſerved the water increaſed, and at noon it waſhed even with the orlop deck. The carpenter aſſured me the ſhip could not ſwim long, and propoſed making rafts to float the ſhip's company, whom it was not in my power to encourage any longer with a proſpect of their ſafety. Some appeared perfectly reſigned, went to their hammocks, and deſired their meſſmates to laſh them in; others were laſhing themſelves to gratings and ſmall rafts; but the moſt predominant idea was, that of putting on their beſt and cleaneſt clothes.

The weather about noon had been ſomething moderate, and as rafts had been mentioned by the carpenter, I thought it right to make the attempt, though I knew our booms could not float half the ſhip's company in fine weather, but we were in a ſituation to catch at a ſtraw; I therefore called the ſhip's company together, told them my

my intention, recommending to them to remain regular and obedient to their officers. Preparations were immediately made to this purpose; the booms were cleared; the boats, of which we had three, viz. cutter, pinnace, and five-oared yawl, were got over the side; a bag of bread was ordered to be put in each, and any liquors that could be got at, for the purpose of supplying the rafts; I had intended myself to go into the five-oared yawl, and the coxswain was desired to get any thing from my steward that might be useful. Two men, captains of tops, of the forecastle, or quarter-masters, were placed in each of them, to prevent any man from forcing the boats, or getting into them, until an arrangement was made. While these preparations were making, the ship was gradually sinking, the orlop decks having been blown up by the water in the hold, and the cables floated to the gun-deck. The men had for some time quitted their employment of bailing, and the ship was left to her fate.

In the afternoon the weather again threatened, and in squalls blew strong; the sea ran high, and one of the boats, the yawl, drove along-side and sunk. As the evening approached, the ship appeared little more than suspended in water. There was no certainty that she would swim from one minute to another; and the love of life, which I believe never shewed itself later in the approach to death, began now to level all distinctions. It was impossible indeed for any man to deceive himself with a hope of being saved upon a raft in such a sea; besides, that the ship in sinking, it was probable, would carry every thing down with her in a vortex, to a certain distance.

It was near five o'clock, when coming from my cabin I observed a number of people looking very anxiously over the side; and looking myself, I saw that several men had forced the pinnace, and that more were attempting to get in. I had immediate thoughts of securing this boat before she might be sunk by numbers. There appeared not more than a moment for consideration; to remain and perish with the ship's company, whom I could not be any longer of use to, or seize the opportunity which seemed the only way of escaping, and leave the people who I had been so well satisfied with on a variety of occasions, that I thought I could give my life to preserve them—This indeed was a painful conflict, and which I believe no man can describe, nor any man have a just idea of, who has not been in a similar situation.

The love of life prevailed—I called to Mr. Rainy, the master, the only officer upon deck, desired him to follow me, and immediately descended into the boat, at the after-part of the chains, but not without great difficulty got the boat clear from the ship, twice the number that the boat would carry pushing to get in, and many jumping into the water. Mr. Baylis, a young gentleman fifteen years of age, leaped from the chains after the boat had got off, and was taken in. The boat falling astern, became exposed to the sea, and we endeavoured to pull her bow round to keep her to the break of the sea, and to pass to windward of the ship; but in the

attempt ſhe was nearly filled; the the ſea ran too high, and the only probability of living was keeping her before the wind.

It was then that I became ſenſible how little, if any thing, better our condition was than that of thoſe who remained in the ſhip; at beſt, it appeared to be only a prolongation of a miſerable exiſtence. We were all together twelve in number, in a leaky boat, with one of the gun-whales ſtove, in nearly the middle of the Weſtern Ocean, without compaſs, without quadrant, without ſail, without great coat or cloak; all very thinly cloathed, in a gale of wind, with a great ſea running!—It was now five o'clock in the evening, and in half an hour we loſt ſight of the ſhip. Before it was dark, a blanket was diſcovered in the boat. This was immediately bent to one of the ſtretchers, and under it as a ſail we ſcudded all night, in expectation of being ſwallowed up by every wave, it being with great difficulty that we could ſometimes clear the boat of the water before the return of the next great ſea; all of us half drowned, and ſitting, except thoſe who bailed at the bottom of the boat: and without having really periſhed, I am ſure no people ever endured more. In the morning the weather grew moderate, the wind having ſhifted to the ſouthward, as we diſcovered by the ſun. Having ſurvived the night, we began to recollect ourſelves, and think of our future preſervation.

When we quitted the ſhip, the wind was at N. W. or N. N. W. Fayall had bore E. S. E. 250 or 260 leagues. Had the wind continued for five or ſix days, ther was a probability that runnin before the ſea we might have fall en in with ſome one of the Weſter Iſlands. The change of wind wa death to theſe hopes; for ſhoul it come to blow, we knew ther would be no preſerving life bu by running before the ſea, whic would carry us again to the north ward, where we muſt ſoon after wards periſh.

Upon examining what we ha to ſubſiſt on, I found a bag o bread, a ſmall ham, a ſingl piece of pork, two quart bottle of water, and a few of Frenc cordials. The wind continued t the ſouthward for eight or nin days, and providentially neve blew ſo ſtrong but that we coul keep the ſide of the boat to th ſea, but we were always moſt mi ſerably wet and cold. We kep a ſort of a reckoning, but th ſun and ſtars being ſometimes hi from us for twenty-four hour we had no very good opinion o our navigation. We judged a this period, that we had mad nearly an E. N. E. courſe, ſinc the firſt night's run (which ha carried us to the S. E) and ex pected to ſee the iſland of Corv In this, however, we were di appointed, and we feared that th ſoutherly wind had driven us f to the northward. Our praye were now for a northerly win Our condition began to be tru miſerable, both from hunger an cold; for on the fifth day we ha diſcovered that our bread wa nearly all ſpoiled by ſalt wate and it was neceſſary to go to a allowance. One biſcuit, divide into 12 morſels, for breakfaſt, an the ſame for dinner; the neck

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a bottle broke off, with the cork in, ſerved for a glaſs, and this filled with water was the allowance for twenty-four hours for each man. This was done without any ſort of partiality or diſtinction: but we muſt have periſhed ere this, had we not caught ſix quarts of rain water; and this we could not have been bleſſed with, had we not found in the boat a pair of ſheets, which by accident had been put there. Theſe were ſpread when it rained, and when thoroughly wet, wrung into the kidd with which we bailed the boat. With this ſhort allowance, which was rather tantalizing than ſuſtaining, in our comfortleſs condition, we began to grow very feeble, and our clothes being continually wet, our bodies were in many places chafed into ſores.

On the 13th day it fell calm, and ſoon after a breeze of wind ſprang up from the N. N. W. and blew to a gale, ſo that we run before the ſea at the rate of five or ſix miles an hour under our blanket, till we judged we were to the ſouthward of Fayall, and to the weſtward 60 leagues; but blowing ſtrong, we could not attempt to ſteer for it. Our wiſhes were now for the wind to ſhift to the weſtward. This was the fifteenth day we had been in the boat, and we had only one day's bread, and one bottle of water remaining of a ſecond ſupply of rain. Our ſufferings were now as great as human ſtrength could bear, but we were convinced that good ſpirits were a better ſupport than great bodily ſtrength; for on this day Thomas Matthews, quarter-maſter, the ſtouteſt man in the boat, periſhed from hunger and cold: on the day before he had complained of want of ſtrength in his throat, as he expreſſed it, to ſwallow his morſel, and in the night drank ſalt-water, grew delirious, and died without a groan. As it became next to a certainty that we ſhould all periſh in the ſame manner in a day or two, it was ſomewhat comfortable to reflect, that dying of hunger was not ſo dreadful as our imaginations had repreſented. Others had complained of the ſymptoms in their throats; ſome had drank their own urine; and all, but myſelf, had drank ſalt-water.

As yet deſpair and gloom had been ſucceſsfully prohibited, and as the evenings cloſed in, the men had been encouraged by turns to ſing a ſong, or relate a ſtory, inſtead of a ſupper: but this evening I found it impoſſible to raiſe either. As the night came on it fell calm, and about midnight a breeze of wind ſprang up, we gueſſed from the weſtward by the ſwell, but there not being a ſtar to be ſeen, we were afraid of running out of our way, and waited impatiently for the riſing ſun to be our compaſs.

As ſoon as the dawn appeared, we found the wind to be exactly as we had wiſhed, at W. S. W. and immediately ſpread our ſail, running before the ſea at the rate of four miles an hour. Our laſt breakfaſt had been ſerved with the bread and water remaining, when John Gregory, quarter-maſter, declared with much confidence that he ſaw the land in the S. E. We had ſeen fog-banks ſo often, which had the appearance of land, that

I did not truſt myſelf to believe it, and cautioned the people (who were extravagantly elated) that they might not feel the effects of diſappointment; 'till at length one of them broke out into a moſt immoderate ſwearing fit of joy, which I could not reſtrain, and declared he had never ſeen land in his life if what he now ſaw was not it.

We immediately ſhaped our courſe for it, though on my part with very little faith. The wind freſhened; the boat went through the water at the rate of five or ſix miles an hour; and in two hours time the land was plainly ſeen by every man in the boat, but at a very great diſtance; ſo that we did not reach it before ten at night. It muſt have been at leaſt twenty leagues from us when firſt diſcovered; and I cannot help remarking, with much thankfulneſs, on the providential favour ſhewn to us in this inſtance.

In every part of the horizon, except where the land was diſcovered, there was ſo thick a haze that we could not have ſeen any thing for more than three or four leagues. Fayall by our reckoning bore E. by N. which courſe we were ſteering, and in a few hours, had not the ſky opened for our preſervation, we ſhould have increaſed our diſtance from the land, got to the eaſtward, and of courſe miſſed all the iſlands. As we approached the land, our belief had ſtrengthened that it was Fayall. The iſland of Pico, which might have revealed it to us, had the weather been perfectly clear, was at this time capped with clouds; and it was ſome time before we were quite ſatisfied, having traverſed for two hours a great part of the iſland, where the ſteep and rocky ſhore refuſed us a landing. This circumſtance was borne with much impatience, for we had flattered ourſelves that we ſhould meet with freſh water at the firſt part of the land we might approach; and being diſappointed, the thirſt of ſome had increaſed anxiety almoſt to a degree of madneſs; ſo that we were near making the attempt to land in ſome places where the boat muſt have been daſhed to pieces by the ſurf. At length we diſcovered a fiſhing canoe, which conducted us into the road of Fayall about midnight; but where the regulation of the port did not permit us to land 'till examined by the health-officers: however I did not think much of ſleeping this night in the boat, our pilot having brought us ſome refreſhments of bread, wine and water. In the morning we were viſited by Mr. Graham, the Engliſh conſul, whoſe humane attention made very ample amends for the formality of the Portugueſe. Indeed I can never ſufficiently expreſs the ſenſe I have of his kindneſs and humanity, both to myſelf and people; for I believe it was the whole of his employment for ſeveral days contriving the beſt means of reſtoring us to health and ſtrength. It is true, I believe there never were more pitiable objects. Some of the ſtouteſt men belonging to the Centaur were obliged to be ſupported through the ſtreets of Fayall. Mr. Rainy, the maſter, and myſelf were, I think, in better health than the reſt; but I could not wal-

walk without being ſupported; and for ſeveral days, with the beſt and moſt comfortable proviſions of diet and lodging, we grew rather worſe than better*.

J. N. INGLEFIELD.

Fayall, 13th October, 1782.

On

* *Names of the* OFFICERS *and* MEN *who were ſaved in the Pinnace.*

Captain Inglefield.
Mr. Thomas Rainy, Maſter.
Mr. Robert Bayles, Midſhipman.
Mr. James Clark, Surgeon's Mate.
Timothy Sullivan, Captain's Coxſwain.
John Gregory, Quarter-Maſter.
Charles M'Carty, } Seamen.
Charles Flinn, }
——— Gallohar, }
Theodore Hutchins, }
Thomas Stevenſon, }

Thomas Matthews, Quarter-Maſter, died in the boat the day before they ſaw land.

Names of the OFFICERS *left in the Ship, and ſuppoſed to have periſhed.*

John Jordan, 1 }
— Treleven, 2 }
George Lindſay, 3 } Lieutenants.
— Scott, 4 }
— Breton, 5 }

John Bell, Captain of Marines.
Thomas Hunter, Purſer.
———. Williamſon, Surgeon.
Thomas Wood, Boatſwain.
Charles Penlarick, Gunner.
Allan Woodriff, Carpenter.

Meſſrs. { Dobſon, Warden, Hay, Everhart, Minſhaw, Sampſon, Lindſay, Chalmers, Thomas, Young } Mates and Midſhipmen.

Correct Copy of the Court Martial held on Captain Inglefield.

At a Court Martial aſſembled, and held on board his Majeſty's Ship the Warſpite, in Portſmouth Harbour, on Saturday the 25th day of January, 1783.

PRESENT,

Commodore William Hotham, ſecond officer in the command of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels, at Portſmouth and Spithead, Preſident.

CAPTAINS,

J. Elphinſton.	J. Holloway.	S. Marſhall.
T. Fitzherbert.	J. T. Duckworth.	S. W. Clayton.
Hon. W. Cornwallis.	J. Faulkner.	C. Collingwood.
S. Reeve.	Hon. P. Bertie.	Hon. J. Luttrell.

The Court, in purſuance of an order from the commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. dated the 21ſt of the ſame month, for the enquiry into the cauſe and circumſtances of the loſs of his majeſty's late ſhip Centaur, by ſeveral very heavy gales of wind, and for the trial of Captain John Inglefield, her commander, and the officers and company who belonged to her, at the time ſhe was left ſinking, on the 24th of September laſt, in lat. 48 deg. 33 min. and longitude 43 deg. 20 min. for their conduct upon that occaſion, having proceeded to enquire into the cauſe and circumſtances of his majeſty's ſaid late ſhip the Centaur, and to try the ſaid Captain Inglefield, and the officers and people who belonged to her, at the time

On Cruelty to inferior Animals: DISQUISITION II. *from* Diſquiſitions on ſeveral Subjects.

MAN is that link of the chain of univerſal exiſtence, by which ſpiritual and corporeal beings are united: as the numbers and variety of the latter his inferiors are almoſt infinite, ſo probably are thoſe of the former his ſuperiors; and as we ſee that the lives and happineſs of thoſe below us are dependent on our wills, we may reaſonably conclude, that our lives, and happineſs are equally dependent on the wills of thoſe above us; accountable, like ourſelves, for the uſe of this power, to the ſupreme Creator, and governor of all things. Should this analogy be well founded, how criminal will our account appear, when laid before that juſt and impartial judge! How will man, that ſanguinary tyrant, be able to excuſe himſelf from the charge of thoſe innumerable cruelties inflicted on his unoffending ſubjects committed to his care, formed for his benefit, and placed under his authority by their common Father? whoſe mercy is over all his works, and who expects that this authority ſhould be exerciſed not only with tenderneſs and mercy, but in conformity to the laws of juſtice and gratitude.

But to what horrid deviations from theſe benevolent intentions are we daily witneſſes! No ſmall part of mankind derive their chief amuſements from the deaths and ſufferings of inferior animals; a much greater, conſider them only as engines of wood, or iron, uſeful in their ſeveral occupations. The carman drives his horſe, and the carpenter his nail, by repeated blows; and ſo long as theſe produce the deſired effect, and they both go, they neither reflect or care whether either of them have any ſenſe of feeling. The butcher knocks down the ſtately ox with no more compaſſion than the blackſmith hammers a horſe-ſhoe; and plunges his knife into the throat of the innocent lamb, with as little reluctance as the taylor ſticks his needle into the collar of a coat,

ſhe was ſo left as above-mentioned, for their conduct upon that occaſion accordingly; and having heard the Narrative of the ſaid Captain Inglefield, and examined the officers and men preſent, and maturely and deliberately conſidered the whole, is of opinion, that the ſaid Captain John Inglefield acquitted himſelf as a cool, reſolute, and experienced officer, and was well ſupported by his officers and ſhip's company, their united exertions appearing to have been ſo great and manly, as to reflect the higheſt honour upon the whole, and to leave the deepeſt impreſſion on the minds of this court, that more could not poſſibly have been done, to preſerve his majeſty's late ſhip the Centaur, from her melancholy fate; the court doth therefore adjudge, that the ſaid Captain John Inglefield, his officers, and company, be acquitted of all blame, on account of the loſs of his majeſty's ſaid late ſhip Centaur, and they are hereby acquitted accordingly.

W. Hotham.	W. Cornwallis.	J. Holloway.
J. Elphinſton.	S. Marſhall.	C. Collingwood.
J. Faulkner.	S. Reeve.	J. T. Duckworth.
T. Fitzherbert.	S. W. Clayton.	J. Luttrell.
R. Bertie.		

W. A. Betteſworth, Judge Advocate on the occaſion.

If there are ſome few, who, formed in a ſofter mould, view with pity the ſufferings of theſe defenceleſs creatures, there is ſcarce one who entertains the leaſt idea, that juſtice or gratitude can be due to their merits, or their ſervices. The ſocial and friendly dog is hanged without remorſe, if, by barking in defence of his maſter's perſon, and property, he happens unknowingly to diſturb his reſt: the generous horſe, who has carried his ungrateful maſter for many years with eaſe, and ſafety, worn out with age and infirmities contracted in his ſervice, is by him condemned to end his miſerable days in a duſt-cart, where the more he exerts his little remains of ſpirit, the more he is whipped, to ſave his ſtupid driver the trouble of whipping ſome other, leſs obedient to the laſh. Sometimes, having been taught the practice of many unnatural and uſeleſs feats in a riding-houſe, he is at laſt turned out, and conſigned to the dominion of a hackney-coachman, by whom he is every day corrected for performing thoſe tricks, which he has learned under ſo long and ſevere a diſcipline. The ſluggiſh bear, in contradiction to his nature, is taught to dance, for the diverſion of a malignant mob, by placing red-hot irons under his feet: and the majeſtic bull is tortured by every mode, which malice can invent, for no offence, but that he is gentle, and unwilling to aſſail his diabolical tormentors. Theſe, with innumerable other acts of cruelty, injuſtice, and ingratitude, are every day committed, not only with impunity, but without cenſure, and even without obſervation; but we may be aſſured, that they cannot finally paſs away unnoticed, and unretaliated.

The laws of ſelf-defence undoubtedly juſtify us in deſtroying thoſe animals who would deſtroy us, who injure our properties, or annoy our perſons; but not even theſe, whenever their ſituation incapacitates them from hurting us. I know of no right which we have to ſhoot a bear on an inacceſſible iſland of ice, or an eagle on the mountain's top; whoſe lives cannot injure us, nor deaths procure us any benefit. We are unable to give life, and therefore ought not wantonly to take it away from the meaneſt inſect, without ſufficient reaſon; they all receive it from the ſame benevolent hand as ourſelves, and have therefore an equal right to enjoy it.

God has been pleaſed to create numberleſs animals intended for our ſuſtenance; and that they are ſo intended, the agreeable flavour of their fleſh to our palates, and the wholeſome nutriment which it adminiſters to our ſtomachs, are ſufficient proofs: theſe, as they are formed for our uſe, propagated by our culture, and fed by our care, we have certainly a right to deprive of life, becauſe it is given and preſerved to them on that condition; but this ſhould always be performed with all the tenderneſs and compaſſion which ſo diſagreeable an office will permit; and no circumſtances ought to be omitted, which can render their executions as quick and eaſy as poſſible. For this, Providence has wiſely and benevolently provided, by forming them in ſuch a manner, that their fleſh becomes rancid and unpalatable by a painful and lingering

death; and has thus compelled us to be merciful without compaſſion, and cautious of their ſuffering, for the ſake of ourſelves: but, if there are any whoſe taſtes are ſo vitiated, and whoſe hearts are ſo hardened, as to delight in ſuch inhuman ſacrifices, and to partake of them without remorſe, they ſhould be looked upon as dæmons in human ſhapes, and expect a retaliation of thoſe tortures which they have inflicted on the innocent, for the gratification of their own depraved and unnatural appetites.

So violent are the paſſions of anger and revenge in the human breaſt, that it is not wonderful that men ſhould perſecute their real or imaginary enemies with cruelty and malevolence; but that there ſhould exiſt in nature a being who can receive pleaſure from giving pain, would be totally incredible, if we were not convinced, by melancholy experience, that there are not only many, but that this unaccountable diſpoſition is in ſome manner inherent in the nature of man; for, as he cannot be taught by example, nor led to it by temptation, or prompted to it by intereſt, it muſt be derived from his native conſtitution; and is a remarkable confirmation of what revelation ſo frequently inculcates—that he brings into the world with him an original depravity, the effects of a fallen and degenerate ſtate; in proof of which we need only obſerve, that the nearer he approaches to a ſtate of nature, the more predominant this diſpoſition appears, and the more violently it operates. We ſee children laughing at the miſeries which they inflict on every unfortunate animal which comes within their power: all ſavages are ingenious in contriving, and happy in executing, the moſt exquiſite tortures; and the common people of all countries are delighted with nothing ſo much as bull-baitings, prize-fightings, executions, and all ſpectacles of cruelty and horror. Though civilization may in ſome degree abate this native ferocity, it can never quite extirpate it; the moſt poliſhed are not aſhamed to be pleaſed with ſcenes of little leſs barbarity, and, to the diſgrace of human nature, to dignify them with the name of ſports. They arm cocks with artificial weapons, which nature had kindly denied to their malevolence, and with ſhouts of applauſe and triumph, ſee them plunge them into each other's hearts: they view with delight the trembling deer and defenceleſs hare, flying for hours in the utmoſt agonies of terror and deſpair, and at laſt, ſinking under fatigue, devoured by their mercileſs purſuers: they ſee with joy the beautiful pheaſant and harmleſs partridge drop from their flight, weltering in their blood, or perhaps periſhing with wounds and hunger, under the cover of ſome friendly thicket to which they have in vain retreated for ſafety: they triumph over the unſuſpecting fiſh, whom they have decoyed by an inſidious pretence of feeding, and drag him from his native element by a hook fixed to and tearing out his entrails; and, to add to all this, they ſpare neither labour nor expence to preſerve and propagate theſe innocent animals, for no other end, but to multiply the objects of their perſecution.

What name ſhould we beſtow on

on a ſuperior Being, whoſe whole endeavours were employed, and whoſe whole pleaſure conſiſted in terrifying, enſnaring, tormenting, and deſtroying mankind? whoſe ſuperior faculties were exerted in fomenting animoſities amongſt them, in contriving engines of deſtruction, and inciting them to uſe them in maiming and murdering each other? whoſe power over them was employed in aſſiſting the rapacious, deceiving the ſimple, and oppreſſing the innocent? who without provocation or advantage ſhould continue, from day to day, void of all pity and remorſe, thus to torment mankind for diverſion, and at the ſame time endeavour with his utmoſt care to preſerve their lives, and to propagate their ſpecies, in order to increaſe the number of victims devoted to his malevolence, and be delighted in proportion to the miſeries which he occaſioned? I ſay, what name deteſtable enough could we find for ſuch a Being? Yet, if we impartially conſider the caſe, and our intermediate ſituation, we muſt acknowledge, that, with regard to inferior animals, juſt ſuch a Being is a ſportſman.

Some Account of the Riſe and Deſcent of the Empreſs Catharine, *Wife of Czar* Peter I.; *and alſo of the Riſe of Prince* Menzikoff: *extracted from the Memoirs of* Peter Henry Bruce, *Eſq. a Military Officer in the Services of Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Great Britain.*

SHE was born at Runghen, a ſmall village in Livonia, of very poor parents, who were only boors, or vaſſals; her father and mother dying, left her very young in great want; the pariſh-clerk, out of compaſſion, took her home to his houſe, where ſhe learnt to read. Dr. Glack, miniſter of Marienburgh, ſeeing her there, enquired of the clerk who ſhe was; and being informed ſhe was a poor orphan he had taken into his houſe out of charity, what from a wiſh to relieve the poor clerk from a burthen he was not well able to ſupport, and a liking to the little orphan, the doctor took her home to his houſe, notwithſtanding he had a numerous family of his own. Here her company and opportunities for improvement were better, and her deportment ſuch, that ſhe became equally eſteemed by the doctor, his wife, and children; her ſteady, diligent, and careful attention to all their domeſtic concerns, ingratiated her ſo much with the doctor and his wife, that they made no diſtinction between her and their own children. She ever after ſhewed her acknowledgment with the utmoſt gratitude, in richly providing for all thoſe who could lay claim to any alliance to the doctor's family; nor did ſhe forget her firſt benefactor the clerk of Rughen. In this happy ſituation ſhe grew up to woman, when a Livonian ſerjeant, in the Swediſh ſervice, fell paſſionately in love with her; ſhe likewiſe liking him, agreed to marry him, provided it could be done with the doctor's conſent, who, upon enquiry into the man's character, finding it unexceptionable, readily gave it. The marriage day was appointed, and, indeed, came, when a ſudden order came to the ſerjeant that very morning,

morning, to march directly with a detachment for Riga, who was thereby disappointed from ever enjoying his lovely bride. Soon after this, General Baur, at the head of an army, came before the town and took it, in the year 1702, when all the inhabitants were made prisoners, and amongst the rest this lovely bride. In the promiscuous croud, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears at her unhappy fate, the general observing her, saw a *je ne sçai quoi* in her whole appearance, which attracted him so much, that he asked her several questions about her situation; to which she made answers with more sense than is usual in persons of her rank; he desired her not to be afraid, for he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for her safety and reception into his house, of which he gave her the whole charge, with authority over all his servants, by whom she was very much beloved from her manner of using them; the general afterwards often said, his house was never so well managed as when she was with him.

Prince Menzikoff, who was his patron, seeing her one day at the general's, observed something very extraordinary in her air and manner, and enquiring who she was, and on what footing she served him, the general told him what has been already related, and with due encomiums on the merits of her conduct in his house: the prince said, such a person would be of great consequence to him, for he was then very ill served in that respect; to which the general replied, he was under too many obligations to his highness to have it in his power to refuse him any thing he had a mind to, and immediately calling for Catharine, told her, that was Prince Menzikoff, and that he had occasion for a servant like herself, and that the prince had it much more in his power to be a friend to her than he had, adding, that he had too great a regard for her to prevent her receiving such a piece of honour and good fortune. She answered only by a profound courtesy, which shewed, if not her consent, that it was not then in her power to refuse the offer that was made: in short, the prince took her home the same day, and she lived with him till the year 1704, when the czar, one day dining with the prince, happened to see her, and spoke to her; she made a yet stronger impression on that monarch, who would likewise have her to be his servant; from whence she rose to be Empress of Russia.

As Prince Menzikoff was also a person raised from a very low degree, I was told the following circumstances of his rise. He was born of gentle, but very poor parents; and they dying, left him very young without any education, insomuch that he could neither read nor write, nor ever did he to the day of his death: his poverty obliged him to seek service in Moscow, where he was taken into the house of a pastry-cook; who employed him in crying minced-pies about the streets; and having a good voice, he also sung ballads; whereby he was so generally known, that he had access into all the gentlemen's houses. The czar, by invitation, was to dine one day at a boyar's, or lord's house,

houſe, and Menzikoff happening to be in the kitchen that day, obſerved the boyar giving directions to his cook about a diſh of meat he ſaid the czar was fond of, and took notice that the boyar himſelf put ſome kind of powder in it, by way of ſpice; taking particular notice of what meat that diſh was compoſed, he took himſelf away to ſing his ballads, and kept ſauntering in the ſtreet till the czar arrived, when exalting his voice, his majeſty took notice of it, ſent for him, and aſked him if he would ſell his baſket with the pies: the boy replied, he had power only to ſell the pies, as for the baſket he muſt firſt aſk his maſter's leave, but as every thing belonged to his majeſty, he needed only lay his commands upon him. This reply pleaſed the czar ſo much, that he ordered Alexander to ſtay and attend him, which he obeyed with great joy. Menzikoff waited behind the czar's chair at dinner, and ſeeing the before mentioned diſh ſerved up and placed before him, in a whiſper begged his majeſty not to eat thereof: the czar went into another room with the boy, and aſked his reaſon for what he had whiſpered to him, when he informed his majeſty what he had obſerved in the kitchen, and the boyar's putting in the powder himſelf, without the cook's perceiving him, made him ſuſpect that diſh in particular; he therefore thought it his duty to put his majeſty upon his guard. The czar returned to table without the leaſt diſcompoſure in his countenance, and with his uſual chearfulneſs; the boyar recommended this diſh to him, ſaying, it was very good; the czar ordered the boyer to ſit down by him, for it is a cuſtom in Moſcow for the maſter of the houſe to wait at table when he entertains his friends, and putting ſome of it on a plate, deſired him to eat and ſhew him a good example. The boyar, with the utmoſt confuſion, replied, that it did not become the ſervant to eat with his maſter; whereupon the plate was ſet down to a dog, who ſoon diſpatched its contents, which, in a very ſhort time, threw him into convulſions, and ſoon deprived him of life: the dog being opened, the effect of the poiſon was clearly diſcovered, and the boyer was immediately ſecured, but was found next morning dead in his bed, which prevented all farther diſcovery.

Menzikoff's remarkable introduction ſoon gained him credit and confidence with his royal maſter, which from being one of the meaneſt and pooreſt, raiſed him to be one of the richeſt ſubjects in the Ruſſian empire; he was not only dignified with the title of a prince in Ruſſia, but alſo declared a prince of the Roman empire. He was tall, well-ſhaped, very handſome in his perſon, and of great penetration: he acted as vice-czar at the imperial court, the czar himſelf appearing at all public meetings as a private perſon, attended by two ſervants at moſt, and, inſtead of pleaſing himſelf with the pomp of grandeur, his delight was the improvement of his empire, which he viſited every where in perſon.

Some Account of the Bay and City of Sorrento, *and of the Ruins of the* Surrentinum *or Villa of* Pollius

lius *at* Capo di Puolo: *extracted from* Travels *into the* Two Sicilies, *by* Henry Swinburne, *Esq.*

ON doubling the next projecting rocks, we entered the ſpacious bay of Sorrento, three miles wide. A ſemicircular chain of woody mountains incloſes a rich and beautiful plain, rather ſloping towards the ſea, full of white buildings peeping out of the groves. This half-moon terminates in a ſtraight line to the ſea, by a bold coaſt of black perpendicular rocks. It probably formed a portion of a circle, half of which broke off and ſunk into the waves. This I believe to have been the caſe, and that the whole was once the crater of a volcano. All the ſoil of the plain is cineritious, and its rocks a ſtrong blue lava, except near the eaſt end, where they are of a ſofter piperino kind. The encircling mountains are compoſed of regular calcareous layers, that do not join or intermix in the leaſt with the others, but are broken off abruptly all round, as if a place had been ſcooped out for the reception of the heterogeneous maſs, riſing ſuddenly out of the boſom of the earth or waters. Many of theſe limeſtone rocks are twiſted, as it were, into ropes, exactly in the ſame manner as ſome Veſuvian lavas: they have beſides ſo many peculiarities, that correſpond with thoſe of the productions of burning mountains, that were it not directly repugnant to the common ſyſtems of philoſophy, which decide all calcareous ſubſtances to be a ſediment of the ocean, I ſhould be tempted to believe, that fire had a greater ſhare in the formation of theſe rocks than is generally allowed. The materials of the lower grounds are beyond doubt volcanical; however, I am confident that, as yet, we are but imperfectly acquainted with the powers of fire, and the metamorphoſes it is capable of producing. As we have diſcovered, that the fumes of ſulphur and vitriol can change hard black lava into ſoft white clay, perhaps we may find out, that ſome other operation of natural chymiſtry can convert ſubſtances into limeſtone.

I landed at Sorrento, a city placed on the very brink of the ſteep rocks that overhang the bay, in a moſt enchanting ſituation. It contains fifteen thouſand inhabitants, half the population of the whole plain. The ſtreets are narrow; but this is no inconvenience in a warm climate, where carriages are not uſed, nor any communication with the metropolis practicable by land. Of all the places in the kingdom, this is bleſt with the moſt delightful climate. It was renowned for it in ancient times: Silius Italicus extols its ſoft and wholeſome zephyrs *. At preſent it enjoys ſhady groves, excellent water, fruit, fiſh, milk, butter, the fineſt veal in the world, good wine, and almoſt every neceſſary of life at an eaſy rate. Mountains ſcreen it from the hot autumnal blaſts. The temper of the inhabitants is ſaid to reſemble the climate in mildneſs. A few inſcriptions and reſervoirs of water are all the remnants of antiquity it can ſhew. It derives its name from the reſidence

* Zephyro Surrentum molle ſalubri.

or worſhip of the Syrens *. In this bay, the Prince of Salerno, ſon to Charles the Firſt, was, in 1283, taken priſoner by Lauria, the admiral of Peter of Aragon: a naval victory that inſured the poſſeſſion of Sicily to the conquerors. Here Torquatus Taſſo drew his firſt breath in 1544: a bard undoubtedly intitled to rank in the foremoſt line of modern poets, notwithſtanding the ſarcaſm of Boileau †, who, from his ignorance of the Italian language, and the coldneſs of his heart, was a very improper judge of the flights of genius. In 1558, the Turks ſacked this city, and carried off twelve thouſand captives; but, preferring money to ſuch a quantity of ſlaves, they ſent to Naples to aſk a ranſom. Diſtruſt, conſternation, or inſenſibility, cauſed their offer to be rejected, and the infidels ſailed away with their priſoners. Soon after, by an act of generoſity ſcarce to be paralleled in any hiſtory, the remaining Sorrentines ſold their lands and goods, and redeemed their fellow citizens. Had ſuch an effort been made by Greeks or Romans, it would have been a common-place example for ſchool-boys, and every diſſertator, ancient and modern, would have enlarged with enthuſiaſm on this trait of heroiſm; but at Sorrento it is ſcarce remembered, and, I believe, it is entirely forgotten in the reſt of the kingdom.

On the twenty-eighth, I continued my coaſting voyage to Capo di Terra, or Puolo, the point that divides the bay of Sorrento from that of Maſſa ‡. Here are the ruins of a villa mentioned in Statius's Sylvæ: it belonged to Pollius Fælix, whoſe name is ſtill preſerved in the modern appellation. I admired the exactneſs with which the poet has deſcribed the ſpot; for however altered and diſfigured the minuter features may be, the great outlines of the place are ſtill diſcernable. On the very extremity of the cape, impending over the ſea, ſtands a row of vaulted chambers, before which appear the veſtiges of a portico §, or hall. Its form is that of an obtuſe angle. Theſe rooms commanded a double view: one of Sorrento and Veſuvius; the || other, of Naples **, Puzzoli, and Iſchia ††. Part of the painting remains upon the walls. Behind theſe buildings, the promontory narrows into an iſthmus, pierced in the middle with a deep round baſon, into which the ſea has acceſs by a paſſage under the rocks. As the waves have no force left

* Surenetum.

† Le clinquant du Taſſe à tout l'or de Virgile.
Prefers Taſſo's tinſel to Virgil's gold.

‡ Eſt inter notus Syrenum nomine muros,
Saxaque Tyrrhenæ templis ornata Minervæ.

§ Per obliquas erepit porticus arces
Urbis opus, longoque domat ſaxa aſpera dorſo.

|| Una Diætis
Parthenopen directo limite ponti.

** Ingerit
Celſa Dicarchæi ſpeculatrix villa profundi.

†† Hæc videt Inarimen, illi Prochyta aſpera paret.

when

when they enter it, and its opening is ſurrounded by ruins, this was no doubt the ſituation of the baths *. Three arched conduits brought freſh water to them † from a large reſervoir at the foot of the mountain; high rocks, covered with olive-trees, defend ‡ this place from the boiſterous ſcirocco, and boats find a ſafe retreat in a circular creek, which divides the cape into two peninſulas §. From hence I ſailed along the woody coaſt of Maſſa, a dioceſe without a town; for all the dwelling-houſes are diſperſed in ſmall cluſters along the verdant declivity. We lay upon our oars a few hours to take ſome refreſhment, and then ſailed to Naples, where we arrived by moonlight. The evening was warm and mild, and the ſea ſmooth as glaſs; the lights of the fiſh-markets reflected on its ſurface, formed a moſt ſplendid illumination.

Some Account of the French African Iſlands; *from* Travels *into* Europe, Aſia, *and* Africa.

THE iſland of *Mauritius* is ſituated in the 20th degree of ſouth latitude, and 56 eaſt longitude from London. It is of a circular figure, mountainous in the centre, and flat around the coaſt, containing about 100,000 Engliſh acres. The ſoil is light and but unkindly, of a brick colour, and in ſome parts ſtrongly impregnated with iron ore. There are ſome large rivers, which riſe at the bottom, or in the ſides of the mountains. There is not above one fifth part of the country under cultivation, the remaining four being mountainous or filled with woods. There is on this iſland ſome good building timber, and a great deal of yellow, black, and party-coloured ebony. This laſt ſpecies of ebony is reckoned to be of value, and is never burnt, as the others frequently are.—There is a ſmelting manufactory for the iron ore, and ſome powder mills. There are in Mauritius two or three ſugar-plantations, ſeveral coffee-plantations, and it has produced very good cotton and indigo: it is indeed to theſe two laſt-mentioned commodities that the ſoil ſeems beſt adapted. All the tropical fruits, plants, and roots are raiſed here; but they are neither ſo luxuriant nor ſo highly flavoured as thoſe of Bourbon, nor ſo abundant as to ſerve the inhabitants four months in the year: their ſupplies for about eight

* Gemina teſtudine fumant
Balnea.
† E terris occurrit dulcis amaro
Nympha mari.
‡ Monti intervenit imum
Littus et in terras ſcopulis pendentibus exit.
§ Placido lunata receſſu,
Hinc atque hinc curvas prorumpunt æquora rupes—
Ponunt hic laſſa furorem
Æquora.
Nulloque tumultu
Stagna modeſta jacent.

months

months in twelve come from Bourbon, the Cape of Good Hope, Batavia, and Europe.

The ſpiceries of Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda, promiſe to flouriſh in this iſland. In the pariſh of Pamplemonſe, the king of France maintains, at a conſiderable expence, and in good condition, a ſpacious botanical garden, divided into four parts, repreſenting the great quarters of the earth; in which the trees, ſhrubs, plants, flowers, herbs, roots, &c. of each are reſpectively planted; pieces of wood being fixed in the ground by each, deſcribing its name, native country, and qualities. In this garden cinnamon and cloves thrive amazingly. All around the iſland (except ſmall inlets oppoſite to ſome bays) at a tolerable diſtance from the ſhore, there is a reef of coral rock, which ſhelters the intermediate ſpace of water, makes it quite ſmooth and ſerene, and prevents the formation of ſuch heavy ſurges as, rolling and breaking on the ſhore, might render landing difficult, if not impracticable.

The fields and woods abound with deer, hares, rabbits, and flying game. The inhabitants are remarkable for their hoſpitality, and the ladies who are natives of this iſland, for their beauty.

Mauritius is the metropolis of the French African iſlands, the chief ſeat of government, the emporium of commerce, and the aſylum of exiles from France. The inhabitants are not ſo independent in their circumſtances, nor ſo eaſy in their minds as thoſe of Bourbon, although they affect more dreſs and gaiety, and have better houſes and furniture. Every third perſon you meet, of a fair complexion, wears at his button-hole the order of St. Louis.

As the poſition of the town of Port Louis, and the fortifications defending the entrance of the harbour, are well known, I ſhall not give any particular deſcription of them. I cannot, however, but obſerve, that the practice of warping ſhips into that port, is merely a political ſtratagem, intended to impreſs the world with a notion that it is of the moſt difficult acceſs. The paſſage for ſhips is clear and eaſy, and every afternoon, during the 28 days I was there, there was a conſtant ſteady and briſk gale directly into the harbour.

The iſland of *Bourbon* is ſituated in the 21ſt degree of ſouth latitude, and 54th eaſt longitude from London. Its figure is nearly circular. Perhaps there is not a ſpot on the face of the earth ſo worthy of the attention of naturaliſts as this iſland. It contains three high mountains, which are often ſeen at the diſtance of 30 leagues: and are the higheſt land I ever ſaw, except the Pike of Teneriffe. On the ſummit of one of theſe mountains, which is in the ſouth-eaſt quarter of the iſland, there is a volcano which frequently emits ſmoke, flames, and aſhes. This volcano exhibits an awful but beautiful proſpect at night, when it vomits flames, and fills the ſurrounding heavens with particles of fire. Of the three mountains of Bourbon, this alone is barren and uninhabited. The mountain which is reputed the higheſt, riſes in the centre of the iſland, and to the northward of it appears a ridge of hills, called the *Falaiſes*, one

one ſide of which, bold, abrupt, and ſublime, forms a ſtupendous precipice, in perpendicular height two thouſand French fathoms, overhanging a large river, which ſometimes glides ſmoothly along, and at others falls in rough caſcades. In reſpect of ſize, Bourbon is nearly equal to Mauritius. The ſoil, which is in ſome parts black, and in others grey, is ſuperlatively fruitful, and improves in quality in proportion as it approaches even to the tops of eminences and mountains. The windward ſide, and the quarter of St Luſan on the eaſt ſide, are level lands watered by very fine rivers, particularly the great river *d'Abord*, which precipitates itſelf into a diſtrict the moſt beautiful of the whole iſland, but where the landing from the ſea is difficult and full of danger.

In the latitude of 21 degrees this iſland produces wheat, cabbages, turneps, carrots, artichokes, peaſe, beans, and garden fruits and roots equal in ſize and flavour to any I ever ſaw in Europe. It produces alſo the ſugar-cane, coffee, cotton, indigo, and all Weſt India fruits, ſuperior to any I ever ſaw in any of the American iſlands. Its rice is not inferior to that of either Carolina; and its mangoes are equal to any in Hindoſtan. The poultry are the largeſt I ever ſaw, and in every reſpect excel thoſe of all other countries.

The ladies of Bourbon are remarkably tall, and elegantly formed; their complexions beautifully red and white, and their features the moſt delicate and handſome that can be imagined. In figure, complexion, and features, the men reſemble the women, only that the former are more muſcular.—I dwell a little on the extraordinary beauty of the natives of the iſland of Bourbon, becauſe it is a very ſingular circumſtance, to find elegance of ſhape, delicacy of features, and bloom of complexion in the torrid zone.

The paſturage of this iſland is not well adapted to the breed of ſheep, but it abounds with goats, ſmall horned cattle, and ſmall hardy horſes. The inhabitants of Bourbon are ſtill more hoſpitable than thoſe of Mauritius. They are frank, chearful, and polite, with more ſincerity. Every repaſt begins with a glaſs of brandy, and the tables are plentiful and elegant, being furniſhed with butcher's meat, and a great variety of fowls, fiſh, and vegetables.

But the enjoyments of the gay and ſocial inhabitants of this enchanting iſle, are mixed with ſufferings unknown in the moſt barren and inhoſpitable countries. Contented and happy in the company of one another, they might well deſpiſe that contempt in which they are held by the *poor nobleſſe* of Mauritius, becauſe, forſooth, they are not, in general, of noble extraction: but they ſuffer ſeverer misfortunes in that iron government under which they live; the depredations of their rebellious runaway ſlaves, who occupy ſome of the inacceſſible mountains; but above all, in thoſe frequent hurricanes which ravage their country from January to April or May.

The diſtance from Bourbon to Mauritius is about 37 leagues, which is run from the latter to the former in the ſpace of from eighteen to twenty-four hours: but

but to return to Mauritius from Bourbon takes up a month, at the leaſt fourteen days, unleſs in the hurricane ſeaſon, when the wind is more variable.

The Seychell or Mahé iſlands lie a few leagues north-eaſt from the north end of Madagaſcar. The French took poſſeſſion of them ſince the laſt war, and ſtationed in them a party of ſoldiers. They were before uninhabited. They yield ſome tropical proviſions, and a great many turtle, with other fiſh.

In the iſland of Seychell there is a very ſafe and commodious deep bay, with excellent anchorage, where ſhips may wood and water with great eaſe and ſafety.

At a very ſhort diſtance, I believe leſs than a league from the iſland of Seychell, lies that of Praſline. The ſoil of each is repreſented as excellent; the land throughout is flat, and is ſaid to grow ſome large timber proper for building. Theſe iſlands are remarkable for producing the tree which yields a kind of cocoa-nut, repreſenting, in the moſt ſtriking manner, the figure of a human breech, thighs, &c. having a fœtid ſmell from an aperture of the fundament, like that of human excrement. The Indians, ſtruck with this reſemblance, formerly ſet an enormous value upon theſe nuts; but ſince the French traders furniſhed the market with them more plentifully, they have loſt much of their eſtimation, together with their rarity. As theſe iſlands are capable of raiſing abundance of proviſions, ſheep, goats, and horned cattle, a ſettlement might be made on them, very convenient for the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, if this paſſage ſhould be adopted by their navigation at thoſe ſeaſons when the inner paſſage between Madagaſcar and the continent is impracticable.

Some Account of the moſt capital Pictures in the King of Spain's *Palace at* Madrid: *tranſlated from the* Spaniſh *of Sir* Anthony Raphael Mengs, *Knt. firſt Painter to his Catholic Majeſty, by* John Talbot Dillon, *Knt. and Baron of the ſacred* Roman *Empire.*

I COULD wiſh that all the fine pictures diſperſed in the different royal ſeats were united, and formed into one grand collection, in the palace at Madrid, and that they were properly arranged in a gallery, worthy of the magnificence of the monarch, in order to addreſs to you on this ſubject, an eſſay on the art, from the remote times, down to the preſent, in which every artiſt we know of, worthy of notice, might be more or leſs commented upon, for the information of thoſe who have any curioſity or taſte for theſe matters, and that they might be made ſenſible of the eſſential difference exiſting between them, by which, I ſhould be able to render my own ideas more clear; but the court having never formed any intentions of ſuch a collection, I ſhall ſpeak unconnectedly of the great maſters of different ages, attaching myſelf principally to the Spaniſh painters, whoſe works are conſpicuous in the principal apartments of the palace.

Some of the moſt diſtinguiſhed of theſe performances are in the king's dreſſing room, particularly

by the hand of Velaſquez, Spagnolet, and Murillo. But how greatly they differ from each other! What juſtneſs, what true diſtribution of *clair obſcure*, in the works of Velaſquez. How well he underſtood the effects of light in ſhewing the diſtances of objects one from another, and what a ſchool for an artiſt to improve himſelf in ſtudying the works of this great man, to be ſeen in this ſaloon, done at three different times, and by conſidering the happy manner in which he attained ſuch an excellent imitation of nature. The picture of the Seville water-ſeller, diſplays his early imitation of nature, and with what ſpirit he exerted himſelf in exhibiting the different effects on objects that receive light or ſhadow, inſomuch, as to occaſion rather a dryneſs and harſhneſs of pencil.

In the picture of the feigned Bacchus crowning a few drunkards, his ſtyle is more looſe and free, copying nature, not as ſhe is, but as ſhe appears to the eye. He is ſtill more bold and animated in his *Vulcan's Forge*, where ſome of the figures of the workmen are a perfect imitation of nature. But he has given the moſt perfect copy of nature in the picture of a woman ſpinning, which is of his laſt ſtyle and manner, and ſo well executed, that the labour of the hand ſeems not to have been employed, but that the mind alone conveyed the pencil, in which its merit is ſingular. Some of his portraits have likewiſe this excellence, and form the moſt perfect model of his ſchool.

Spagnolet was admirable in his imitation of nature, ſtrength of *clair obſcure*, freedom of pencil, and in deſcribing peculiar circumſtances of the human frame, ſuch as wrinkles, hair, &c. His manner is bold, but he did not equal Velaſquez in his diſtribution of light and ſhade, not underſtanding its proper degradations, and the effects of air, though his colouring is more lively, as may be ſeen by his pictures over the doors.

In the ſame apartment, there are pictures of Murillo, in two different *manners*: his firſt, in thoſe, of the Incarnation, and the birth of our ſaviour; which, particularly the ſecond, are painted with great boldneſs in regard to nature, tho' performed before he had attained that ſoftneſs which characteriſes his ſecond manner, as may be perceived in other pictures in this apartment; particularly in the ſmall one of the nuptials of our lady, and a fine half length of St. James, in the adjacent room.

In the king's drawing-room, there is an excellent picture of Velaſquez, repreſenting the Infanta Doña Margarita Maria of Auſtria, whoſe portrait Velaſquez is drawing; but this capital piece being ſo well known, I have nothing to add, only that it is a convincing proof of the effect of imitation from nature, and of the general ſatisfaction it yields, particularly when the *beautiful*, is not the primary conſideration.

I paſs over at preſent many fine paintings of Titian's, diſperſed in various apartments of the palace; to ſpeak to you of that moſt noble picture of Velaſquez repreſenting Philip IV. on horſeback; where every thing is admirable, as well the horſe, as the figure of the monarch, even the landſcape is managed

haged with taſte; but above all, the graceful eaſe of the ſovereign's head is ſingular, as the very ſkin ſeems to ſhine, and the hair is beautiful, and touched with great lightneſs. Contiguous to this capital performance, there is another of the Conde Duke of Olivares, in nothing inferior to that of the king's.

Let us now turn our attention to another picture, by the ſame hand, repreſenting a ſiege, which was before in that ſaloon of the *Retiro*, called, *De los Reynos*, and is now in the dining-room of the moſt Serene Prince of Aſturias. This picture comprehends every perfection the ſubject would admit of, and there is no part, if we we except the ſoldiers lances, which is not repreſented with the utmoſt ſkill. In the ſame apartment, there is a portrait of the Infanta Doña Margarita Maria, and an *Infante* on horſeback, both by Velaſquez in his beſt manner, as well as ſome other portraits of his, in the ſame room.

In the Prince of Aſturias's dreſſing-room, there are three fine pictures by *Spagnolet*, two of them repreſent a St. Jerom, and a St. Benedict, companions, executed in his brighteſt manner, in which a perfect command of the pencil may be obſerved, as well as the moſt accurate copy from nature, with an uncommon expreſſion in the countenance of St. Benedict. The third is the martyrdom of a ſaint, equally excellent, though with more force.

It would be ſuperfluous to ſpeak to you of Rubens, or of his ſchool, of which, there are many pieces in the palace. But one, above others, is remarkable, repreſenting the adoration of the kings, one of his moſt capital pieces, done by him in Flanders, after his beſt manner, and afterwards, when he came to Spain, he made an addition to the canvaſs, to enlarge the picture, and increaſe the number of figures; amongſt which, he has added his own portrait. This picture contains every perfection the artiſt was capable of in the hiſtorical line, and the deſign is not the moſt incorrect.

Amongſt many fine pieces of Vandyke, there is one repreſenting the apprehending of Chriſt in the garden, executed with a fine taſte and colouring, as far as a night-piece would admit of; a half length portrait of the Cardinal Infante, brother of Philip IV. is alſo infinitely excellent from the juſtneſs of its execution, and the graceful eaſe that attends it, as well as colouring, and ſallowneſs of complexion.

The works of Luca Jordano, are innumerable, of whom, it may be ſaid, he never did any thing amiſs; as a good taſte is every where perceptible in his works, though in an embryo form, compared to the excellent productions of other great men of the Italian ſchools. On the other hand, he never arrived at perfection, ſo that his manner will admit of no falling off, without a total debaſement of painting, which was the fate of his copiers. The works of Jordan may be claſſed in two different *manners*, though he often painted indiſcriminately, copying from different painters. Some of his pieces have an harſhneſs, like thoſe of Spagnolet, from whom, Jordan learned his art, and copied in his early days; but his general manner, and

the moſt univerſal, and ſuited to his taſte, as may be ſeen in his beſt pieces, was after Pietro da Cortona. In this ſtyle, he executed that admirable freſco painting in the Retiro, and many pictures in the palace; but in other pieces, done afterwards in Madrid, he varied from this ſtyle, and in his drapery, copied Paul Veroneſe, though with leſs correctneſs of tints and *clair obſcure*; ſo that his manner became dry, as may be obſerved in the hiſtorical pieces of Solomon, in the palace, done after he had finiſhed painting in the Eſcurial.

Amongſt others in the ſame palace, there is an half length of our lady, with the child, and St. John, thought by ſome to be a Raphael; it is true, the child is perfectly in his manner; the carnation is rather too high, the back ground has a blueiſh caſt, the tunick of our lady is of light carmine, and the veil of a deep blue, all in the character of Raphael, which makes thoſe who do not underſtand the true merit of his excellence, conſider it as an imitation of his manner; there are others in the palace, by Luca Jordano, after the Venetian ſchool, but not ſo well finiſhed as ſome would ſuppoſe.

Much merit is due to ſome paintings of *Tintoret*, *Old Palm*, and *Jacopo Baſan*, but they are all eclipſed, in my opinion, by thoſe of Paul Veroneſe, and more particularly by thoſe of Titian, after his beſt *manner*; as this great man was never equalled, or ſurpaſſed by any one, in the beauty and perfection of his colouring; it is ſo very excellent in all his works, that the eye never perceives the labour and ingenuity of the artiſt, but the whole ſeems, as if nature herſelf preſented her form on the canvaſs. The pencil of Titian always moved with freedom, yet, without negligence; every accidental ſtroke ſhews accurate deſign; the force and effect of his *clair obſcure*, does not ſo much depend on the darkneſs of ſhadow, or the diſplay of light, as in the proper ordinance of his colouring.

All theſe circumſtances may be obſerved in the picture of Bacchanalians, the figures of which are one third of the natural ſize: this picture is at preſent in a cloſet of the Princeſs of Aſturias; every part of the picture, and the whole of it conjunctly, is ſo beautiful, that it would be an endleſs toil to delineate its merit; I can only tell you, I never paſs by it without ſtopping, from the admiration it always cauſes, in ſeeing the figure of the woman aſleep, which exhibits a matter of wonder and novelty, every time I behold it. The colouring is after Titian's brighteſt manner, the degradation of tints are marvellous, beyond what I ever ſaw any where; every part appears nature individually, yet requires great attention to examine the different objects, and ſtill the great variety accords in one general tone: the local tints of the fleſh, in every part, are admirably diverſified, and the drapery is equally well-diſpoſed, with rich colouring: to ſpeak of its acceſſory parts — the fine ſky, the light clouds, the various hues of verdure, the ſhades of trees, the ground ſtrewed with plants, all together is ſpirited, while it is in the juſteſt line of beauty.

Another picture about the ſame ſize,

ſize, repreſenting a feſtival of ſportive cupids, gathering apples on the trees, is of the greateſt beauty, in a perfect ſtyle, and ſeems to have been done at the ſame time as the other. The great variety of little cupids is ſurpriſing, as well as the diverſity of their hair, in ringlets and curls; above all, the admirable degradation of tints, high finiſhing, and the ſweetneſs of the back grounds, in proportion as the objects are more or leſs diſtant.

Theſe two pictures were in the Lodoviſi palace at Rome, and were preſented to the King of Spain. They ſerved, according to Sandrart, for a ſtudy to Domenchino, Pouſſin, and Il Fiamingo, to repreſent beautiful children. Albani has alſo introduced a group of theſe children dancing, in one of his pictures: there are two copies of theſe pictures, by Rubens, in the palace, but they are only to be conſidered, as a book tranſlated into Flemiſh, which preſerves the thoughts, but where the ſpirit and force of the original is evaporated.

There are many other pictures of Titian, but all of them in his latter time, and ſome in his old age, when his ſight failing, his pencil was not ſo accurate; though he always preſerved the greateſt juſtneſs of tints. Notwithſtanding, the number of theſe pictures ſo negligently finiſhed has been prejudicial to the art; as many ſcholars have imitated that manner, without reflecting, that Titian had, in his time, been very correct, and made accuracy and the rule of the art his principal ſtudy, while he attained to a great ſuperiority in point of colouring, in which he exceeded all others.

We have few pictures to ſpeak of by Correggio; but as every piece of this accompliſhed maſter of the art includes the moſt enchanting part of it, though we poſſeſs but two of them, they may ſerve to give a perfect notion of his powers. The Madonna dreſſing the child, and St. Joſeph at a diſtance, ſeems rather a rough draft, from the ſtriking alterations, perceptible in the poſition of the child and the Madonna. It is ſurpriſing to behold the wonderful effect of a figure leſs than two palms, ſeen at a diſtance, appearing conſiderable, and to ſwell on the eye; but this does not ariſe from the harmony of the *clair obſcure*, ſo much as the imperceptible middle-tints, which counteract the light with the ſhadow, and the maſterly management of each, by which he ſo juſtly expreſſed the relief and roundneſs, almoſt to make one forget, that the ſuperfice was a plane.

If Titian was happy in his tints, and the local colour of his objects, Correggio, on the other hand, though leſs perfect in this reſpect, exceeded him greatly in the fine relief which he gave to his figures, and to every part of the body, as well as his artful diſpoſition of aerial perſpective, not only by the gradations of *clair obſcure*, with reſpect to intermediate diſtances, but alſo by a peculiar conception of the true nature of the atmoſphere, which being more or leſs diaphanous, receives the rays of light, and penetrating into different bodies, communicates it in thoſe parts where the principal ray of light does not reach, and thu

forms a kind of ambient, which makes us perceive objects, even in some degree of darkneſs, and enables us to diſtinguiſh their diſtances from each other. This was perfectly underſtood by the Greek artiſts, as may be obſerved by the paintings dug out of Herculaneum, even the moſt common ones, inſomuch, that it appears to have been a ſyſtem of their ſchool. Amongſt the moderns the moſt accompliſhed, in this line, were Correggio, Velaſquez, and Rembrandt.

To return to our picture, the child is moſt perfect, not only by the diſpoſition of *clair obſcure*, but alſo in colouring, deſign, and gracefulneſs. Correggio perfectly underſtoood the juſtneſs of outlines in his ſketches, and to give the contours a true proportion, with that of the body, a moſt difficult taſk, and only underſtood, in an equal degree, by Michael Angelo and Raphael. The Greeks conſidered this part of painting as the moſt difficult, as may be ſeen in Pliny, book xxxv. chap. x.

"To delineate the body, and "give force to the central parts, "is certainly an arduous taſk, but "in which many artiſts have ac- "quired great fame. To exhi- "bit the extremities, and preſerve "the outline judiciouſly, is what "few have ſucceeded in; even "the contour ſhould be ſupport- "ed, ſo as to give an idea of "what was beyond it, and ſeem- "ingly to ſhew what it hides "from our ſight*."

The other picture, repreſenting our Saviour at prayer in the garden, is alſo ſmall, but accurate and well finiſhed. At firſt ſight, we only perceive Chriſt and the angel in a full light, all the reſt being obſcured by the darkneſs of night; but when we examine it more cloſely, the gradations are happily exhibited according to the effect of nature when, in a faint light, where we juſt perceive objects near us, and cannot diſtinguiſh the more diſtant ones. Thoſe that went to ſeize our Saviour are not perceived, nor are there any fine touches of the pencil till that part where the apoſtles are, then the eye begins to diſtinguiſh the leaves and branches; even the plants under foot, as well as the crown of thorns, and the croſs on the ground, become conſpicuous in proportion as they are nearer to the light, or the eye. The reſplendency on the countenance of our Saviour, gives ſpirit to the whole, but it comes from the ſky, and reverberates on the angel.

This idea, which is noble, and with propriety is moſt happily executed by the great maſter, who alone was able to do it juſtice. At preſent, theſe pictures are in the princeſs's cloſet, with thoſe mentioned before by Titian. There are in the ſame place, ſome by Leonardo da Vinci; one of them in his beſt *manner*, repreſenting two children playing with a lamb; this latter none of the beſt performed; another with a head of St. John, when young. In

* Corpora enim pingere et media rerum, eſt quidem magni operis: Sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint. Extrema corporum facere, et deſinentis picturæ modum includere, rarum in ſucceſſu artis invenitur. Ambire enim debet ſe extremitas ipſa, & ſic deſinere, ut promittat alia poſt ſe: oſtendatque etiam quæ occultat.—C. Plinii Secundi Nat. Hiſt. Lib. xxxv. cap. x.

theſe

theſe pictures we find the great judgment of the artiſt reſpecting light and ſhade, and its gradations from its fulleſt ſplendour, till darkneſs, accompanied with peculiar eaſy and pleaſing attitudes, which ſeem to have paved the way for Corregio to attain to that graceful manner, which diſtinguiſhes his works.

There are pieces in this cloſet attributed to Raphael, Of his invention, there is a holy family with figures, about half natural ſize, and ſeem to be of thoſe performances, which, with his drawings, formed his beſt ſcholars. There is another picture of a *Madonna*, holding the child, in the ſame ſtyle of compoſition as that famous one in the gallery of Florence, known by the name of *Madonna de la Seggiola*, with this difference, that, in this I am ſpeaking of, St. John is wanting; it is ſquare, and that of Florence is oval, and the figures as large as nature. This picture in the palace ſeems to have been re-touched by Raphael, but more in the nature of a rough draft than a finiſhed piece. The head of the Madonna, in particular, is his, and has equal merit with any of his works, being full of life and ſpirit.

But how ſhall I explain to you that beautiful picture, in a manner it ſo highly deſerves, known in Sicily, by the name of our lady *dello Spaſimo*; you know, that Raphael painted it for a church in Sicily of that name; the ſhip, according to Vaſari, was loſt, but the picture was recovered without damage, from the wreck. In all times it has been highly valued by true judges; and Aguſtin the Venetian engraved it, though without giving the leaſt glimpſe of its beauty. The Count Malvaſia ſpeaks of it with ſlight; but of this author we may judge from his own writings, which ſhew little knowledge in the profeſſion; and if he relied on the opinions of ſome painters, they were ſuch, and their diſtance ſo great, from the divine Raphael, that they were unqualified to pronounce on the merit of that great man, or much leſs, to underſtand, the principles on which we are to prize the works of this illuſtrious artiſt.

It appears beyond contradiction, that the moſt noble part of the profeſſion, is not that, which conſiſts in giving pleaſure to the eye, or affording a mere entertainment to the ignorant obſerver, but, in the more liberal effuſions it cauſes on the mind, rouſing the generous paſſions, and affecting the very ſoul: this being admitted, as I ſuppoſe it will, we muſt undoubtedly claſs Raphael at the head of thoſe, whoſe works are preſerved down to the preſent time. The fertility of his genius, and the diſplay of his ideas, ſhew themſelves on the firſt view; thus, the tranquil, the tumultuous, the amorous, the ſerious, or the chearful, have nothing but what are adapted to the ſentiment by which our ſenſibility is moved in the ſame feeling manner, as by the eloquence of the orator, or the numbers of the poet.

Moreover, he has inſinuated, in every figure, the preceding ſcene, as well as the immediate action, and we ſeem to underſtand what is to follow. The determinate action never appears concluſive,

but rather juſt beginning, which gives ſuch a ſpirit, from this happy manner, that every thing ſeems, as it were, in motion. In effect, if we examine the picture of the Spaſimo, in all its parts, we are ſenſible, that if Raphael was not always great in each of his works, we might reckon this performance as an *unique* from its ſurpriſing beauty.

You know, that the ſubject of this picture is taken from ſcripture, when the women wept on ſeeing our Saviour bearing the croſs to Mount Calvary; and he ſaid to them, foretelling the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, *Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourſelves, and for your children!* To give more grace to his compoſition, Raphael has added a diſtant view of Mount Calvary, winding to the right, where it is thought our Lord fell the firſt time, when a ruffian pulls him by a rope, tied round his waiſt. It is to be ſuppoſed, that this picture being intended for the church before mentioned, the friars who were to have it, were deſirous, that the bleſſed virgin ſhould be repreſented; or it might have been the choice of the painter; be that as it may, Raphael well knew how to give every figure its utmoſt grace and dignity, and to treat his ſubject with infinite majeſty.

Having to repreſent on this occaſion, the figure of a mother of one going to the place of execution, and treated impiouſly by the people, he choſe the unhappy ſtate of an afflicted mother, obliged to intercede with an infamous mob, to have compaſſion on the ſufferer. In this diſtreſs, Raphael has painted our lady kneeling, not looking towards her ſon, to whom ſhe could give no relief, but in the act of the moſt efficacious ſupplication, repreſenting, that having fallen, he is in need of the pity of him, who is pulling him by the rope, in order to riſe. To this humble poſture he gives a *relief*, by placing near her, Mary Magdalen, St. John, and the other Marys, who condole with her, and give ſuccour to the mother of their lord, ſupporting her in their arms.

Theſe figures are highly expreſſive of the deepeſt concern for the ſufferings of our Saviour, particularly Mary Magdalen, who ſeems, as it were, ſpeaking to Jeſus Chriſt, while St. John is giving aid to our lady. Jeſus Chriſt, though fallen, is not dejected, nor faint; on the contrary, ſeems to threaten, by what he utters, juſt as it is expreſſed in holy writ, his countenance, beſides being in this piece of an excellence and beauty almoſt incomprehenſible, appears inflamed with a prophetic ſpirit, perfectly adapted to the ſubject, not only as the Son of God, though in ſufferance; but alſo ſuitable to the genius of Raphael, who never painted any feature indifferently, when the character could poſſibly be repreſented with dignity.

The whole action of the figure is noble and animated; the left arm, with a fine hand, leaning on a ſtone, is quite extended; but the irregular folds of the ſleeve, ſhew the ſuddenneſs of the fall, and ſeem as it were yet in motion, as if they had not recovered from the preſſure enſuing from the weight. With the right hand, Jeſus Chriſt holds the croſs faſt, as if unwilling

to yield it to the figure that ſeems aiming to eaſe him of it; a thought moſt worthy of the great Raphael, who, in an action, which to many would appear indifferent, recollected that, Jeſus Chriſt ſuffered for our ſins, becauſe he choſe to do ſo.

The variety is no leſs admirable, which he has diffuſed in the countenances of the executioners, exhibiting even in theſe, the different ſtages of wickedneſs. That figure with his ſhoulders towards us, pulling Jeſus Chriſt by the rope, ſhews his only paſſion to be, a brutal deſire of hurrying on, to the place of execution; the other, who lays hold of the croſs, ſeems touched with ſome degree of compaſſion, and willing to relieve the ſufferer: near him a ſoldier, placing the croſs with his hand on the ſhoulders of our lord, and lifting his lance with a threatening geſture, expreſſes the utmoſt inveteracy, and deſire to oppreſs the lord ſtill more after his fall.

POETRY.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, *Jan.* 1, 1782. *Written by* W. Whitehead, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

O Wondrous power of inborn worth,
When danger calls its ſpirit forth,
And ſtrong neceſſity compels
The ſecret ſprings to burſt their narrow cells!
Tho' foes unnumber'd gird her round,
Though not one friend is faithful found,
Tho' impious ſcorn derides;
Yet ſtill unmov'd amidſt the band,
Like her own rocks, does Britain ſtand,
And braves th' inſulting tides!
A world in arms aſſaults her reign,
A world in arms aſſaults in vain!
'Tis Britain calls: ye nations hear!
Unbrace the corſelet, drop the ſpear,
No more th' inſidious toil purſue,
Nor ſtrive to weaken what you can't ſubdue!
'Tis Britain calls: "with fatal ſpeed
You urge, by headlong fury led,
Your own impending fate:
Too late you'll weep, too late you'll find
'Twas for the glory of mankind,
That Britain ſhould be great!
In Britain's voice 'tis Freedom calls,
For Freedom dies if Britain falls!
She cannot fall;—the ſame Almighty hand,
That rais'd her white rocks from the main,
Does ſtill her arduous cauſe maintain,
Still graſps the ſhield that guards her favour'd land:
Obedient to his word,
Not to deſtroy, but to reclaim,
Th' avenging angel waves the flaming ſword:
Revere his awful name!
Repentant in the duſt,
Confeſs his judgments juſt;
Th' avenging ſword ſhall ceaſe to wave,
And, whom his mercy ſpares his power ſhall ſave!

ODE *for the* KING'S BIRTH DAY, *June* 4, 1782. *Written by* W. Whitehead, *Esq. Poet Laureat.*

STILL does reluctant Peace refuse,
Though courted by each generous mind,
To shed her Panacean dews,
And heal the madness of mankind!

Must this auspicious day again
Be clouded with one anxious care,
And powers malignant render vain
The monarch's fondest wish, the people's general prayer!

O no! in yonder pregnant sky,
Whence all our hopes and blessings spring,
New bursting scenes of glory lie,
And future joys are on the wing;
The lingering morn, that coyly sheds
On broken clouds and mountain-heads
At first a glimmering ray,
Now brighter, and now brighter glows,
Wide, and more wide the lustre flows,
Till all is future day;
And Earth, rejoicing in ethereal light,
Forgets the dreary damps, and live-long shades of night.

Satiate of war, whose mad excess
No bound, no kind restriction knows,
But marks its progress with distress,
The willing world shall seek repose;
And Belgia, waking from her dreams
Of Gallic frauds, illusive schemes,
Shall add new strength to Concord's chain,
And know her ancient friends again.
While those, whom nearer ties unite,
Whom all the charities combine,
Shall backward turn their trembling sight,
And deprecate the wrath divine:
'Midst bleeding heaps of brothers slain,
'Midst Desolation's horrid reign,
And all its complicated woes,
With wild affright in every face,
Shall strain more close the strict embrace,
And wonder they could e'er be foes.

O pleasing hope! O blest presage
Of joys to last from age to age!
For what Heaven's self commands, must Heav'n approve,
Returning amity, and mutual love!

And

And hark! on yonder Weſtern Main,
Imperious France is taught to know,
That Britain re-aſſumes her reign,
Her thunders only ſlept to ſtrike the deeper blow.

Ye nations, hear! the Gallic ſtar,
Shorn of its beams, th' horizon leaves;
That fatal firebrand of the war
No longer dazzles and deceives.
Record it in the faireſt light
Of faithful hiſtory's future page,
"They only triumph'd whilſt they ſhunn'd the fight,
"We, when we forc'd them to engage."

Addreſs to POETRY: *an Extract from An Eſſay on Epic Poetry, by* William Hayley, *Eſq.*

THOU firſt and faireſt of the ſocial arts!
Sovereign of liberal ſouls, and feeling hearts,
If, in devotion to thy heavenly charms,
I claſp'd thy altar with my infant arms,
For thee neglected the wide field of wealth,
The toils of int'reſt, and the ſports of health,
Enchanting Poeſy! that zeal repay
With powers to ſing thy univerſal ſway!
To trace thy progreſs from thy diſtant birth,
Heaven's pure deſcendant! dear delight of earth!
Charm of all regions! to no age confin'd!
The prime ennobler of th' aſpiring mind!
Nor will thy dignity, ſweet power! diſdain
What Fiction utters in her idle ſtrain,
Thy ſportive friend! who, mocking ſolemn truth,
Tells her fond tales of thy untutor'd youth.
As wrong'd Latona (ſo her tale begins)
To Delphos travell'd with her youthful twins;
The envenom'd Python, with terrific ſway,
Croſs'd the fair Goddeſs in her deſtin'd way:
The heavenly parent, in the wild alarm,
Her little Dian in her anxious arm,
High on a ſtone, which ſhe in terror trod,
Cried to her filial guard, the Archer God,
Bidding with force, that ſpoke the mother's heart
Her young Apollo launch his ready dart;
In meaſur'd ſounds her rapid mandate flow'd,
The firſt foundation of the future ode!

Thus,

Thus, at their banquets, fabling Greeks rehearſe*
The fancied origin of ſacred verſe:
And though cold reaſon may with ſcorn aſſail,
Or turn contemptuous from their ſimple tale,
Yet, Poeſy! thy ſiſter art may ſtoop
From this weak ſketch to paint th' impaſſion'd group.
Though taſte refin'd to modern verſe deny
The hacknied pageants of the Pagan ſky,
Their ſinking radiance ſtill the canvaſs warms,
Painting ſtill glories in their graceful forms;
Nor canſt thou envy, if the world agree
To grant thy ſiſter claims denied to thee;
For thee, the happier art! the elder-born!
Superior rights and dearer charms adorn:
Confin'd ſhe catches, with obſervance keen,
Her ſingle moment of the changeful ſcene;
But thou, endu'd with energy ſublime,
Unqueſtion'd arbiter of ſpace and time!
Canſt join the diſtant, the unknown create,
And, while exiſtence yields thee all her ſtate,
On the aſtoniſh'd mind profuſely pour
Myriads of forms, that fancy muſt adore.
Yet of thy boundleſs power the deareſt part
Is firm poſſeſſion of the feeling heart:
No progeny of chance, by labour taught,
No ſlow-form'd creature of ſcholaſtic thought,
The child of paſſion thou! thy lyre ſhe ſtrung,
To her parental notes ſhe tun'd thy tongue;
Gave thee her boldeſt ſwell, her ſofteſt tone,
And made the compaſs of her voice thy own.
To Admiration, ſource of joy refin'd!
Chaſte, lovely mover of the ſimple mind!
To her, though ſceptics, in their pride, declaim,
With many an inſult, on her injur'd name;
To her, ſweet Poeſy! we owe thy birth,
Thou firſt encomiaſt of the fruitful earth!
By her inſpir'd, the earlieſt mortal found
The ear-delighting charm of meaſur'd ſound;
He hail'd the maker of a world ſo fair,
And the firſt accent of his ſong was prayer.
O, moſt attractive of thoſe airy powers,
Who moſt illuminate man's chequer'd hours!

* *Thus, at their banquets, fabling Greeks rehearſe*
The fancied origin of ſacred Verſe.] For this fable, ſuch as it is, I am indebted to a paſſage in Athenæus, which the curious reader may find in the cloſe of that fanciful and entertaining compiler, page 701 of Caſaubon's edition.

Is there an art, in all the group divine,
Whoſe dawn of being muſt not yield to thine?
Religion's ſelf, whoſe provident controul
Takes from fierce man his anarchy of ſoul,
She oe'r thy youth with fond affection hung,
And borrow'd muſic from thy infant tongue.
Law, ſterner Law, whoſe potent voice impreſt
Severeſt terror on the human breaſt,
With thy freſh flowers her awful figure crown'd,
And ſpoke her mandate in thy ſofter ſound.
E'en cold Philoſophy, whom later days
Saw thy mean rival, envious of thy praiſe;
Who clos'd againſt thee her ungrateful arms,
And urg'd her Plato to defame thy charms;
She from thy childhood gain'd no fruitleſs aid,
From thee ſhe learnt her talent to perſuade.
Gay nature view'd thee with a ſmiling glance,
The graces round thee fram'd the frolic dance:
And well might feſtive joy thy favour court;
Thy ſong turn'd ſtrife to peace, and toil to ſport.
Exhauſted Vigour at thy voice reviv'd,
And Mirth from thee her deareſt charm deriv'd.
Triumphant Love, in thy alliance bleſt,
Enlarg'd his empire o'er the gentle breaſt;
His torch aſſum'd new luſtre from thy breath,
And his clear flame defied the clouds of death.
But of the ſplendid train, who felt thy ſway,
Or drew exiſtence from thy vital ray,
Glory, with fondeſt zeal, proclaim'd thy might,
And hail'd thee victor of oblivious night.
Her martial trumpet to thy hand ſhe gave,
At once to quicken, and reward the brave:
It ſounds—his blood the kindling hero pays,
A cheap and ready price for thy eternal praiſe!
Tho' ſelfiſh Fear th' immortal ſtrain deride,
And mock the warrior's wiſh as frantic pride!

Sketches of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Epic Poets of England; *taken from the ſame Poem.*

NOW, graver Britain, amiably ſevere,
To thee, with native zeal, to thee I ſteer;
My vent'rous bark, its foreign circuit o'er,
Exulting ſprings to thy parental ſhore.
Thou gorgeous queen, who on thy ſilvery coaſt,
Sitteſt encircled by a filial hoſt,

And

And ſeeſt thy ſons, the jewels of thy crown,
Blaze with each varying ray of rich renown;
If with juſt love I hold their genius dear,
Lament their hardſhips, and their fame revere,
O bid thy Epic Muſe, with honour due,
Range her departed champions in my view!
See, on a party-colour'd ſteed of fire,
With Humour at his ſide, his truſty ſquire,
Gay CHAUCER leads—in form a knight of old,
And his ſtrong armour is of ſteel and gold;
But o'er it age a cruel ruſt has ſpread,
And made the brilliant metals dark as lead.
Now gentle SPENSER, Fancy's fav'rite bard,
Awakes my wonder and my fond regard;
Encircling faries bear, in ſportive dance,
His adamantine ſhield and magic lance;
While Allegory, dreſt with myſtic art,
Appears his guide; but, promiſing to dart
A lambent glory round her liſt'ning ſon,
She hides him in the web herſelf has ſpun.
Ingenuous COWLEY, the fond dupe of wit,
Seems like a vapour o'er the field to flit;
In David's praiſe he ſtrikes ſome epic notes,
But ſoon down Lethe's ſtream their dying murmur floats.
While COWLEY vaniſh'd in an amorous riddle,
Up roſe the frolic Bard of Bear and Fiddle:
His ſmiles exhilarate the ſullen earth,
Adorning ſatire in the maſk of mirth:
Taught by his ſong, fanatics ceaſe their jars,
And wiſe aſtrologers renounce the ſtars.
Unrivall'd BUTLER! bleſt with happy ſkill
To heal by comic verſe each ſerious ill,
By wit's ſtrong flaſhes reaſon's light diſpenſe,
And laugh a frantic nation into ſenſe!
Apart, and on a ſacred hill retir'd,
Beyond all mortal inſpiration fir'd,
The mighty MILTON ſits—an hoſt around
Of liſt'ning angels guard the holy ground;
Amaz'd they ſee a human form aſpire
To graſp with daring hand a ſeraph's lyre,
Inly irradiate with celeſtial beams,
Attempt thoſe high, thoſe ſoul-ſubduing themes,
(Which humbler denizens of heaven decline)
And celebrate, with ſanctity divine,
The ſtarry field from warring angels won,
And God triumphant in his Victor Son.
Nor leſs the wonder, and the ſweet delight,
His milder ſcenes and ſofter notes excite,

When

When at his bidding Eden's blooming grove
Breathes the rich ſweets of innocence and love.
With ſuch pure joy as our forefather knew
When Raphael, heavenly gueſt, firſt met his view,
And our glad ſire, within his bliſsful bower,
Drank the pure converſe of th' ætherial power,
Round the bleſt bard his raptur'd audience throng,
And feel their ſouls imparadis'd in ſong.
Of humbler mien, but not of mortal race,
Ill-fated DRYDEN, with imperial grace,
Gives to th' obedient lyre his rapid laws;
Tones yet unheard, with touch divine, he draws,
The melting fall, the riſing ſwell ſublime,
And all the magic of melodious rhyme.
See with proud joy imagination ſpread
A wreath of honour round his aged head!
But two baſe ſpectres, tho' of different hue,
The bard unhappy in his march purſue;
Two vile diſgraceful fiends, of race accurſt,
Conceiv'd by Spleen, by meagre Famine nurſt,
Malignant Satire, mercenary Praiſe,
Shed their dark ſpots on his immortal bays.
Poor DAVENANT march'd before, with nobler aim,
His keen eye fixt upon the palm of fame;
But cruel fortune doom'd him to rehearſe
A theme ill-choſen, in ill-choſen verſe.
Next came Sir RICHARD, but in woeful plight,
DRYDEN's led-horſe firſt threw the luckleſs knight.
He rode advent'rous ſtill—O who may count
How oft he tried a different ſteed to mount!
Each angry ſteed his awkward rider flung;
Undaunted ſtill he fell, and falling ſung.
But Æſculapius, who, with grief diſtreſt,
Beheld his offspring made a public jeſt,
Soon bade a livelier ſon with mirth efface
The ſhame he ſuffer'd from Sir Richard's caſe.
Swift at the word his ſprightly GARTH began
To make an * helmet of a cloſe-ſtool pan;
An urinal he for his trumpet takes,
And at each blaſt he blows ſee Laughter ſhakes.
Yet peace—new muſic floats on æther's wings;
Say, is it harmony herſelf who ſings?
No, while enraptured ſylphs the ſong inſpire,
'Tis POPE who ſweetly wakes the ſilver lyre
To melting notes, more muſically clear
Than Ariel whiſper'd in Belinda's ear.

* And his high helmet was a cloſe-ſtool pan. DISPENSARY.

Too

Too ſoon he quits them for a ſharper tone;
See him, tho' form'd to fill the epic throne,
Decline the ſceptre of that wide domain,
To bear a Lictor's rod in Satire's train;
And, ſhrouded in a miſt of moral ſpleen,
Behold him cloſe the viſionary ſcene!

VERSES *on Sir* Joſhua Reynolds's *Painted Window at New College, Oxford.*

AH ſtay thy treacherous hand, forbear to trace
Thoſe faultleſs forms of elegance and grace!
Ah, ceaſe to ſpread the bright tranſparent maſs,
With Titian's pencil, o'er the ſpeaking glaſs!
Nor ſteal, by ſtrokes of art with truth combin'd,
The fond illuſions of my wayward mind!
For long, enamour'd of a barbarous age,
A faithleſs truant to the claſſic page;
Long have I lov'd to catch the ſimple chime
Of minſtrel-harps, and ſpell the fabling rime;
To view the feſtive rites, the knightly play,
That deck'd heroic Albion's elder day;
To mark the mouldering halls of barons bold,
And the rough caſtle, caſt in giant-mould;
With Gothic manners Gothic arts explore,
And muſe on the magnificence of yore.
  But chief, enraptur'd have I lov'd to roam,
A lingering votary, the vaulted dome,
Where the tall ſhafts, that mount in maſſy pride,
Their mingling branches ſhoot from ſide to ſide;
Where elfin ſculptors, with fantaſtic clew,
O'er the long roof their wild embroidery drew;
Where Superſtition, with capricious hand,
In many a maze the wreathed window plann'd,
With hues romantic ting'd the gorgeous pane,
To fill with holy light the wonderous fane;
To aid the builder's model, richly rude,
By no Vitruvian ſymmetry ſubdued;
To ſuit the genius of the myſtic pile:
Whilſt as around the far-retiring iſle,
And fretted ſhrines with hoary trophies hung,
Her dark illumination wide ſhe flung,
With new ſolemnity, the nooks profound,
The caves of death, and the dim arches frown'd.
From bliſs long felt unwillingly we part:
Ah, ſpare the weakneſs of a lover's heart!

Chaſe not the phantoms of my fairy dream,
Phantoms that ſhrink at Reaſon's painful gleam!
That ſofter touch, inſidious artiſt, ſtay,
Nor to new joys my ſtruggling breaſt betray!
Such was a penſive bard's miſtaken ſtrain.—
But, oh, of raviſh'd pleaſures why complain?
No more the matchleſs ſkill I call unkind
That ſtrives to diſenchant my cheated mind.
For when again I view thy chaſte deſign,
The juſt proportion, and the genuine line;
Thoſe native pourtraitures of attic art,
That from the lucid ſurface ſeem to ſtart;
Thoſe tints, that ſteal no glories from the day,
Nor aſk the ſun to lend his ſtreaming ray;
The doubtful radiance of contending dies,
That faintly mingle, yet diſtinctly riſe;
'Twixt light and ſhade the tranſitory ſtrife;
The feature blooming with immortal life:
The ſtole in caſual foldings taught to flow,
Not with ambitious ornaments to glow;
The tread majeſtic, and the beaming eye
That lifted ſpeaks its commerce with the ſky:
Sudden, the ſombrous imagery is fled,
Which late my viſionary rapture fed:
Thy powerful hand has broke the gothic chain,
And brought my boſom back to truth again:
To truth, by no peculiar taſte confin'd,
Whoſe univerſal pattern ſtrikes mankind;
To truth, whoſe bold and unreſiſted aim
Checks frail caprice, and faſhion's fickle claim;
To truth, whoſe charms deception's magic quell,
And bind coy Fancy in a ſtronger ſpell.
Ye brawny prophets, that in robes ſo rich,
At diſtance due, poſſeſs the criſped nich;
Ye rows of patriarchs, that ſublimely rear'd,
Diffuſe a proud primeval length of beard:
Ye ſaints, who clad in crimſon's bright array,
More pride than humble Poverty diſplay:
Ye virgins meek, that wear the palmy crown
Of patient faith, and yet ſo fiercely frown:
Ye angels, that from golden clouds recline,
But boaſt no ſemblance to a race divine:
Ye tragic tales of legendary lore,
That draw devotion's ready tear no more:
Ye martyrdoms of unenlighten'd days,
Ye miracles, that now no wonder raiſe:
Shapes, that with one broad glare the gazer ſtrike,
Kings, biſhops, nuns, apoſtles, all alike!

Ye colours, that th' unwary ſight amaze,
And only dazzle in the noontide blaze!
No more the ſacred window's round diſgrace,
But yield to Grecian groupes the ſhining ſpace.
Lo, from the canvas Beauty ſhifts her throne,
Lo, Picture's powers a new formation own!
Behold, ſhe prints upon the cryſtal plain,
With her own energy, th' expreſſive ſtain!
The mighty maſter ſpreads his mimic toil
More wide, nor only blends the breathing oil;
But calls the lineaments of life compleat
From genial alchymy's creative heat;
Obedient forms to the bright fuſion gives,
While in the warm enamel Nature lives.
Artiſt, 'tis thine, from the broad window's height,
To add new luſtre to religious light:
Not of its pomp to ſtrip this antient ſhrine,
But bid that pomp with purer radiance ſhine:
With arts unknown before, to reconcile
The willing graces to the gothic pile.

ODE *to the Honourable* WILLIAM PITT. *By* WILLIAM MASON, *M.A.*

Μὴ νὺν; ὅτι φθονεραὶ
Θνατῶν φρένας ἀμφικρέμανται ἐλπίδες;
Μήτ' ἀρετὰν ποτε σιγάτω πατρῴαν,
Μηδὲ τόσσ ὕμνος. PINDAR. Iſthm. Ode 2.

I.

'TIS May's meridian reign; yet Eurus cold
Forbids each ſhrinking thorn its leaves unfold,
Or hang with ſilver buds her rural throne:
No primroſe ſhower from her green lap ſhe throws *,
No daiſy, violet, or cowſlip blows,
And Flora weeps her fragrant offſpring gone.
Hoar froſt arreſts the genial dew;
To wake, to warble, and to woo
No Linnet calls his drooping love:
Shall then the poet ſtrike the lyre,
When mute are all the feather'd quire,
And Nature fails to warm the ſyrens of the grove?

II.

He ſhall: for what the ſullen Spring denies
The orient beam of virtuous youth ſupplies;

* This expreſſion is taken from Milton's ſong on May Morning, to which this ſtanza in general alludes, and the 4th verſe in the next.

That moral dawn be his inſpiring flame.
Beyond the dancing radiance of the eaſt
Thy glory, ſon of Chatham! fires his breaſt,
And, proud to celebrate thy vernal fame,
Hark, from his lyre the ſtrain aſcends,
Which but to Freedom's fav'rite friends
That lyre diſdains to ſound.
Hark and approve, as did thy ſire *
The lays which once with kindred fire
His muſe in attic mood made Mona's oaks rebound.

III.

Long ſilent ſince, ſave when, in Keppel's name,
Detraction, murd'ring Britain's naval fame,
Rous'd into ſounds of ſcorn th' indignant ſtring †.
But now, repleniſh'd with a richer theme,
The vaſe of harmony ſhall pour its ſtream,
Fan'd by free Fancy's rainbow-tinctur'd wing.
Thy country too ſhall hail the ſong,
Her echoing heart the notes prolong;
While they alone with ‡ envy ſigh,
Whoſe rancour to thy parent dead
Aim'd, ere his funeral rites were paid,
With vain vindictive rage to ſtarve his progeny.

IV.

From earth and theſe the muſe averts her view,
To meet in yonder ſea of ether blue
A beam to which the blaze of noon is pale;
In purpling circles now the glory ſpreads,
A hoſt of angels now unveil their heads,
While heav'n's own muſic triumphs on the gale.
Ah ſee, two white-rob'd ſeraphs lead
Thy father's venerable ſhade;
He bends from yonder cloud of gold,
While they, the miniſters of light,
Bear from his breaſt a mantle bright,
And with the heav'n-wove robe thy youthful limbs enfold.

V.

"Receive this myſtic gift, my ſon!" he cries,
"And, for ſo wills the Sov'reign of the ſkies,

* The poem of Caractacus was read in MS. by the late Earl of Chatham, who honoured it with an approbation which the author is here proud to record.

† See Ode to the Naval Officers of Great Britain, written 1779.

‡ See the motto from Pindar.

"With

" With this receive, at Albion's anxious hour,
" A double portion of my patriot zeal,
" Active to ſpread the fire it dar'd to feel
" Thro' raptur'd ſenates, and with awful power
" From the full fountain of the tongue
" To roll the rapid tide along
" Till a whole nation caught the flame.
" So on thy fire ſhall heav'n beſtow
" A bleſſing Tully fail'd to know,
" And redolent in thee diffuſe thy father's fame.

VI.

" Nor thou, ingenuous boy! that Fame deſpiſe
" Which lives and ſpreads abroad in heav'n's pure eyes,
" The laſt beſt energy of noble mind *;
" Revere thy father's ſhade; like him diſdain
" The tame, the timid, temporizing train,
" Awake to ſelf, to ſocial intereſt blind:
" Young as thou art, Occaſion calls,
" Thy country's ſcale or mounts or falls
" As thou and thy compatriots ſtrive;
" Scarce is the fatal moment paſt
" That trembling Albion deem'd her laſt,
" O knit the union firm, and bid an empire live.

VII.

" Proceed, and vindicate fair Freedom's claim,
" Give life, give ſtrength, give ſubſtance to her name;
" The native rights of man with Fraud conteſt;
" Yes, ſnatch them from Corruption's baleful power,
" Who dares, in Day's broad eye, thoſe rights devour,
" While prelates bow, and bleſs the harpy feaſt,
" If foil'd at firſt, reſume thy courſe,
" Riſe ſtrengthen'd with Antæan force,
" So ſhall thy toil in conqueſt end.
" Let others court the tinſel things
" That hang upon the ſmile of kings,
" Be thine the muſe's wreath; be thou *the people's friend.*"

PROLOGUE *ſpoken at the opening of the* Lyceum *at* Madraſs, 1782.

TO Grecia's ſons while Freedom ſpread her charms,
And rouz'd each lingering votary to arms,
The hoſt of Aſia o'er the Euxine ſtrait,
Broke like a flood, and pour'd reſiſtleſs fate.
No force could check it, and no bar withſtand;
Down ſunk Thermopylæ's devoted band—

* In alluſion to a fine and well-known paſſage in Milton's Lycidas.

The ſack of Athens ſpoke the Grecian doom,
And art and ſcience fear'd a common tomb.
Heaven interpos'd. Soon blew the tempeſt o'er,
And left the wreck of Grandeur on the ſhore,
At Freedom's call returns the power of taſte,
Reſumes her labours, and repairs the waſte;
On Pindus' top deſcend th' awarding nine,
And chaplets freſh for favour'd heroes twine;
Its umbrage brown Lyceum's ſhade regains,
And breathes the majeſty of attic ſtrains;
His juſt reward there meets the conſcious brave,
On land who triumph'd, or who rul'd the wave;
Thence takes the palm at Salamis he won,
Or lives, immortal lives! by Marathon.
How like the picture to the preſent time!
The age tho' diſtant, tho' oppos'd the clime,
With barbarous rage fell Hyder leads his bands,
And empties kingdoms on our groaning lands.
His ſtrength to wither, Britain's ſtandards fly;
Her navy triumphs o'er his * *Greek* ally:
And Hughes and Coote have ſnatch'd a ſplendid praiſe,
But known to Spartan and Athenian days.
O! give it root, kind heaven! wide let it ſpread,
'Till ruin cruſh this modern Xerxes' head.
Amid this ſtrife on what ſhall Wit rely?
Where Taſte reſort, or Sentiment apply?
No ſtage is left to feed the poet's flame,
From Fancy's mines to ſpring the actor's fame;
The muſes' hills the ruthleſs awe invades,
And leaves no muſic where it leaves no ſhades:
No lips the fount of Aganippe taſte,
Save thoſe, inhuman, that frequent the waſte:
In groves and vallies, pregnant once with ſong,
Silence preſides, or owls diſcordant throng.
War, gothic war! the glimmering light denies,
That learning ſcatter'd through our orient ſkies.
Should then ſome bolder minds their view proclaim,
To blow the dying embers into flame;
With wit's remains to make one glorious ſtand,
And from unletter'd darkneſs ſhield the land;
In this retreat a new Lyceum found,
And court each muſe to tread the fabled ground;
Tho' vain the viſion, tho' remote the end,
The wiſe ſhall hail it, and the fair befriend:
To Beauty's ſun ſome Roſcius homage pay,
And Shakeſpeare ſhoot beneath the foſtering ray.

* France.

Nor

Nor Ben nor Congreve from the ſcene refrain,
Nor old Anacreon, with his chian ſtrain.
Mirth mix'd with wiſdom, ſhall aſſert her rule,
And love enlighten Ariſtotle's ſchool.

PROLOGUE *to the New Comedy of* VARIETY. *Spoken by Mr.* KING. *Written by* R. TICKELL, *Eſq.*

AMID the rivals of contending trade,
That court Variety's ſucceſſive aid,
Two neighbouring houſes moſt exert their cares,
To deck with novelty their patent wares;
Both in their turns your generous cuſtom gain,
For both a powerful company maintain,
In Covent-garden, and at Drury-lane.
What emulation fires this rival pair!
Variety, their everlaſting care——
What choice aſſortments each preſents to view!
New furbiſh'd *remnants*, now *whole pieces* new.
And now *old patterns*, by the ſciſſars ſkill,
Slic'd into ſafety like a cut bank-bill.
Here all the *ſattin* of Circaſſia ſhines,
Or homeſpun *ſtuff* with Scottiſh *Plaid* combines.
There *chequer'd* Harlequin's fair Virtue calls
To Negro nymphs, in *linſey-woolſey ſhawls*;
Chictaws and Tictaws all the town entice—
True Eaſtern ſplendour!—'nothing but full price.'
'Tis good old Lun rebukes the haughty boaſt,
Stalks from his tomb, and ſinks a half-price ghoſt.
What then to juſtly win this precious name,
What true Variety now ſues for fame?
Let your own judgment fix our author's plea——
To *that* we truſt to-night's Variety.
No foſt'ring paragraph our muſe can boaſt,
To ſlip young laurels in the Morning Poſt;
Or call the ſeedling puffs, at random ſet,
To thrive tranſplanted in the Noon Gazette,
Such bankrupt tricks let falſe ambition play,
And live on paper-credit—day by day;
Variety diſdains to truſt her cauſe
To ſelfiſh flatt'ry, or to bought applauſe.
What ſays the town?—do more—reform—enough——
That Bruſſelles Gazette ſtop the prompter's puff.
The prompter's eye, in a fine phrenzy fit,
Glances from pit to box, from box to pit;
And as his fancy bodies forth whole rows
Of abſent belles, and viſionary beaux,

His fertile pen aſſiſts the ideal vapours,
And gives them local fixture in the papers.
There the bold tropes of adulation glow,
Reſplendent crowds the teeming houſe o'erflow;
Repeated burſts attend each ſcene throughout,
And the play cloſes with a general ſhout.
But this fictitious currency is paſt——
Falſe drafts on Fame muſt be diſgrac'd at laſt.
In wit, as wealth, for treaſure or applauſe,
True genuine credit is the public cauſe—
The laws of taſte at leaſt ſhould ſtill be free—
Aſſert them kindly for—Variety.

EPILOGUE *to Lady* CRAVEN'*s* ARCADIAN PASTORAL. *Spoken by Miſs* FAULKENER, *in the Character of the Fairy.*

THINK not, good folks, becauſe our play is done—
That all my power of Conjuration's gone!
No mortal pow'r a fairy can diſarm,
And females ne'er give up their right *to charm.*
Behold the proof! I wave this wand thrice round:—
Now you're all ſtruck like ſtatues—all ſpell-bound!
Ladies, you feel it, don't you? And you, *Sirs?*
There's no one anſwers; not a creature ſtirs.
Well now, no grumbling! or, as I'm a ſprite,
Not one amongſt you ſhall go home to-night.
We præternatural things, 'bout whom, of old,
Your prating nurſes have ſuch wonders told,
Are ſtrangely falſify'd!—With them our trade's,
To pop thro' key-holes, and to pinch old maids;
To meet, in troops, by moon-light on the green,
And dance, in myſtic circles, round our queen!
This, and a great deal more, as wiſe as true,
Some good believing Chriſtians think we do.
But know, a miſſion nobler far is ours,
And we to greater ends direct our pow'rs.
Is there a *maid*, to whom ſome thoughtleſs youth
Talks, and means nothing, about *love* and *truth?*
Inſtant a fairy flies to point the ſnare,
And whiſper in her ear, *Beware! Beware!*
In there a *ſenator* in all your land,
Who for a bribe holds out his venal hand?
To twitch his ſleeve, our winged ſquadrons fly,
And whiſper in his ear, *Oh, fie! Oh, fie!*
Is there a *dowager*, at cards grown grey,
Who, when ſhe loſes, can forget to pay?

She

She muſt not think to 'ſcape the fairy's blame;
We thunder in her ear, *For ſhame! For ſhame!*
But, chief of all your race, the *young* and *fair*
We make with pleaſure our peculiar care:
Ev'n in their leaſt concerns we take a part,
And deign to guide the friſeur's toilſome art.
Whene'er Durinda dreſſes for the ball,
We hover o'er in clouds of *Mareſchal*;
Attend her there—there watch her eyes and lips,
And check, with ſage advice, whene'er ſhe trips.
Such are our taſks—*farewell! remember me!*
The charm is broke, and now again you're free.
[*Going, returns.*]
Good heav'ns, I'd nigh forgot:—But I was ſent
To aſk, if with our play you're all content.
My little trembling friends impatient wait,
To hear from me your judgment, and their fate.
One too there is, to whom your kind applauſe,
As doubly flatt'ring, double joy will cauſe:
And *ſhe* to merit moſt concern appears,
Who to an *author*'s joins a mother's fears.

EPILOGUE *to the* WALLOONS, *by the* AUTHOR.

NOW men are ſcarce, and theſe wide-waſting wars
Make dreadful havock of our gallant tars,
Heroines, how ſay you? ſhall the white flag fly?
Turn out the female volunteers, ſay I.
My galley, *man'd* and officer'd by you,
Shall challenge Cleopatra's and her crew:
And doubt not, gentle warriors, you ſhall find
All ſoft accommodations to your mind:
O'er the white waves your painted bark ſhall riſe,
With enſign colour'd from the *emperor's eyes*;
Your ropes of ſilk, your decks with carpets ſpread,
And ſilver tiſſue awning over head;
Your ſiſter Sea-Nymphs, whereſoe'er you ſail,
With *Perſia*'s odours ſhall perfume the gale;
Neptune in ſtate upon your ſtem ſhall ride,
And powder'd Tritons ogle by your ſide.
Then, French monſieurs, keep off at length of cable,
If once we grapple, girls, they'll find us *able*;
Nay, let their boaſted Paris dames advance,
The blood of Britain 'gainſt the rouge of France,
We'll fairly ſettle the account between us,
And triumph on the element of Venus.

For

For Spain, our ſriend at heart, in arms our foe,
Our eyes ſhall conquer them without a blow;
By love and muſic their ſoft ſouls are won,
We'll fight them with guitar, and not with gun;
Their generous lives, tho' not their hearts we'll ſpare;
The brave, tho' vanquiſh'd, ſtill deſerve the fair.
But for thoſe ſlovenly mynheers, the Dutch,
Let not their trowſers come within my touch;
Oh, we've a rod, dear countrymen, to tickle
Thoſe herring mongers, ſous'd in their own pickle.
But you, Americans, who ſpurn the breaſt
To which your helpleſs infancy was preſt,
Ye unreturning prodigals, who feed
On empty huſks, and preſs the broken reed
Of gallic promiſes, oh come and prove
A mother's pardon and a ſiſter's love.

Account

Account of Books for 1782.

Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the Works of the Engliſh Poets, by Samuel Johnſon. 10 *vol.* 12*mo.*

THOUGH the merits of this learned performance have been long ſince the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and its reputation be eſtabliſhed on the moſt univerſal applauſe, yet the uniformity of our plan, and the reſpect due to a name ſo juſtly celebrated, require that we ſhould connect with our former remarks ſome obſervations on the laſt ſix volumes of this valuable work.

Perhaps no age or country has ever produced a ſpecies of criticiſm more perfect in its kind, or better calculated for general inſtruction, than the publication before us: for whether we conſider it in a literary, philoſophical, or a moral view, we are at a loſs whether to admire moſt the author's variety and copiouſneſs of learning, the ſoundneſs of his judgement, or the purity and excellence of his character as a man.

It is ſurely of importance to the riſing generation to be ſupplied in the moſt elegant walk of literature with a guide, who points out what is beautiful in writing as well as in action, who uniformly blends inſtruction with amuſement, who informs the underſtanding, and rectifies the judgement, while he mends the heart.

But notwithſtanding the general popularity of this performance, and an uncommon degree of deciſion in its favour, it was not to be expected that a work of this nature, indeed that any work, ſhould paſs totally without exception, or without cenſure. In ſome inſtances it has divided the opinions of the learned, in a few it has provoked the ſeverity of criticiſm; with what propriety the public have judged from the pamphlets that have appeared, particularly in defence of Gray. That the doctor was not over zealous to allow him the degree of praiſe that the public voice had pretty univerſally aſſigned him, is, we think, ſufficiently apparent. Partiality to his beautiful elegy, had perhaps allotted him a rank above his general merits: that juſtice was the object of the biographer, we cannot doubt; but in combating opinions we ſuppoſe to be erroneous, we are extremely ſubject to fall ourſelves into the oppoſite extreme, and to this we are inclined to attribute whatever deviations from the general accuracy of the author may be met with in the courſe of this work. In this opinion we are confirmed by inſtances on the other ſide, where the doctor

doctor ſeems to give hyperbolical praiſe to names, which had perhaps been ſuffered to lie under too much neglect and oblivion. Whether the origin of ſomething like an attachment to a particular ſet of notions, or a ſet of men, may be explained upon this principle, we leave our readers to determine. That our learned author's judgement has been warped on ſome ſubjects, where party has an influence, is the opinion of probably the greater number of his admirers; and if it be true, it is a deciſive argument to ſhew the prevalence of prejudice, and that the ſtrongeſt underſtanding is not always proof againſt its inroads.

After a very copious and minute narrative of the life and writings of Addiſon, who ſtands next in the arrangement of this edition, he ſums up the literary and moral character of that celebrated author by a concluſion, out of which we ſhall lay before our readers the following extracts.

"Addiſon, in his life, and for ſome time afterwards, was conſidered by the greater part of readers as ſupremely excelling both in poetry and criticiſm. Part of his reputation may be probably aſcribed to the advancement of his fortune; when, as Swift obſerves, he became a ſtateſman, and ſaw poets waiting at his levee, it is no wonder that praiſe was accumulated upon him. Much likewiſe may be more honourably aſcribed to his perſonal character: he who, if he had claimed it, might have obtained the diadem, was not likely to be denied the laurel.

"His poetry is firſt to be conſidered; of which it is to be confeſſed that it has not often thoſe felicities of diction which give luſtre to ſentiments, or that vigour of ſentiment that animates diction: there is little of ardor, vehemence, or tranſport: there is very rarely the awfulneſs of grandeur, and not very often the ſplendor of elegance. He thinks juſtly, but he thinks faintly. This is his general character; to which, doubtleſs, many ſingle paſſages will furniſh exceptions; yet if he ſeldom reaches ſupreme excellence, he rarely ſinks into dulneſs, and is ſtill more rarely entangled in abſurdity. He did not truſt his powers enough to be negligent. There is in moſt of his compoſitions a calmneſs and equability, deliberate and cautious, ſometimes with little that delights, but ſeldom with any thing that offends.

"As a deſcriber of life and manners, he muſt be allowed to ſtand perhaps the firſt of the firſt rank. His humour, which, as Steele obſerves, is peculiar to himſelf, is ſo happily diffuſed as to give the grace of novelty to domeſtic ſcenes and daily occurrences. He never outſteps the modeſty of nature, nor raiſes merriment or wonder by the violation of truth. His figures neither divert by diſtortion, nor amaze by aggravation. He copies life with ſo much fidelity, that he can be hardly ſaid to invent: yet his exhibitions have an air ſo much original, that it is difficult to ſuppoſe them not merely the product of imagination.

"As a teacher of wiſdom, he may be confidently followed. His religion has nothing in it enthuſiaſtic or ſuperſtitious; he appears neither

neither weakly credulous, nor wantonly ſceptical; his morality is neither dangerouſly lax, nor impracticably rigid. All the enchantment of fancy, and all the cogency of argument, are employed to recommend to the reader his real intereſt, the care of pleaſing the author of his being.

"Truth is ſhewn ſometimes as the phantom of a viſion, ſometimes appears half veiled in an allegory; ſometimes attracts regard in the robes of fancy, and ſometimes ſteps forth in the confidence of reaſon. She wears a thouſand dreſſes, and in all is pleaſing.

Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.

"His proſe is the model of the middle ſtyle; on grave ſubjects not formal, on light occaſions not groveling; pure without ſcrupuloſity, and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable, and always eaſy, without glowing words or pointed ſentences. Addiſon never deviates from his track to ſnatch a grace; he ſeeks no ambitious ornaments, and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, but never blazes in unexpected ſplendor.

"It ſeems to have been his principal endeavour to avoid all harſhneſs and ſeverity of diction; he is therefore ſometimes verboſe in his tranſitions and connections, and ſometimes deſcends too much to the language of converſation; yet if his language had been leſs idiomatical, it might have loſt ſomewhat of its genuine angliciſm. What he attempted, he performed; he is never feeble, and he did not wiſh to be energetic; he is never rapid, and he never ſtagnates. His ſentences have neither ſtudied amplitude, nor affected brevity; his periods, though not diligently rounded, are voluble and eaſy. Whoever wiſhes to attain an Engliſh ſtyle, familiar but not coarſe, and elegant but not oſtentatious, muſt give his days and nights to the volumes of Addiſon."

We could not reſiſt the temptation of tranſcribing ſo large a portion, as it exhibits, with a peculiar happineſs, the character of a maſterly writer, drawn by a maſterly hand.

The ſixth volume contains the lives of Granville, Rowe, Tickell, Congreve, Fenton, and Prior.

Granville is deſcribed as an amiable and accompliſhed character, but an indifferent poet; and his fame is with juſtice aſcribed rather to the elevation of his rank, than to the intrinſic merit of his works.

"Granville was a man illuſtrious by his birth, and therefore attracted notice: ſince he is by Pope ſtiled *the polite*, he muſt be ſuppoſed elegant in his manners, and generally loved. He was in times of conteſt and turbulence ſteady to his party, and obtained that eſteem which is always conferred upon firmneſs and conſiſtency. With thoſe advantages, having learned the art of verſifying, he declared himſelf a Poet, and his claim to the laurel was allowed."

After a minute and ingenious inveſtigation of the merits and faults of his dramatic works, the character of Rowe as a writer is ſummed up in the following words:

words: "Whence then has Rowe his reputation? from the reasonableneſs and propriety of ſome of his ſcenes, from the elegance of his diction, and the ſuavity of his verſe. He ſeldom moves either pity or terror, but he often elevates the ſentiments; he ſeldom pierces the breaſt, but he always delights the ear, and often improves the underſtanding."

He adds,

"The verſion of Lucan is one of the greateſt productions of Engliſh poetry; for there is perhaps none that ſo completely exhibits the genius and ſpirit of the original. Lucan is diſtinguiſhed by a kind of dictatorial or philoſophic dignity, rather, as Quintilian obſerves, declamatory than poetical; full of ambitious morality and pointed ſentences, compriſed in vigorous and animated lines. This character Rowe has very diligently and ſucceſsfully preſerved. —— His verſification, which is ſuch as his cotemporaries practiſed, without any attempt at innovation or improvement, ſeldom wants either melody or force: his author's ſenſe is ſometimes a little diluted by additional infuſions, and ſometimes weakened by too much expanſion. But ſuch faults are to be expected in all tranſlations, from the conſtraint of meaſures and diſſimilitude of languages. The Pharſalia of Rowe deſerves more notice than it obtains, and as it is more read, will be more eſteemed."

To Tickell, Congreve, and Prior, is aſſigned a portion of this work ſuitable to their rank, and their reſpective merits are characteriſed with great truth and accuracy;—but the life of Pope ſtands eminently diſtinguiſhed by the minuteneſs with which it has been traced, by the variety of information it contains, and the valuable criticiſm it abounds with. The curioſity of the biographer has followed him through the ſhade of retirement, through the pleaſantry of convivial ſociety, and the tumult of his literary warfare; and the whole is interſperſed with reflections peculiarly intereſting to the ſcholar and the moraliſt.

The following extracts cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

"Of his intellectual character, the conſiſtent and fundamental principle was good ſenſe, a prompt and intuitive perception of conſonance and propriety. He ſaw immediately, of his own conceptions, what was to be choſen, and what to be rejected; and in the works of others, what was to be ſhunned, and what was to be copied.

"But good ſenſe alone is a ſedate and quieſcent quality, which manages its paſſions well, but does not increaſe them; it collects few materials for its own operations, and preſerves ſafety, but never gains ſupremacy. Pope had likewiſe genius; a mind active, ambitious, and adventurous, always inveſtigating, always aſpiring; in its wildeſt ſearches ſtill longing to go forward, in its higheſt flights ſtill wiſhing to be higher; always imagining ſomething greater than it knows, always endeavouring more than it can do.

"To aſſiſt theſe powers, he is ſaid to have had great ſtrength and exactneſs of memory. That which he had heard or read was not eaſily loſt, and he had before him not only

only what his own meditation ſuggeſted, but what he had found in other writers that might be accommodated to his preſent purpoſe."

"Theſe benefits of nature he improved by inceſſant and unwearied diligence; he had recourſe to every ſource of intelligence, and loſt no opportunity of information; he conſulted the living as well as the dead; he read his compoſitions to his friends, and was never content with mediocrity when excellence could be attained. He conſidered poetry as the buſineſs of his life, and however he might ſeem to lament his occupation, he followed it with conſtancy: to make verſes was his firſt labour, and to mend them was his laſt.

"He was one of thoſe few whoſe labour is their pleaſure: he was never elevated to negligence, nor wearied to impatience: he never paſſed a fault unamended by indifference, nor quitted it by deſpair: he laboured his works firſt to gain reputation, and afterwards to keep it.

"He profeſſed to have learned his poetry from Dryden, whom, whenever an opportunity was preſented, he praiſed through his whole life with unwearied liberality; and perhaps his character may receive ſome illuſtration, if he be compared with his maſter.

"Integrity of underſtanding and nicety of diſcernment were not allotted in a leſs proportion to Dryden than to Pope. The rectitude of Dryden's mind was ſufficiently ſhewn by the diſmiſſion of his poetical prejudices, and the rejection of unnatural thoughts and rugged numbers. But Dryden never deſired to apply all the judgement that he had. He wrote, and profeſſed to write, merely for the people; and when he pleaſed others, he contented himſelf. He ſpent no time in ſtruggles to rouſe latent powers; he never attempted to make that better which was already good, nor often to mend what he muſt have known to be faulty. He wrote, as he tells us, with very little conſideration: when neceſſity or occaſion called upon him, he poured out what the preſent moment happened to ſupply; and when once it had paſſed the preſs, ejected it from his mind; for when he had no pecuniary intereſt, he had no further ſolicitude.

"Pope was not content to ſatisfy; he deſired to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his beſt: he did not court the candour, but dared the judgement of his reader; and expecting no indulgence from others, he ſhewed none to himſelf. He examined lines and words with minute and punctilious obſervation, and retouched every part with indefatigable diligence, till he had left nothing to be forgiven.

"In acquired knowledge the ſuperiority muſt be allowed to Dryden, whoſe education was more ſcholaſtic, and who, before he became an author, had been allowed more time for ſtudy, with better means of information. His mind has a larger range, and he collects his images and illuſtrations from a more extenſive circumference of ſcience. Dryden knew more of man in his general nature, and Pope in his local manners. The notions of Dryden

den were formed by comprehenſive ſpeculation, and thoſe of Pope by minute attention. There is more dignity in the knowledge of Dryden, and more certainty in that of Pope.

"Of genius, that power which conſtitutes a poet; that quality, without which judgement is cold and knowledge is inert; that energy which collects, combines, amplifies, and animates; the ſuperiority muſt, with ſome heſitation, be allowed to Dryden. It is not to be inferred, that of this poetical vigour Pope had only a little, becauſe Dryden had more; for every other writer ſince Milton muſt give place to Pope; and even of Dryden it muſt be ſaid, that if he has brighter paragraphs, he has not better poems.

"Dryden's performances were always haſty, either excited by ſome external occaſion, or extorted by domeſtic neceſſity; he compoſed without conſideration, and publiſhed without correction: what his mind could ſupply at call, or gather in one excurſion, was all that he ſought, and all that he gave. The dilatory caution of Pope enabled him to condenſe his ſentiments, to multiply his images, and to accumulate all that ſtudy might produce, or chance might ſupply. If the flights of Dryden therefore are higher, Pope continues longer on the wing. If of Dryden's fire the blaze is brighter, of Pope's the heat is more regular and conſtant. Dryden often ſurpaſſes expectation, and Pope never falls below it. Dryden is read with frequent aſtoniſhment, and Pope with perpetual delight."

The life of the unfortunate Savage exhibits a melancholy inſtance of uncommon ability united with uncommon diſtreſs, and what is ſtill more remarkable, and more to be lamented, of a mother moſt unnaturally anxious to accompliſh the miſery of her own child. It would be difficult to mention a narrative throughout the whole compaſs of Engliſh biography, calculated ſo powerfully to awaken the reader's feelings, to excite his compaſſion on the one ſide, and his deteſtation on the other. The ſtory is here told in a manner ſtrikingly pathetic, and interwoven with reflections that do honour to the writer.

It concludes with the following extract.

"This relation will not be wholly without its uſe, if thoſe, who languiſh under any part of his ſufferings, ſhall be enabled to fortify their patience, by reflecting that they feel only thoſe afflictions from which the abilities of Savage did not exempt him; or thoſe, who, in confidence of ſuperior capacities or attainments, diſregard the common maxims of life, ſhall be reminded, that nothing will ſupply the want of prudence; and that negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge uſeleſs, wit ridiculous, and genius contemptible."

Of the intermediate and ſubſequent lives the moſt eminent are thoſe of Swift and Young. In the former, though well executed, little new was to be expected; and the latter was written by a friend of the author, and in no indifferent ſtile of imitation.

An Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

THE performance before us is the ſequel of a work publiſhed ſome years ago, the avowed intention of which was to decide upon the merits of Pope, to determine in what claſs of our Engliſh poets he ſhould be ranked, or at leaſt to ſhew, that he is not entitled to a place amongſt the firſt. The plan adopted by the author to prove his poſition is candid and judicious. The whole of the poet's works being diſtinctly examined, and the particular beauties and defects of each in general accurately remarked. But we cannot help thinking that the object of this publication would have been more ſucceſsfully anſwered, had the learned critic leſs frequently indulged his peculiar turn for digreſſions; which, though they are often ingenious, and generally entertaining, ſerve only to divert the reader from his main purpoſe, by incumbering the memory, and diſſipating the attention. It is not meant to inſinuate, that the paſſages we allude to, have not, upon the whole, a natural connection with the ſubject in conſideration: but we think they are often purſued too far, and it even happens ſometimes, that a train of unexpected reflections is ſo introduced, that we are ſurpriſed at length to reſume the thread of the original work. Dr. Warton diſcovers an extenſive knowledge of Italian literature, and an elegant taſte for the fine arts:—but remarks on Arioſto and Petrarch, are not remarks upon Pope; and the moſt accurate diſquiſition on architecture or painting, is at beſt but unſeaſonable, if it has no relation to, or is but ſlightly connected with the proper object of our attention. Among the remarks on the *Temple of Fame*, are the following.

High on his car Seſoſtris ſtruck my view,
Whom ſceptred ſlaves in golden harneſs drew;
His hands a bow and pointed jav'lin hold;
His giant limbs are arm'd in ſcales of gold.

"This coloſſal ſtatue of the celebrated eaſtern tyrant is not very ſtrongly imagined. As Phidias is ſaid to have received his ideas of majeſty in his famous Jupiter, from a paſſage in Homer, ſo it is to be wiſhed, that our author's imagination had been inflamed and enlarged, by ſtudying Milton's magnificent Picture of Satan. The word *hold* in the third line is particularly feeble and flat.—It is well known that the Egyptians, in all their productions of art, miſtook the gigantic for the ſublime, and greatneſs of bulk for greatneſs of manner."

Of what we have here quoted, ſome part is appoſite enough, and the reſt is without doubt true;—but the application of the following extract is not quite ſo obvious.

Of Gothic ſtructure was the northern ſide,
O'erwrought with ornaments of barb'rous pride.—

"Thoſe who have conſidered the theory of architecture, ſays a writer who had throughly ſtudied it, tell us, the proportions of the three Græcian orders, were taken from the human body, as the moſt beautiful and perfect production of nature.—Hence were derived thoſe graceful ideas of columns, which had

had a character of ſtrength without clumſineſs, and of delicacy without weakneſs. Thoſe beautiful proportions were, I ſay, taken originally from nature, which, in her creatures, as hath been already obſerved, referreth to ſome uſe, end, or deſign. The Gonfiezza alſo, or ſwelling, and the diminution of a pillar, is it not in ſuch proportion as to make it appear ſtrong and light at the ſame time? in the ſame manner, muſt not the whole entablature, with its projections, be ſo proportioned, as to ſeem great, but not heavy; light, but not little; inaſmuch as a deviation into either extreme, would thwart that reaſon and uſe of things, wherein their beauty is founded, and to which it is ſubordinate?

"The entablature and all its parts and ornaments, architrave, freeze, cornice, triglyphs, metopes, modiglions, and the reſt, have each an uſe, in giving firmneſs and union to the building, in protecting it from the weather, in calling off the rain, in repreſenting the ends of the beams with their intervals, the production of the rafters, and ſo forth. And if we conſider the graceful angles in frontiſpieces, the ſpaces between the columns, or the ornaments of the capitals, ſhall we not find that their beauty ariſeth from the appearance of uſe, or the imitation of natural things, whoſe beauty is originally founded on the ſame principle? Which is indeed the grand diſtinction between Grecian and Gothic architecture, the latter being fantaſtical, and for the moſt part founded neither in nature nor reaſon, in neceſſity nor uſe, the appearance of which accounts for all the beauties, graces, and ornaments of the other. —— Alciphron, vol. 1. dial. 3."

So far as this extract is intended to ſhew the propriety of the poet's expreſſion, in applying the epithet of barbarous to the ornaments of Gothic architecture, it is not totally foreign to the purpoſe: —the diſtinction between Grecian and Gothic architecture is accurately marked, and the ſuperiority of the former eſtabliſhed on its proper baſis.

However, it is obvious to ſelect paſſages, where the author, not contented with this deſultory ſpecies of criticiſm, enters into a more minute inveſtigation of the work, and characterizes its merits with penetration and ability.

"There ſat Zamolxis with erected eyes,
And Odin here in mimic trances dies;
There on rude iron columns, ſmear'd with blood,
The horrid forms of Scythian heroes ſtood,
Druids and bards, (their once loud harps unſtrung)
And youths that died to be by poets ſung."

"In theſe beautiful verſes we muſt admire the poſtures of Zamolxis and Odin, which exactly point out the characters of theſe famous legiſlators, and inſtructors of the northern nations.—As expreſſive, and as much in character, are the figures of the old heroes, druids and bards, which are repreſented as ſtanding on iron pillars of barbarous workmanſhip; they remind one of that group of perſonages, which Virgil, a lover of antiquity, as every real poet muſt be, has judiciouſly placed before the palace of Latinus.

Quinctium

Quinetiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum,
Antiqua e cedro, Italusq; paterq; Sabinus
Vitisator, curvam servans sub imagine falcem;
Saturnusq; senex, Janiq; bifrontis imago,
Vestibulo astabant."

He concludes his examination of this poem with the following remarks.

"In finishing this section, we may observe, that Pope's alterations of Chaucer, are introduced with judgment and art; that these alterations are more in number, and more important in conduct, than any Dryden has made of the same author. This piece was communicated to Steele, who entertained a high opinion of its beauties, and who conveyed it to Addison. Pope had ornamented the poem with the machinery of guardian angels, which he afterwards omitted. He speaks of his work with a diffidence uncommon in a young poet, and which does him credit. No errors, says he to Steele, are so trivial, but they deserve to be mended. I could point to you several, but it is my business to be informed of those faults I do not know; and as for those I do, not to talk of them, but mend them. I am afraid of nothing so much as to impose any thing upon the world which is unworthy of its acceptance."

His observations on the poem of *January and May, the Wife of Bath*, and *Translations of Statius and Ovid*, are thus introduced.

"The first dawnings of polite literature in Italy, appeared in tale writing and fables. Boccace gave a currency and vogue to this species of composition. He collected many of the common tales of his country, and delivered them in the purest style, enlivened with interesting circumstances. Sacchetti published tales before him, in which are many anecdotes of Dante and his cotemporaries. Boccace was faintly imitated by several Italians, Poggio, Bandello, Cinthio, Firenzuola, Malespini, and others. Machiavel himself did honour to this species of writing by his Belphegor.

"To produce and carry on with probability and decorum a series of events, is the most difficult work of invention; and if we were minutely to examine the popular stories of every nation, we should be amazed to find how few circumstances have been ever invented. Facts and events have been varied and modified, but totally new facts have not been created. The writers of the old romances, from whom Ariosto and Spencer have borrowed so largely, are supposed to have had copious imaginations; but may they not be indebted, for their invulnerable heroes, their monsters, their enchantments, their gardens of pleasure, their winged steeds, and the like, to the Echidna, to the Circe, to the Medea, to the Achilles, to the Syrens, to the Harpies, to the Phryxus, and the Bellerophon of the ancients? The cave of Polypheme might furnish out the ideas of their giants, and Andromeda might give occasion for stories of distressed damsels on the point of being devoured by dragons, and delivered at such a critical season by their favourite knights. Some faint traditions of the ancients might have been kept glimmering and alive during the whole barbarous ages, as they

are called; and it is not impoſſible, but theſe have been the parents of the Genii in the eaſtern, and the Fairies in the weſtern world. To ſay that Amadis and Sir Triſtan have a claſſical foundation, may at firſt ſight appear paradoxical; but if the ſubject were examined to the bottom, I am inclined to think, that the wildeſt chimeras in thoſe books of chivalry, with which Don Quixote's library was furniſhed, would be found to have a cloſe connection with ancient mythology.

"We of this nation have been remarkably barren in our inventions of facts; we have been chiefly borrowers in this ſpecies of compoſition; as the plots of our moſt applauded plays, both in tragedy and comedy, may witneſs, which have generally been taken from the novels of the Italians and Spaniards.

"The ſtory of *January* and *May*, now before us, is of the comic kind, and the character of a fond old dotard betrayed into diſgrace by an unſuitable match, is ſupported in a lively manner. Pope has endeavoured, ſuitably to familiarize the ſtatelineſs of our heroic meaſure, in this ludicrous narrative; but after all his pains, this meaſure is not adapted to ſuch ſubjects, ſo well as the lines of four feet, or the French numbers of Fontaine.

"Fontaine is, in truth, the capital and unrivalled writer of comic tales. He generally took his ſubjects from Boccace, Poggius, and Arioſto; but adorned them with ſo many natural ſtrokes, with ſuch quaintneſs in his reflections, and ſuch a dryneſs and archneſs of humour, as cannot fail to excite laughter.

"Our Prior has happily caught his manner, in many of his lighter tales; particularly in Hans Carvel, the invention of which, if its genealogy be worth tracing, is firſt due to Poggius. It is found in the hundred and thirty-third of his *Facetiæ*, where it is entitled 'Viſio Franciſci Philelphi;' from hence Rabelais inſerted it, under another title, in his third book and twenty-eighth chapter; it was afterwards related in a book called 'The Hundred Novels;' Arioſto finiſhes the fifth of his incomparable ſatires with it; Maleſpini alſo made uſe of it; Fontaine, who imagined Rabelais to be the inventor of it, was the ſixth author who delivered it, as our Prior was the laſt; and perhaps not the leaſt ſpirited."

Though we were principally induced to inſert this quotation, on account of the uſeful information it contains, yet we muſt obſerve, that it abundantly proves the juſtneſs of what has been advanced reſpecting the author's digreſſive mode of writing.

His obſervations on the *Eſſay on Man*, are a ſpecimen of juſt and elegant criticiſm.

"The Eſſay on Man is as cloſe a piece of argument, admitting its principles, as perhaps can be found in verſe. Pope informs us in his *firſt* preface, that he choſe this epiſtolary way of writing, notwithſtanding his ſubject was high, and of dignity, becauſe of its being mixed with argument, which of its nature approacheth to proſe? He has not wandered into any uſeleſs digreſſions, has employed

ployed no fictions, no tale or ſtory, and has relied chiefly on the poetry of his ſtile, for the purpoſe of intereſting his readers.—His ſtile is conciſe and figurative, forcible and elegant. He has many metaphors and images, artfully interſperſed in the drieſt paſſages, which ſtood moſt in need of ſuch ornaments. Nevertheleſs there are too many lines, in this performance, plain and proſaic. The meaner the ſubject is of a preceptive poem, the more ſtriking appears the art of the poet; it is even of uſe perhaps to chuſe a low ſubject. In this reſpect Virgil had the advantage over Lucretius; the latter, with all his vigour and ſublimity of genius, could hardly ſatisfy and come up to the grandeur of his theme. Pope labours under the ſame difficulty. If any beauty in this eſſay be uncommonly tranſcendent and peculiar, it is Brevity of Diction; which in a few inſtances, and thoſe pardonable, has occaſioned obſcurity. It is hardly to be imagined how much ſenſe, how much thinking, how much obſervation on human life, is condenſed together in a ſmall compaſs. He was ſo accuſtomed to confine his thoughts in rhyme, that he tells us, he could expreſs them more ſhortly this way, than in proſe itſelf. On its firſt publication, Pope did not own it, and it was given by the public to Lord Paget, Dr. Young, Dr. Defaguliers, and others. Even Swift ſeems to have been deceived; there is a remarkable paſſage in one of his letters! 'I confeſs I did never imagine you were ſo deep in morals, or that ſo many new and excellent rules could be produced ſo advantageouſly and agreeably in that ſcience, from any one head. I confeſs in ſome places I was forced to read twice; I believe I told you before what the Duke of D——— ſaid to me on that occaſion; how a judge here who knows you, told him, that on the firſt reading thoſe eſſays, he was much pleaſed, but found ſome lines a little dark; on the ſecond, moſt of them cleared up, and his pleaſure increaſed; on the third, he had no doubt remaining, and then he admired the whole.'

"The ſubject of this eſſay is a vindication of Providence, in which the poet propoſes to prove, that of all poſſible ſyſtems, infinite wiſdom has formed the beſt; that in ſuch a ſyſtem, coherence, union, ſubordination, are neceſſary; and if ſo, that appearances of evil, both moral and natural, are alſo neceſſary and unavoidable; that the ſeeming defects and blemiſhes in the univerſe, conſpire to its general beauty; that as all parts in an animal are not eyes, and as in a city, comedy, or picture, all ranks, characters, and colours, are not equal or alike; even ſo exceſſes, and contrary qualities, contribute to the proportion and harmony of the univerſal ſyſtem; that it is not ſtrange, that we ſhould not be able to diſcover perfection and order in every inſtance; becauſe in an infinity of things mutually relative, a mind which ſees not infinitely, can ſee nothing fully.

"This doctrine was inculcated by Plato and the Stoics, but more amply and particularly by the later Platoniſts, and by Antoninus and Simplicius. In illuſ-

rating his ſubject, Pope has been much more deeply indebted to the Theodicee of Leibnitz, to Archbiſhop King's Origin of Evil, and to the Moraliſts of Lord Shafteſbury, than to the philoſophers above-mentioned. The late Lord Bathurſt repeatedly aſſured me, that he had read the whole ſcheme of the Eſſay on Man, in the hand writing of Bolingbroke, and drawn up, in a ſeries of propoſitions, which Pope was to verſify and illuſtrate; in doing which, our poet, it muſt be confeſſed, left ſeveral paſſages ſo expreſſed, as to be favourable to fataliſm and neceſſity, notwithſtanding all the pains that can be taken, and the turns that can be given to thoſe paſſages, to place them on the ſide of religion, and make them coincide with the fundamental doctrines of revelation.

Awake, my St. John, leave all meaner things
To low ambition, and the pride of kings;
Let us, ſince life can little more ſupply
Than juſt to look about us, and to die,
Expatiate free o'er all this ſcene of man;
A mighty maze! but not without a plan.
Epiſ. 1.

"This opening is awful, and commands the attention of the reader. The word *awake* has peculiar force, and obliquely alludes to his noble friend's leaving his political, for philoſophical purſuits."

The whole of this excellent poem, and of the moral eſſays, are examined with a critical minuteneſs; and Dr. Warton's determinate judgment, reſpecting the merits of his author, is beſt collected from the concluſion of this enquiry.

"Thus have I endeavoured to give a critical account, with freedom, but it is hoped with impartiality, of each of Pope's works; by which review it will appear, that the largeſt portion of them is of the didactic, moral, and ſatyric kind; and conſequently, not of the moſt poetic ſpecies of poetry; whence it is manifeſt, that good ſenſe and judgment were his characteriſtical excellencies, rather than fancy and invention; not that the author of the Rape of the Lock, and Eloiſa, can be thought to want imagination, but becauſe his imagination was not his predominant talent, becauſe he indulged it not, and becauſe he gave not ſo many proofs of this talent as of the other. This turn of mind led him to admire French models; he ſtudied Boileau attentively; formed himſelf upon him, as Milton formed himſelf upon the Græcian and Italian Sons of Fancy. He ſtuck to deſcribing modern manners; but thoſe manners, becauſe they are familiar, uniform, artificial, and poliſhed, are, in their very nature, unfit for any lofty effort of the muſe. He gradually became one of the moſt correct, even, and exact poets that ever wrote; poliſhing his pieces with a care and aſſiduity, that no buſineſs or avocation ever interrupted: ſo that if he does not frequently raviſh and tranſport his reader, yet he does not diſguſt him with unexpected inequalities, and abſurd improprieties. Whatever poetical enthuſiaſm he actually poſſeſſed, he withheld and ſtifled. The peruſal of him affects not our minds with ſuch ſtrong emotions as we feel from Homer and Milton; ſo that

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no man of a true poetical ſpirit, is maſter of himſelf while he reads them. Hence, he is a writer fit for univerſal peruſal; adapted to all ages and ſtations; for the old and for the young; the man of buſineſs and the ſcholar. He who would think the Faery Queen, Palamon and Arcite, the Tempeſt or Comus, childiſh and romantic, might reliſh Pope. Surely it is no narrow and niggardly encomium to ſay he is the great poet of reaſon, the firſt of ethical authors in verſe. And this ſpecies of writing is, after all, the ſureſt road to an extenſive reputation. It lies more level to the general capacities of men, than the higher flights of more genuine poetry.—

"Where then, according to the queſtion propoſed at the beginning of this eſſay, ſhall we with juſtice be authoriſed to place our admired Pope? Not, aſſuredly, in the ſame rank with Spencer, Shakeſpeare, and Milton; however juſtly we may applaud the Eloiſa and Rape of the Lock; but, conſidering the correctneſs, elegance, and utility of his works, the weight of ſentiment, and the knowledge of man they contain, we may venture to aſſign him a place, next to Milton, and juſt above Dryden. Yet, to bring our minds ſteadily to make this deciſion, we muſt forget, for a moment, the divine muſic ode of Dryden; and may perhaps then be compelled to confeſs, that though Dryden be the greater genius, yet Pope is the better artiſt.

"The preference here given to Pope, above other modern Engliſh poets, it muſt be remembered, is founded on the excellencies of his works in general, and taken all together; for there are parts and paſſages in other modern authors, in Young and in Thomſon, for inſtance, equal to any of Pope; and he has written nothing in a ſtrain ſo truly ſublime, as the Bard of Gray."

THE

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The Hiſtory of EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

Retroſpective view of affairs in the Eaſt, which led to the late alarming and dangerous ſituation of the Britiſh empire in India. State of the native powers, with reſpect to each other, and to the Eaſt India Company. Greatneſs of the Maratta empire; and nature of its power, reſources, and government. Infant Ram-Rajah depoſed, and a government of miniſters, called the Paiſhwaſhip, ſubſtituted in his place. Ragonaut Row, being obliged to abandon Poonah and his country, for the aſſaſſination of his nephew, the young Paiſhwa, flies for refuge to Bombay. Protection afforded to Ragonaut, lays the foundation of all the ſubſequent wars with the Marattas. Treaty of friendſhip and alliance between the Eaſt India Company and Hyder Ally, concluded at Madras in the year 1769. *Refuſal to furniſh Hyder with the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, in his ſubſequent ruinous war with the Marattas, eſtranges that prince from the company, and occaſions his embracing French connections. Treaty concluded at Bombay with Ragonaut Row. War entered into with the Marattas for his reſtoration to power. Iſland of Salſette, Baroach, and other places conquered. Treaty of Poonah; by which Ragonaut is to be given up, and the new conqueſts are confirmed to the company. New ſyſtems of policy adopted. Ragonaut Row is ſtill protected, and various intrigues entered into for a revolution in the Maratta government in his favour. New demands to be made upon the Court of Poonah, the rejection of which are to be deemed violations of the late treaty. Strong military force under Colonel Leſlie, ſent acroſs the continent from Bengal. Proceedings of that detachment; Leſlie dies, and is ſucceeded by Colonel Goddard. Propoſals for a treaty with Moodajee Booſla, the Rajah of Berar,*

Berar, for placing him at the head of the Maratta empire. The Court of Poonah refuſing to comply with the new demands, the Britiſh reſident is withdrawn, and the Bombay army landed on the continent, in order to accompany Ragonaut Row to that capital. Army being ſurrounded, and all means of retreat cut off, a capitulation takes place. Moderate terms impoſed by the Marattas in the treaty of Worgaum. Ragonaut Row is given up, and the army conducted by a body of Maratta horſe to the ſea coaſt, where it embarks for Bombay. [p. 1

CHAP. II.

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CHAP. III.

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